HISTORY OF GREECE

ABBOTT

A HISTORY OF GREECE

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PART I.

From the Earliest Times to the Ionian Revolt

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Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ μὴ ὄντα λέγουσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς, συντεθραμμένοι τῷ ψεύδει διὰ τὰς μυθογραφίας· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

STRABO, p. 341.

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PREFACE.

THOUGH we can add nothing to the existing records of Greek History, the estimate placed upon their value, and the conclusions drawn from them are constantly changing, and for this reason the story which has been told so often will be told anew from time to time, so long as it continues to have an interest for mankind—that is, let us hope, so long as mankind continue to exist.

The present work is intended for readers who are acquainted with the outlines of the subject, and have some knowledge of the Greek language. It has been written in the belief that an intelligible sketch of Greek civilisation may be given within a brief compass—not with the hope of throwing new light on old obscurities, or quoting fresh evidence where all the evidence has been long ago collected.

It was my intention to prefix to my work an estimate of the various sources from which our knowledge of Greek History is derived. We have indeed but scanty materials from which to construct a critical account of the histories

written by Ephorus, Androtion, Philochorus, and others, from the fourth century B.C., but the attempt is worth making. For it is on the accuracy and diligence of these writers—on the more or less of their own times and their own ideas which they introduced into past ages, that our views of early Greek History must depend. And if we compare the narrative of the Samian war as it is given by Thucydides and by Plutarch (in his *Life of Pericles*), or of the battle of Plataea as described in Herodotus and in Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*, we shall find reason to think that the later writers, from whom Plutarch derived many of his statements, are by no means guides whom we can always follow without hesitation. But I have already run to such a length that prolegomena are out of the question, and it is impossible to treat so wide and difficult a question within the limits of a Preface. For the same reason a chapter on Greek Religion is reserved for the next volume.

Balliol College,
April 1888.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this edition, notwithstanding that the book is stereotyped, I have been enabled by the kindness of the publishers not merely to correct some oversights and misprints, but also to introduce the facts which we learn from the newly discovered treatise of Aristotle, about the constitutional history of Athens down to the time of Clisthenes. For these I have made room by cancelling the Appendices at the end of Chapter IX. (p. 304 ff.) and substituting a new one, and by adding a second Appendix at the end of the volume. Considerable changes have also been introduced into Chapter XV., and a new Index has been made.

I have allowed what I wrote six or seven years ago about the prehistoric relics and early population of Greece to remain unaltered. Much has been done in the interval, but we are yet far from any definite conclusion, though in my judgment the evidence still tends in the direction which I indicated—that the eastern shores of Greece were at one time governed by powerful princes of Oriental

rather than Hellenic origin. The reader who wishes to take up the subject more in detail will naturally turn to Professor Gardner's excellent work, *New Chapters in Greek History.*

I have seen no reason to change my opinion on the nature of the Homeric Poems. My critics have scolded me, but they have not convinced me of my errors, and indeed I can hardly say that they have made any attempt to convince me. I still think that Homer dealt with a past which was never present, and combined in his poems customs and traditions which perhaps never existed side by side at any one time in the same people. A kindly critic in the *Saturday Review* reminds me that the audience who listened to the Homeric poems would be "keen critics of the fighting," and therefore the poet would not ascribe to his heroes the use of arms with which that audience was unfamiliar. But is this so? Do we not take an interest in the fighting at Salamis and Chevy Chase, though the art and instruments of war are now wholly different? Are we not stirred by the heroism of Witherington, though any surgeon would assure us that no one could fight after "his legs were smitten off"? The inconsistencies of details do not occur to us when our interest is once fully awakened in some individual hero, or conflict. But we cannot grow enthusiastic over the move-

ments of large bodies of men, or the exploits of a mitrailleuse, however familiar these may be to the modern soldier.

Within the last year two works have appeared on this subject, each written with great learning and ingenuity—Dr. Leaf's *Companion to the Iliad*, and Mr. Lang's *Homer*. Of these scholars the first endeavours to trace a number of "strata" in the *Iliad*, while the second is at pains to show that the poem is the work of one author! Taken together, the two works support the view which I maintain: that the Homeric poet mingles in his work the customs and manners of various ages; only I go further, and say that in all probability some of these customs and manners were borrowed from nations which were rather Oriental than Greek, and for this reason I cannot find in the Homeric poems a trustworthy account of the manners and customs, beliefs and institutions, of a so-called heroic age in the life of the Greek nation.

OXFORD, *May* 1893.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Hellas, ... 1

CHAPTER II.

The Earliest Inhabitants, ... 24

Traditions, ... 26

Evidence of Language, ... 36

Evidence of Religious Rites, ... 39

Evidence of Monuments, ... 40

Greece and Phoenicia, ... 49

Greece and Egypt, ... 55

CHAPTER III.

Migrations and Legendary History, ... 58

Northern Greece, ... 71-90

Thessaly, ... 71

Boeotia, ... 74

Euboea, ... 82

Attica, ... 83

Aetolia and Acarnania, ... 87

Migrations and Legendary History—*continued.*

PAGE

Peloponnesus, ... 90-109
Elis, ... 90
Messenia, ... 94
Sparta, ... 96
Argos, ... 97
Corinth, ... 100
Sicyon, ... 102
Phlius, ... 104
Troezen and Epidaurus, ... 104
Achaea, ... 105
Arcadia, ... 107
The Labours of Heracles, ... 109
The Trojan War, ... 111

CHAPTER IV.

The Asiatic Coast and the Islands of the Aegean, . 114

CHAPTER V.

The Homeric Poems, ... 138
Nature and Historical value of the Poems, . . 138
Homeric Society, ... 162
Homeric Deities, ... 174

CHAPTER VI.

The Spartan State, ... 194
The Kings, ... 203
The Gerousia, ... 207
The Assembly, ... 209

The Spartan State—*continued.*

PAGE

The Ephors, ... 209

Education of the Spartans, ... 211

Divisions of the People, ... 217

CHAPTER VII.

Argos—Elis—Arcadia—Achaea, ... 225

Argos, ... 225

Elis, ... 239

Arcadia, ... 249

Achaea, ... 256

CHAPTER VIII.

The Messenian Wars, ... 259

CHAPTER IX.

Early Attica, ... 279

App. The Constitution of Athens before Solon, . 304

CHAPTER X.

Northern Greece, ... 309

Epirus and Macedonia, ... 309

Thessaly, ... 314

Districts south of Thessaly, ... 317

Boeotia, ... 319

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

The Greek Colonies, ... 333

Northern Colonies, ... 334

Colonies of Western Greece, ... 342

Colonies in Africa, ... 349

Table of Colonies, ... 363

CHAPTER XII.

The Tyrants, ... 367

Sicyon, ... 369

Corinth, ... 378

Megara, ... 393

CHAPTER XIII.

Solon, ... 398

The Struggle for Salamis, ... 398

The War with Crisa, ... 400

The Visit of Epimenides, ... 402

The Archonship of Solon, ... 405

The Constitution of Solon, ... 409

The Laws of Solon, ... 418

The Legends of Solon, ... 424

CHAPTER XIV.

Sparta in the Sixth Century, ... 430

CHAPTER XV.

Pisistratus and Clisthenes, ... 450

The Constitution of Clisthenes, ... 476

CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE

The Greeks in the East, ... 487

The Greek Cities in Asia Minor, ... 490

The Islands of the Aegean, ... 506-520

Lesbos, ... 506

Paros, ... 511

Samos, ... 513

Delos, ... 519

Crete, ... 520

Cyrene, ... 528

Egypt, ... 534

NOTE on the Laws of Solon (p. 418), ... 540

APPENDIX. The Constitution of Athens from Solon to Clisthenes, 541

INDEX, ... 549

CHAPTER I.

HELLAS.

1. Though the Hellenes delighted to distinguish themselves from the "barbarians" who were their neighbours on the north, they never fixed with precision the limits of the country which they called Hellas. Until a late period that name was used as an ethnological rather than a geographical term, and included any country in which the Hellenes were settled. In this sense the islands of the Aegean were a part of Hellas, but Macedonia was not, in spite of the claim which the Macedonian kings put forward to Hellenic descent.[1] Nor was Epirus included in the true Hellas, nor by some authorities Thessaly, in which lay the district originally called Hellas. These distinctions did not, however, rest on any solid ground; Aristotle was aware that in early times the Greeks dwelt near Dodona in Epirus, and Thessaly was known to be the home of many tribes, which afterwards migrated to the south.[2] We may therefore place the northern limit of Hellas at the fortieth degree of latitude, and, keeping clear of the wider use of the word, which would carry us wherever Greek colonists went—to Italy, Sicily, and Africa, as well as to Crete and Asia Minor—restrict the name to the peninsula and the adjacent islands.[3]

Limits of Hellas variable.

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[1] And which was allowed, Herod. v. 22.

[2] *Meteor.* i. 14, 22; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, i. 3.

[3] This limitation is, of course, purely geographical. The history of Hellas is spread over a far wider area. If we knew that the Homeric poems were composed in Asia Minor, we might even say that the first traces of the spirit of Hellenism are found in Asia. But the Asiatic Greeks always looked to the peninsula as their home.

Hellas, then, or Greece, to use the more familiar name, may be roughly described as an inverted triangle, of which the base extends from the Acroceraunian promontory to Mount Olympus, and the apex is formed by the promontory of Taenarum. The extreme length is about 250 miles; the extreme breadth 180 miles.

2. The characteristic features of the country have often been described. Greece is pre-eminently a land of mountain and coast. Within the area described no point can be fixed which is more than ten miles from the hills, or more than forty miles from the sea. These features become more strongly marked as we proceed to the south, the proportion of land to seaboard being less in the Peloponnesus than in Northern Greece. The formation of the coast on the east is also widely different from that on the west. When the long ridge of Pelion and Ossa is passed, the eastern shore offers a succession of bays from Pagasae to Nauplia; for, though Euboea presents an inhospitable front to the sea, the island is merely a barrier which protects the harbour of the Euripus. On the west, with the exception of the bays of Corinth and Ambracia, there are few places where a ship can find shelter. Hence Hellas turns naturally to the east; the islands, which were within sight of the land and of each other, tempted the mariner to the coast of Asia Minor, where he found a shore abounding in harbours. On the other hand, the eastern coast of Italy is as inhospitable as the western coast of Greece. The two peninsulas lie, as it were, back to back; and this position had the greatest influence on their history and development.

Characteristic Features of Greece.

3. Greece is divided by the Gulf of Corinth into two halves, of which the northern was known as "continental Hellas," or "the parts beyond Peloponnesus," the southern as Peloponnesus. These are connected by a low flat isthmus, something less than four miles in breadth. The mountain systems in the two halves are quite distinct in their configuration. In the northern a "spine" runs from north to south and terminates in the

Mountain Systems of Northern Greece.

conical height of Typhrestus. The southern part of this spine, from Mount Lacmon onwards, is known as Pindus; this is the central range of Greece, from which chains run out on either side. On the east, beginning from the north, we have the Cambunian range, which terminates in Olympus, and forms the northern boundary of Hellas in that direction. Next is the range of Othrys, the "brow," which overlooks the Maliac Bay. Yet further to the south the range of Oeta runs nearly parallel to Othrys. On the west, the most northern offshoot from the spine is the chain of mountains which runs from Mount Lacmon to the Acroceraunian headland, and bounds Epirus on the north. A second range, proceeding from the same centre, but further to the south and parallel to Pindus, separates the Arachthus from the Achelous. From Typhrestus the mountain ranges take a south-easterly direction. Under the names of Parnassus, Helicon, Cithaeron, Parnes and Brilessus, they pass down to the sea at Sunium, whence they are continued in the islands of the Cyclades (Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Siphnus). On the extreme east, Pelion and Ossa run along the sea-coast from Olympus to the south; after a slight interruption the range passes through Euboea, and, like the loftier range to the west, ends in a succession of islands (Andros, Tenos, Myconus). Finally, at the western end of the range of Oeta rises Mount Corax, the lofty centre from which a number of spurs branch off to the south-west, and form the mountains of Aetolia.

4. The arrangement of the mountains in Peloponnesus is entirely different. Here the base-line is not drawn from north to south, but from west to east. The mighty range which divides Achaea from Arcadia presents three commanding summits: Cyllene on the east, Aroanius in the centre, Erymanthus on the west. From these summits ranges run out to the south and south-east. Beginning from the east, we have the mountains of Argolis (Euboea, Arachnaeum), ending in the promontory of Scyllaeum. Next in order is the range which divides Argolis from Arcadia (Artemisium, Parthenium),

The Mountain Systems of Peloponnesus.

and is continued in the long chain of Parnon to Malea. From Aroanius proceeds the range of Maenalus, which, like its eastern neighbours, advances in a long line to the south (Mount Taygetus), and touches the sea at Taenarum. On the west, the mountains are broken by the rivers Alpheus and Ladon, but we can follow the heights from Erymanthus to Cotylium above Phigalea, and from thence to Ithome and Mathia.

5. To the modern traveller the mountains are one of the chief attractions of Greece. Consisting chiefly of hard limestone, and being bare of trees, they present sharp and varied outlines, which are clearly seen through the fine atmosphere. This beauty of form is enhanced by the exquisite hues which the almost naked stone assumes.[1] And though of considerable height, the mountains of Greece are not, like the Alps in Switzerland, so vast that they dominate the whole country and excite a sense of overpowering awe. Olympus indeed attains an elevation of nearly 10,000 feet; but no other mountain, with the possible exception of Parnassus, rises above 8,000 feet. On the other hand, no less than seven summits exceed the level of 7,000 feet, so that even in its mountains Hellas presents the Hellenic characteristics of "measure" and equality. No single peak is the "monarch of mountains," no range has a claim to be called the central and dominant chain of the country.[2]

Characteristics of the Mountains.

6. Descending to the valleys, we find that though none of the rivers in Greece are of great length or volume, they present remarkable characteristics, which did not fail to impress the inhabitants. In a dry and sunny country a perennial supply of water is the most precious of commodities, and in Greece this is peculiarly the case, owing to the bare and rocky nature of the mountains, and the lightness of the soil, which offers no storage for the

Rivers of Greece.

[1] Neumann and Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie*, p. 37.
[2] Tozer, *Geography of Greece*, p. 42.

rain or melting snow. Many streams, which in autumn or spring are impassable torrents, become in summer a mere succession of pools, if they are not dried up altogether. Such is the Ilissus at Athens, which draws its waters from the limited area of Hymettus. The Cephisus, on the other hand, which carries the rainfall of Mount Parnes, is never entirely without water, though it fails to reach the sea, the whole volume being consumed in irrigating the olive gardens in the neighbourhood of Colonus.[1] These variations in the amount of water naturally gave rise to the floods, which are such a common source of similes in Greek poetry; and they were the more frequent owing to the "Swallows" or Katavothras, which, though found in other countries where limestone abounds,[2] are a characteristic of Greece.

Katavothras.

In many of the upland valleys there is no external outlet for the water; the streams which flow down from the neighbouring mountains pass into chasms and are carried underground, to reappear in neighbouring valleys or rivers. This is the case in the Arcadian valleys of Pheneus and Stymphalus; in the first the katavothras, which are frequently choked, seem to be connected with the rivers Alpheus and

[1] Nothing illustrates the varying quantity of the water in the upland districts of Greece better than an incident which gave rise to a lawsuit at Athens in the time of Demosthenes (*Against Callicles*, Orat. 55). In this case the water had overflowed from one property into the next, and the plaintiff, whose property was injured, sought to prove that the proper course for the water was over his neighbour's land. But the neighbour will not allow this; no man in his senses, he pleads, would suffer the water to flow over his land, when it could be diverted into the road. What served for a road in summer, was useful as a watercourse in winter. In the movements which preceded the battle of Mantinea (Thuc. v. 65), Agis, the Spartan king, succeeded in drawing the Argives from their position by turning the course of the river from Tegea into the territory of the Mantineans, the water being a constant source of strife between the two cities, owing to the damage which it did to one or other according to the course which it took.

[2] See the account of the country in the neighbourhood of Trieste, in Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. i. c. 1.; Strabo, p. 214; also Herod. vii. 30.

Ladon; in the second they pass under Mount Apelaurum, and the water reappears in the Argolid as the river Erasinus.[1]

In the upper course of the Alpheus there are two of these "swallows." The river rises in Tegeatis, and flows under Mount Boreum to Asea;[2] after a short course it again passes out of sight to reappear once more at Pegae, whence, without further interruption, it flows to the sea. In Northern Greece the most famous katavothras are in Boeotia. Lake Copais has been formed by the stoppage or insufficiency of the underground channels, which connect the depression in which it lies with the sea or the lower river. In very early times the water was removed by the construction of two gigantic tunnels; "the larger of the two, which runs towards the sea, is cut through the rock for the distance of nearly four miles, with fifteen vertical shafts let down to it, at intervals, from above; some of these reach to a depth of more than 100 feet." When these channels became filled up, the water collected as before, to the detriment of the country and climate.[3]

The streams of Greece are also remarkable for the amount of the deposit which they carry down with them. The lower valley of a Greek river is generally an alluvial plain. The line of the shore at the mouth of the Eurotas has been carried out to a considerable extent.

Alluvial Deposits.

[1] Herod. vi. 76. In 1806 Colonel Leake found the valley of the Pheneus, in Arcadia, planted with wheat and barley; before both katavothras, more especially the western, lay stagnant pools of water. Fifteen years later the passages were stopped up. Water covered the whole plain, and the "dam of Heracles" disappeared. In 1828, the surface of the lake was 2315 feet above the level of the sea, and five miles in breadth. Continually rising, the waters at last passed over the ridge into the plain of Orchomenus. Subsequently the passages were again opened (owing to an earthquake); the Ladon and Alpheus rose, the plains of Olympia were flooded, and in Pheneus some square miles were restored to agriculture. At present the passages have once more become choked, and the lake is sufficiently large to be compared with Derwent Water. Curtius, *Pelop.* i. 189; Tozer, *l.c.* p. 108. See Strabo, pp. 275, 389.

[2] Strabo, *ll.cc.*; Paus. viii. 44, 4; 54, 2.

[3] The area of the lake is now eighty or ninety square miles. See Sergeant's *Greece*, p. 20; Tozer, *l.c.* p. 114.

In the days of Pausanias, Helos was a seaport, but the ruins of the city are now situated on a lagune.[1] Even in antiquity it was known that the Achelous had united the islands lying off the shore with the mainland.[2] When the Acheron leaves its deep and gloomy gorge, it passes over an alluvial plain, and forms the Acherusian lake. The Peneus, in Thessaly, wanders through a similar expanse. The areas thus formed are naturally fertile, and, when properly protected from the water, richly repay cultivation.[3]

In other districts, owing to the difference in geological formation, the rivers die, as it were, of inanition, in the soil which they have created. This is especially the case in the Argolid. The bed of the Inachus is dry, the water, when there is any, filtering out of sight through the gravel, and before it reaches the sea the stream is entirely lost in the marshes of the coast. The rivers of Eastern Argolis are swallowed up almost as soon as they reach the foot of the mountains from which they descend. On the other hand, in the south, where the hills are nearer the coast, water is more abundant; it gushes from the foot of the mountains in copious springs, which are supposed to be the outlet of the waters of Arcadian valleys, and hurries in streams to the shore, or spreads out in the marshes of Lerna. In one instance the stream is carried under the shore for about 1000 feet from the land, when it reappears, a bubbling spring of fresh water in the sea (*Dine*).[4]

Drought.

The largest river in Greece is the Achelous. The sources of the stream are to be sought on the southern declivities of Mount Lacmon, from whence it flows almost due south through a long and narrow valley bounded on the east by Pindus, and on the west by the range of hills which separates the valleys of the Arachthus and

Achelous.

[1] Curt. *l.c.* ii. 289; Paus. iii. 2, 7.

[2] See the remarks on Herodotus of the formation of the Delta, ii. 10.

[3] Neumann and Partsch, *l.c.* p. 348.

[4] A similar spring is found in the Gulf of La Spezzia, and in the great harbour of Syracuse. *Cf.* Lucret. vi. 890.

Achelous. This upper reach of the stream was sometimes known as the Inachus.[1] Entering Aetolia, it makes a loop to the east, and forming the boundary between Acarnania and Aetolia, empties into the sea between the Ambracian and Corinthian Gulfs. From Mount Lacmon to the mouth of the river is a distance of 120 miles, without allowing for the windings of the stream. The country round the mouth is a flat alluvial plain, covered to a considerable extent with marshes, out of which rise rocky hills, which once formed a part of the Echinades.[2]

Peneus.

The Peneus (Thessalian) is remarkable among the rivers of Greece for being the outlet of the drainage of a large plain. The river rises on the eastern slopes of Lacmon, which is, indeed, the head of all the larger rivers of Northern Greece. Flowing at first to the south, it then skirts the hills of Hestiæotis, and takes a north-easterly course to the sea. The chief tributaries are the Pamisus, Apidanus, Titaresius, and Enipeus. The famous Vale of Tempe, through which the Peneus flows into the sea, is a gorge about four miles and a half in length, "flanked by lofty rocks of grey limestone, finely tinted with red; these are highest towards the middle of the pass, where the precipices in the direction of Olympus descend so steeply as completely to bar the passage in that direction, while those which descend from Ossa, though less steep, are loftier, and rise in many places not less than 1500 feet from the valley."[3]

Spercheus.

One of the most rapid of Greek rivers is the Spercheus, which carries the waters of Mount Oeta to the sea, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae. In one sense that famous "pass" exists no longer, for the alluvial deposit has spread out into a plain of such an extent as to furnish room for an entire army; but even now, in winter, the path immediately under the hills is alone sufficiently firm to bear a horse.[4]

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[1] For the recurrence of the same names in Greece, see *infra*, pp. 29, 38.
[2] Herod. ii. 10; Thuc. ii. 102.
[3] Tozer, *l.c.* p. 122; Cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 1.
[4] Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii. 40. In antiquity there was barely room for a cart track between the sea and the mountains (Herod. vii. 176).

7. The peculiar nature of Greek rivers gave rise to many beautiful legends about them. We have seen that the Alpheus twice disappears in the mountains of Arcadia, and that a river in Southern Argolis has its outlet in the sea 1000 feet from the shore. Hence, to the imagination of the Greeks it was not impossible that the Alpheus should pass under the sea from Elis to Sicily, and there rise up again in the fountain of Arethusa.[1] The rapid Achelous, spreading devastation over the cultivated land at its mouth, is transformed by fancy into a monster, half-bull and half-man, with which Heracles contended. The river which waters a plain is often changed into the earliest king of the country. Inachus is king of Argos, Cephisus of Boeotia, and Peneus of Thessaly. In some legends rivers even gained the love of women. Tyro was enamoured of the river Enipeus, and "was wont to linger beside his lovely stream." So deeply was their personal nature felt that rivers were not crossed without invocations,[2] and at the building of bridges propitiatory sacrifices were offered, that the deity of the stream might not resent the constraint imposed upon him. Legends of Rivers.

In many districts it was necessary to control the course of the streams by artificial means, for the protection of the fields and crops. These works, which seem to have been carried out at a very early period, are associated with the name of Heracles. When Heracles slays the Hydra of Lerna, we may perhaps connect the legend with some attempt to drain the marsh of Lerna in Argolis, and remove the pestilential miasma. The story of the slaying of the birds of Stymphalus has possibly grown up out of an attempt to control the sudden rush of waters, which flooded the deep, land-locked Arcadian valley. There The Works of Heracles.

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[1] See Strabo, pp. 270, 271, where supposed parallels are given.

[2] Even Cleomenes of Sparta had not the hardihood to cross the Erasinus when the sacrifices were unpropitious (Herod. vi. 76): *ἀπικόμενος ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλίρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολιήτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς χαιρήσειν.*

was a dam of Heracles at Pheneus in Arcadia, and similar works at the mouth of the Achelous, in Boeotia, and elsewhere, are ascribed to him.[1]

8. The rivers Achelous, Acheron, Cocytus and Styx occupy a position in Greek mythology which deserves more particular notice. The Achelous is the type of all rivers, the source of sweet water and cause of increase, the oldest and most honoured of all the three thousand sons of Oceanus.[2] In religious and poetical language, Achelous was a name for rivers and river water; the cultus of the Achelous existed in Italy and Sicily, and in various forms the name occurs in Asia Minor and Greece. The horn of Amalthea, the symbol of abundance, was said in Aetolian legend to have passed from Achelous to Heracles. This legendary position of the Achelous has been explained by the identification of the river with the heavenly stream of Oriental mythology.[3] More evidence than we possess is needed to support so fanciful an explanation. It was natural for the early inhabitants of Greece, while deifying all the rivers which fertilised their fields, to ascribe a peculiar sanctity to a stream in the neighbourhood of their earliest shrine. The greater size of the Achelous probably attracted attention to it in preference to the Arachthus, which lies nearer Dodona. The Acheron and Cocytus are rivers of Thesprotia, which fall into the sea a little to the south of Chimerium. The former passes through a gorge, which is described as the darkest and deepest ravine in Greece, and between its precipitous rocks, for the distance of two or three miles, "the white waters of the stream roar along through chasms and cliffs which they have worn away in the course of ages, leaving no room even for the path, which has to be carried along the sides of the cliffs far

Mythical Account of Rivers.

Achelous.

Acheron.

[1] Curtius, *l.c.* ii. 519, i. 186, etc. See the paper of the same author, *Zur Geschichte des Griechischen Wegebaues*, in the "Transactions of the Berlin Academy," 1855. Tozer, *l.c.* pp. 96, 311.

[2] Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 30.

[3] Duncker, *History of Greece*, i. 167.

above, in some places as much as 500 feet above the water." At the mouth of the gorge was the marsh, the "Palus Acherusia," on the shore of which was an ancient oracle of the dead.[1] This gorge seems to have impressed the Greeks so deeply that they regarded it as an entrance to the lower world, and Pausanias is of opinion that the description of the entrance to Hades in the *Odyssey* was borrowed from the Thesprotian coast. On the north the Acheron is joined, three miles above the sea, by the Cocytus,[2] the "moaning river," a name which is possibly similar to the "Greta" of northern England. Both the names naturally lent themselves to a description of the infernal regions. The water also of the Cocytus is called by Pausanias "most distasteful,"[3] and Colonel Leake remarks that the water of the Vuvo (Cocytus) is reported to be bad; the villagers on the slopes of the hills near it either make use of wells, or fetch water from the Suliotiko.[4] But of all the streams of Greece the most noted was the Styx, the only waterfall of any importance in the country, which seems from the earliest times to have exercised a strong fascination over the minds of the Greeks. "Beneath one of the highest summits of the snowy Aroanius, near a place where two ranges of rocks meet and form a chasm, there is a perpendicular cliff of great height, the face of which is deeply tinged with an iron hue. From the top of this there drops a thin stream of water, which in one or two places is slightly broken by the rock, against the side of which it falls, and half way it is joined by another still narrower stream, which descends parallel to it from above. Its full height is calculated at 500 feet."[5] The Greeks, of whom doubtless very few had seen the Styx,

Cocytus.

Styx.

[1] Tozer, *l.c.* 121; Herod. v. 92; Bursian, *l.c.* i. 27.

[2] Leake, *Northern Greece*, iv. 52.

[3] Paus. i. 17, 5.

[4] Leake, *l.c.* iv. 53. Whatever be the etymology of Cocytus, it is certain that Acheron has nothing to do with ἄχος (woe.) The syllable ἀχ, which occurs again in Achelous, Inachus, reminds us of *aqua*.

[5] Tozer, *l.c.* p. 118.

spoke of this wild lonely waterfall as a river descending from earth to Hades. Homer mentions "the rapids of the Styx," which Heracles could not have escaped without the aid of Athena. The stream was used as a sanction in adjurations. In a famous passage in the *Iliad*,[1] Here is challenged by Sleep to swear by the "baneful water of Styx." In Hesiod Styx is the eldest daughter of Oceanus. She joined Zeus against the Titans, and received as her reward the privilege of being the oath of the gods. She dwells near the place where night and day approach each other, far from the gods, in a palace "roofed with lofty rocks, and stablished with silver pillars up to heaven." Whenever one of the dwellers in Olympus has uttered a lie, Zeus sends Iris to bring the great oath of the gods from afar in a golden pitcher, the famous water, which falls from the steep lofty rock.[2] The water was regarded as deadly to animal and vegetable life, a superstition which clings to it still. "The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages warn the travellers against it, and regard everyone as lost who drinks."[3]

The Lakes.

9. The lakes of Greece are land-locked basins, into which the waters from the neighbouring hills collect, nearly always without any visible outlet for the supply. Hence the level of the lake is constantly changing according to the amount of water flowing into it. Sometimes the underground channel is blocked, and the water cannot escape; the lake then rises and spreads far and wide over the adjacent fields and pastures (*supra*, p. 6). The largest lake in Greece is the lake of Joannina (Lacus Pambotis), in the neighbourhood of which lay Dodona. The lake—or lakes, for there are two basins, separated by a marshy tract of ground—is about eighteen miles in length and four in breadth.[4]

[1] *Il.* viii. 369, xv. 37.

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 389 ff., 775 ff. His account is not very intelligible. The author of the Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 755), by some strange hallucination, connects the Styx with the Titaresius in Thessaly.

[3] Curtius, *Pelop.* i. 196.

[4] Bursian, *l.c.* i. 20.

Other lakes are the Copais in Boeotia, which is formed by the blocking of the Cephisus; the lakes of Nessonis and Boebeis in Thessaly, into which the Peneus overflows; and the lakes of Stymphalus and Pheneus in Arcadia.

Springs and Fountains.

Every reader of Greek history or legend has heard of Castalia, Aganippe, and Hippocrene, Pirene and Callirrhoe, and other fountains. These perennial streams sometimes break out from under the roots of large plane-trees,[1] or from clefts in the rocks, or they even pour their waters from the mountains. Pirene rises on the summit of Acrocorinthus; Aganippe on the heights of Helicon. The frequent failure of water in the rivers made these fountains unusually precious. As the home of nymphs, they were sacred, and became the centre of a number of legends. They were adorned with flowers and garlands; their waters were used in lustrations. The spring of Callirrhoe falls into the Ilissus a little to the south-east of the Acropolis of Athens; the water, we are told by Thucydides, "was used by the ancient Athenians on great occasions; and at marriage rites and other ceremonies the custom is still retained."[2]

Products of Greece.

10. Greece was not a very productive country. Except in the alluvial plains, the soil was thin, and the acreage under cultivation was comparatively small. Corn, wine, and oil were the chief products; but the amount of corn was quite insufficient for the needs of the population, and even as early as the time of Xerxes, corn was imported from the Euxine.[3] It is said that oil was the only product which Solon permitted to be exported from Attica. Figs and honey were produced in considerable quantities; in Elis flax was grown, and a small quantity of cotton. Wine was abundant. The pastures on the mountains supported a large number of cattle, and from their milk cheese was made, a pastoral life being at all times the occupation of a

[1] Mure, *Tour in Greece*, ii. 258.
[2] Thuc. ii. 15.
[3] Herod. vii. 147.

large part of the inhabitants. The minerals most abundant were silver and iron. Gold was found only in Siphnus, and

Gold.

it is probable that the accounts of the mines there, which we have in Herodotus and Pausanias (Herod. iii. 57 ; Paus. xi. 2), are exaggerated. At present no gold is found on the island, and though there are traces of the eagerness with which the ancient inhabitants sought for it, their search does not appear to have been very successful.[1] In the range of Pangaeum, in Thrace, gold was of course abundant ; when these mines passed into the hands of Philip a gold coinage appeared for the first time in Greece. Silver was

Silver.

more plentiful. The most important mines were those at Laurium, in Attica, which appear to have become a considerable source of revenue to the Athenians in the time of Themistocles. For about a century they were really productive ; in the time of Xenophon the returns were greatly diminished, and, by the beginning of the third cen-

Copper.

tury B.C., mines were an extremely hazardous speculation. Copper was found in Euboea, but in Strabo's time the mines had been abandoned for other sources. Iron ore is abundant in Greece, though the ancients made

Iron.

comparatively little use of their stores. They had, doubtless, many difficulties in regard to fuel ; at the present time it is impossible to work the rich ore of Seriphus, owing to the want of coal or wood. The chief seats of the iron manufacture were the Perioecic towns of Laconia. The helmets, swords, axes, files, knives, and awls of Laconia were the best in Greece.

If the precious metals were somewhat scarce, the Greeks were compensated by the abundance of excellent stone. Marble

Stone.

was found everywhere on the eastern side of Greece. The Pentelic marble obtained in the quarries of Brilessus in Attica was among the best. It was not,

[1] Neumann and Partsch, *l.c.* p. 224 ; but see Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 38. It is certain that the Lacedaemonians, when they required gold for the statue of Apollo, sought it at Sardis, and not at Siphnus. (Herod. i. 69).

indeed, used for statues so much as the Parian, partly owing to the yellow tinge of the stone, partly to the difficulty of finding large blocks, but it was admirable for building, and was employed in all the works on the Acropolis at Athens. Hymettus supplied a coloured marble, which the Romans esteemed more than the Greeks. From Euboea came the famous Carystian marble. Taygetus supplied marble of a beautiful red colour. Porphyry, basalt, and granite are also found. The abundance of marble is characteristic of Greece, and gave a direction to her art, which would have been impossible without such a supply of material.

II. The flora of Greece is more varied than that of any other country. In the south of Messenia the oriental palm grows. At Patras, on the coast of Achaea, are groves of oranges, and Attica is the land of olives and figs, which are not found in the plains of Thessaly. In ancient times the country was rich in wood, and even now, in spite of neglect and destruction, there are fine forests in Thessaly and Epirus, Acarnania and Arcadia. Beeches in Northern Greece, oaks of various kinds—one of which, the *Quercus aegilops*, or valonea oak, furnishes in its acorns a valuable article for exportation—chestnuts and planes, are the most common trees. The planes often grow to a large size, measuring as much as thirty feet in the circumference of the trunk. "Pelion," we are told, "is still distinguished by the abundance and beauty of its forests, in which the beech predominates in the higher parts, and further down the chestnut and plane, while the pines, which were numerous here in antiquity, have now entirely disappeared. In the gardens of the villages, which are thickly scattered over the slopes of the range, the orchards present a rich selection of excellent fruits."[1] Some of the trees now common in Greece are known to be importations. The chestnut was introduced late in the classical period from Asia Minor. The beech is rarely mentioned in ancient authors. The

Flora.

Wood.

[1] Bursian, *l.c.* i. 43.

palm certainly, and probably the vine, was imported by the Phoenicians. The fig, also, was not indigenous, nor even the cypress.[1] Oranges and lemons, peaches and apricots, were either unknown in Greece, or very rare until post-classical times. Quinces and pomegranates, though known, were little used as articles of food; pears and apples did not thrive, and were not cultivated with care.[2]

Fruits.

Trees which add to the beauty of the landscape of Greece are the myrtle and tamarisk on the shore, the cytisus and the judas tree, and, above all, the oleanders, which fringe the rivers. Flowers are still abundant: anemones, violets and crocuses, roses, balsams, geraniums, heliotropes, jasmine, and many more. But Athens is no longer "violet crowned." "They call it Anthena (flowery), but it has no flowers," was the answer given to Ulrichs when he inquired from a peasant the name of the city. The Greeks appear to have had a great admiration for flowers. They loved to connect them with their deities, and assigned to some, such as the narcissus and hyacinth, a remarkable place in their myths.

Flowers.

12. The larger wild animals of Greece were wolves, bears, boars, and stags. The two former were confined to the districts of Arcadia, the "bear-land," and Taygetus in Laconia, an excellent hunting ground, on which the Spartan youths were trained to endurance. The Nemean lion is purely mythological; in all probability it is borrowed from the Oriental legend in which the sun-god contends with a lion; and the lions of the Acropolis of Mycenae are an imitation of Phrygian art. But Herodotus tells us that lions infested the region between the Nestus and Achelous, though none were ever found to the east of the first river or to the west of the second.[3]

Fauna.

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[1] Tozer, *l.c.* p. 160.

[2] Neumann and Partsch, *l.c.* p. 410.

[3] Herod. vii. 125. The statement of Herodotus is confirmed by Aristotle and Pausanias. The latter represents Polydamas as slaying a lion on Olympus without any weapon! (vi. 5, 5). There is also the legend of Cyrene and the lion (Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 28 ff.).

13. The climate necessarily varies with the nature of the country, the hills differing from the plains, the interior from the sea-coast. Even in adjacent territories, like Attica and Boeotia, we find most striking contrasts. Attica is sheltered from the north by the ridge of Parnes; it is for the most part hilly, with a dry soil, incapable of retaining moisture. On the south and east it lies open to the sea, the breezes from which temper the heat of the summer sun. Hence the climate is generally mild without being enervating; the atmosphere is exceedingly clear and light.[1] Boeotia, on the other hand, is shut in on three sides by lofty mountains, and on the fourth is only divided from Euboea by the narrow channel of the Euripus. The water from the hills, checked in its natural passage to the sea, falls into Lake Copais and the adjacent marshes, which give rise to damp exhalations. In Boeotia, therefore, the climate is thick and heavy; the heat in summer is not softened by marine breezes, while the winter cold is increased by the proximity of the mountains. Hesiod speaks of it as "bad in winter, oppressive in summer, and never good."[2] The great seclusion of some mountain valleys, such as Pheneus and Stymphalus, causes excessive heat in summer, and the atmosphere is rendered even more intolerable by the exhalations from the land left uncovered

Climate.

[1] At Athens, where accurate observations have been taken, the following characteristics of the climate are recorded:—

(1.) The variation in the temperature is very great, hardly less than at Leipzig or Berlin. The heat is not only great but continuous; there are times when the thermometer never falls below 68° F. for a month.

(2.) The amount of the rainfall is very slight, and is almost entirely confined to the winter months. Seventy-eight per cent. of the rain falls between October and March; and only seven per cent. in June, July, and August. This combination of drought and heat withers and destroys vegetation, and makes Athens somewhat unhealthy for the time.

(3.) The atmosphere is extremely free from fogs and clouds. This is largely due to the warmth of the soil. The moisture brought by N.E. or S.W. winds is not condensed but dissipated, and it is only on the cool heights of Parnes that clouds are formed.—Neumann and Partsch, *l.c.* p. 16 ff.

[2] *Works and Days*, 640.

by the receding water. For the same reason the cold in winter is intense, the damp stagnant air hanging heavily over the marshy soil. Another source of discomfort for those who journey from one place to another is the great variety of the climate. Summer has commenced at the mouth of the Pamisus while the snow is still lying in Arcadia. The traveller within a short distance passes from summer to winter, as in climbing Mount Athos he may see almost the whole flora of the country.[1] In certain parts of Greece thunderstorms were peculiarly frequent; at Delphi, for instance, where more than once they contributed to the safety of the sacred place, and at Dodona, which appears to have been an appropriate home for the "Cloud-gatherer." On the other hand, the rainfall in some districts is extremely small. In 1859 there were only twenty-five days in the year on which sufficient rain fell at Athens to be measured by the gauge. Earthquakes of greater or less severity are frequent in Greece. Delos was said to have been "shaken" before the outbreak of the Persian war, and again before the Peloponnesian war, an occurrence which only the curious seem to have observed; for the first earthquake is unknown to Thucydides and the second to Herodotus. A great earthquake which occurred before the siege of Ithome led to the revolt of the Helots. We hear of them in the history of Thucydides as "unparalleled in their extent and fury" during the Peloponnesian war. The fifth year of the war was the time "when the frequent earthquakes occurred at Athens, in Euboea, and in Boeotia, especially at Orchomenos," and put a stop to the invasion of Attica.[2] But the greatest disaster which occurred in Greece from this cause was the destruction of Helice and Bura, on the coast of Achaea, in 373 B.C.[3] In modern times earthquakes are frequent and disastrous; to them in a great measure is due the ruined condition of the temples in the country. Lemnos in prehistoric times and Thera (Santorin)

The Rainfall.

Earthquakes.

[1] Tozer, *l.c.* p. 139.

[2] Thuc. i. 101, i. 23, iii. 87.

[3] Paus. vii. 24, 12; 25, 8.

were the centres of volcanic agency. The latter is still active, "a crater in the midst of the sea."[1]

14. The influence which a country exercises over the inhabitants varies with the civilisation of the people, but even in a highly civilised nation, climate and scenery have a subtle influence, more important in the early years of life than in the later. We know that the Hellenes felt this influence deeply. Every Athenian thanked the gods that he was not heavy and stupid, like his northern neighbour, the "Hog of Boeotia," and in Arcadia music was universally cultivated as an antidote to the harsh influence of the climate of the hills. The effect was the greater because the Hellenes never overcame, or even attempted to overcome, the natural difficulties of their home, which indeed are still unconquered. Their houses were not adapted to reduce the variation in the temperature to a minimum; there were no careful appliances for storing water when needed, and for preventing the overflow when superabundant. The inhabitants accepted the circumstances and conditions around them, regarding the natural arrangement as divine, and therefore excellent.[2]

Influence of the Country on the Inhabitants.

In Greece one of two features of scenery, if not both, is always present to the eye, the mountains and the sea. With the first we identify the love of home, with the second the love of change, both qualities eminently characteristic of the Greeks in the best period of their history. The inhabitants of the hilly districts which were not in contact with the sea remained for the most part peasants and tillers of the soil. Neither in politics nor in manners did they advance beyond a somewhat primitive stage. The account which Polybius gives of the inhabitants of the

The Inhabitants of the Hills.

[1] See Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 104 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 79. A proposal to alter the course of a stream is met by the following objection: "Optime rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones majorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint."

Arcadian district of Cynaethia in his day describes them as little better than savages. The Dorians of Sparta, though greatly superior to their northern neighbours, were intellectually slow and unenterprising. On the other hand, the Ionians of the coast were volatile and fond of adventure, ever eager for some new thing. How much of this contrast is due to the influence of the sea is best shown by comparing the Spartans with their kinsmen at Corinth and Corcyra. The former distrusted everything that was new or strange; but the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, at an early period, were the ablest and most adventurous seamen of antiquity, though unequal to the Athenians in intellectual capacity and force.

The Dorians on the Sea.

The Greeks enjoyed their climate and their country. They loved an out-door life; every man on his own farm, watching the growth of his vines or fig-trees, or "resting on the violets by the spring." It was with much vexation of spirit that the Athenians in the country broke up their homes and transferred themselves to the city to escape the invasion of the Peloponnesians, nor did the city ever recover from the ruin of a vigorous peasantry. The peculiarities of the climate left traces on the religion and character of the inhabitants. In Attica, Athena was worshipped as Aglaurus, the bright, and as Erse. the dew. She was the goddess of the air whose power withered the vegetation, and who also gave the dew which refreshed the parched and exhausted earth. Moreover, the warm climate, which made comparatively little demands on physical endurance, joined with the poorness of the soil, tended to create among the Greeks a degree of frugality such as we can hardly realise. A few olives, bread and wine, were enough for the support of life. Luxury was not indeed unknown among them, but it rarely took the grosser shapes which were common at Rome. And in most parts of the country the bright air and perpetual change of scenery saved the inhabitants from the depression which seeks relief in excess.

Climate and Country Life.

Living in a beautiful country, the appreciation of beauty

became to the Greeks a second nature. In their temples and statues they quickly passed beyond the first rude stages of architecture and sculpture; they adopted the style of building peculiarly suited to their land, and carried it out with exquisite finish. Though they were not all equally gifted, it is a significant fact that the Arcadians of the remote village of Phigalea commemorated their deliverance from the plague by the erection of a beautiful temple. This was the highest form their devotion could take; it was the gift, in their judgment, most pleasing to the god.[1] The same feeling for beauty shows itself in the Greek rendering of the human or animal form. Disregarding conventionality, they recognise the truth that life is the source of beauty. Every object represented in art must be full of life and power, and the grace which arises from the perfect use of power. Without attempting to connect too closely the Greek sense of artistic beauty with the scenery amid which the Greeks lived, it is not unsafe to draw the conclusion that, in a country where all delight in out-door life was entirely repressed, such a sense, even if present, would have quickly perished. Nor would it have been possible in a moister climate to expose statuary to the open air, and make the noblest works of the sculptor a possession of the whole people.

Greek Art.

In the imagination of the Greeks, the land in which they lived had once been the dwelling-place of the gods, or had been visited by them in the likeness of men. On every hand they found traces of these divine inhabitants. From one end to the other the land was filled with temples, shrines, and sacred groves (ἄλση), where the deities might dwell in undisturbed possession and receive the offerings of their worshippers. Even the lonely hills, the forests, and the springs had their deities; the very trees and flowers were sacred. Over the olive watched the eye of Athena and Zeus Morios; the bay was sacred to Apollo, the white poplar to Heracles. When carried away by Hades,

Sacredness of the Earth.

[1] Paus. viii. 41, 8.

Persephone was gathering a narcissus, a flower which was henceforth consecrated to her and Demeter; the lily was the flower of Aphrodite; the rose of Dionysus. The earth was no mere inanimate thing, but a joyful mother of children, a just and liberal housewife, who restored manifold the riches intrusted to her. Through these ideas the human and external worlds were brought into close relation, and upon the actions of men depended the increase of flock and field. "To those who pronounce just judgments famine never comes, nor calamity, but joy and abundance wait on the fields which are theirs. The earth brings forth food in plenty; on the hills the oaks bear acorns at the summit, and honey in the trunk; their sheep are heavy with fleeces; their wives are true mothers; blessing and prosperity are theirs for ever, and they go not in ships on the sea, for the bounteous earth gives them her fruit in season."[1]

15. The nature of the country had also a powerful effect on the development of Greek politics. The whole land was broken up by mountains into a number of valleys more or less isolated; there was no central point from which a powerful monarch could control it. Hence Greece was, above all other countries, the home of independence and freedom. Each valley, and even the various hamlets of a valley, felt themselves possessed of a separate life, which they were jealous to preserve. No doubt these communities were small, and the desire to maintain their independence was from one point of view a source of national weakness. Hellas was never a united nation, the healthy spirit of independence degenerated into jealousy and selfishness. War might break out at any moment between neighbouring cities, and almost within the lifetime of one man every leading State had been the friend and enemy of every other. On the other hand, it was only by this minute subdivision that the Greeks became conscious of the true meaning of civic life.

Divided condition of the Country.

Disadvantages and advantages arising from Division.

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 230 ff.

Every man was of some importance in so small a number; he was needed for defence or counsel; it was his duty to leave behind him a citizen to take his place; he was not lost in a crowd, or the mere instrument of another's will. In Greece, therefore, for the first time in antiquity, we find liberty and self-restraint forming the conditions of political life. This is the great gift of Hellas to the world. Previously there had been nothing but monarchs, armies, subjects, slaves. Even in Greece, the attempt was often made to substitute the rule of one for the rule of many; but with the progress of political life, "tyranny," as it was called, became more and more repugnant to the Greek mind.

If we compare Greek and Roman history, we cannot fail to be struck with the limited size of the cities of Greece, and the comparative pettiness of the interests at stake, but the advantage is not wholly on the side of Rome. Rome presents us with the spectacle of one great city endeavouring to rule the world. The study of Greek history brings before us the difficulties which attend the early stages of civic government; and, if we cannot apply the lessons which it offers directly to modern politics, we can learn much from the spirit in which the Greeks attempted to meet the problems presented to them—from their efforts to combine steadiness with progress, authority with liberty, subjection to the State with personal freedom.

Lessons of Greek Politics.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

1. We may gather information about the earliest inhabitants of a country from three sources: the traditions of the people, their language and religious rites, and the monuments or relics of the past. Of these, it is obvious that tradition, while promising most, gives us the least. Even if we could eliminate the mythical element in legends, we should find them to be full of inconsistencies and contradictions. In Greece, at any rate, epic and local traditions are constantly at variance, and the history of the earliest times will differ widely, according to the legends upon which it is constructed. It is common to speak of Homeric tradition as the oldest and most trustworthy tradition of Greece. For this assertion there is, however, no convincing evidence. The date at which a legend first appears in literature proves little in regard to its antiquity, and the poets had as much interest in altering or inventing stories as the local cicerone or priest. On the other hand, if we follow local legends, we cannot determine the extent to which they have been altered under the influence of epic poetry. When the two were at variance there was a natural tendency to bring them into agreement, and the weight of authority lay with the poets.

The Sources of Early History.

Homeric and Local Tradition.

The evidence of language is open to the obvious objection that nations have often changed their speech. If it were true that Greek is a homogeneous language, it would not follow that all the tribes which spoke it were of the same origin, still less that they were the earliest inhabitants of Greece. What should we know of

Language.

the presence of the Etruscans in Italy if we were without the evidence of written inscriptions and Roman historians? Languages have their history no less than nations, and nothing is so delusive as facts founded upon etymologies. In regard to religious rites and customs, it is necessary to bear in mind the tenacity of traditional modes of worship. If we find barbarous rites among the humane and civilised Greeks, we need not assume that they are importations from the East; they may be survivals from a pre-Hellenic population, or they may carry us back to that remote age when the Greeks were still savages, with beliefs and rites such as savages entertain and practise. At the best, they are of little value as evidence of the civilisation of the people among whom they are found.[1]

Religion.

The evidence of monuments, unless illustrated or confirmed by written documents, is of small service to the historian. It comes to us from a past of which we know nothing. The excavations at Hissarlik, Mycenae and Tiryns prove that opulent and powerful tribes once inhabited those sites, but they tell us nothing of the time at which the cities were built, or of the men who built them. In conjunction with the epic poetry of Greece, they carry us back to a period when a high degree of civilisation existed in the Aegean. Whether that civilisation was Oriental or Hellenic they do not enable us to decide, nor do they explain how it passed away before the dawn of Greek history. They teach us how recent and imperfect our historical knowledge is, and how little we know of the long period which preceded it. We may even go a step further. They make it probable that the civilisation of "the Homeric age" is an idealised picture, not of the Greeks whom we know, but of a nation which

Monuments.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* 1336 *b.*: "Let the rulers take care that there be no image or picture representing unseemly actions except in the temples of those gods at whose festivals the law permits even ribaldry, and whom the law also permits to be worshipped by persons of mature age on behalf of themselves, their children, and their wives."

preceded them in the Aegean and lived in the memory of minstrels. However this may be, the evidence derived from unwritten monuments, as it cannot fail to be imperfect, must often be misleading.

I.—TRADITIONS OF THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

2. The Greeks looked back to a time when the Continent was in the hands of barbarian tribes. Herodotus speaks of the Hellenes as "separated from the barbarian nation in very early times."[1] Thucydides illustrates the condition of Greece in the past by comparison with contemporary barbarous nations;[2] and tribes, which were barbarous in the modern sense, did not scruple to derive their origin from the host which went to Troy.[3] Of these aborigines the most important tribe, and that of which the name was most widely spread, was the Pelasgians.[4] Next to them came the Leleges, the Carians, who were closely connected with the Leleges, and the Thracians. Less important were the Abantes, the Dryopians, the Temmices, Hyantes, and others.

Greek Views of Early History.

The most important Barbarian Tribes.

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[1] Herod. i. 60: *ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, κ.τ.λ. Cf.* Strabo, p. 321: *Ἐκαταῖος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν διότι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾤκησαν αὐτήν βάρβαροι. Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλὰς κατοικία βαρβάρων ὑπῆρξε τὸ παλαιόν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν λογιζομένοις τῶν μνημονευομένων.* Among such "barbarians," Strabo mentions Pelops, Danaus, the Dryopians, Cauconians, Pelasgi, Leleges, Thracians (in Attica and Daulis), Phoenicians, Aonians, Temmices and Hyantes (in Boeotia). He also appeals to the evidence of names, quoting Cecrops, Codrus, Aeclus, Cothus, and others as barbarians. The Thesprotians, Cassopaeans, Amphilochians, Molossians, and Athamanes are also barbarians.

[2] Thuc. i. 6: *ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι· σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτὲ καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων.*

[3] The Maxyes in Libya, who shaved half their heads and painted their bodies with vermilion, *φασὶ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν* (Herod. iv. 191). The inhabitants of Argos Amphilochicum learnt the Greek language from the neighbouring Ambraciots; the rest of the Amphilochians were barbarians. Yet they were Argives, who returned with Amphilochus from Troy (Thuc. ii. 68).

[4] Thuc. i. 3.

3. In Homer the Pelasgians[1] are of little importance. They are inhabitants of Asia Minor, where they possess a Larissa, and fight in the ranks of the Trojan army. We also hear of Pelasgi among the inhabitants of Crete. Traces of them appear in Greece proper, for the Zeus of Dodona is called Pelasgic, and the same epithet is applied to the Thessalian Argos.[2] Strabo quotes a passage from Hesiod, in which Dodona is said to have been established by the Pelasgians.[3] In Herodotus we find a very different account. With him Pelasgia is the ancient name of the land now called Hellas. The Athenians, the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Arcadians were all originally Pelasgians. Even the Hellenes "break off from the Pelasgians."[4] In his own day the Pelasgians still remained in some small towns in Thrace and on the Propontis, where a language was spoken which was not Greek. From this Herodotus assumes that the old Pelasgi also were barbarians, and that their language differed from Greek. How the Hellenic language prevailed over the Pelasgic, he is unable to explain.[5]

Homeric Account.

Herodotus.

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[1] The statements of ancient authors are collected in Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* i. p. 28 f.

[2] Hom. *Il.* ii. 840, xvii. 288. Pelasgic Zeus, *Il.* xvi. 233 ; Pelasgic Argos, *Il.* ii. 681. Pelasgians (δῖοι) in Crete, *Od.* xix. 177.

[3] Strabo, p. 327 : Δωδώνην φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον, ἦεν.

[4] Ἀποσχισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ (Herod. i. 58).

[5] For Pelasgia, *cf.* Herod. ii. 56 ; Pelasgians = Athenians, viii. 44 ; = Arcadians, i. 146 ; = Aeolians, vii. 95 ; = Ionians, vii. 94 ; Pelasgians in Attica, ii. 51. For the contemporary Pelasgians, *cf.* Herod. i. 57 ; vii. 42. The only account which he gives of the change from Pelasgic to Greek in Attica is : τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε, i. 57. In ii. 51 we have a somewhat different account ; a distinction is there made between Athenians and Pelasgians : Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. They came from Boeotia (Strab. p. 401). These Pelasgi were driven out from Attica (Herod. vi. 137), and went to Lemnos, where they remained till the time of Miltiades (*cf.* v. 26), and from them are descended the Pelasgi of the Propontis. In viii. 44, we have another account, which informs us that in the time of the Pelasgians the Athenians were Pelasgians, but called Cranai.

Thucydides identifies the Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, a view which was set forth by Hellanicus,[1] but which Herodotus does not share.[2] In the epic poet Asius (*c.* 700 B.C.), Pelasgus is the first of mortal men; Arcadian legend claimed him as the first king of that people, from whom they had learned the rudiments of civilisation.[3] Aeschylus speaks of Pelasgus as a king of Argos, whose dominion extended to the Strymon; Sophocles calls the Argives Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, and Ephorus asserts that Arcadia was the original home of the tribe, from whence, being a warlike race, they spread to other parts of Greece.[4] Finally, the Tyrrhenians were identified with the Lydian Torrhebians, and when these were in turn identified with the Etruscans, it was natural that Pelasgi should be found in Italy.[5]

Thucydides—Asius.

Aeschylus.

We see, then, that the tradition of the Pelasgi, as the earliest inhabitants of Greece, was being constantly enlarged by poets and historians. All that we really know about the nation is that Pelasgians—whom Herodotus and Thucydides regarded as barbarians, and speaking a barbarian tongue—existed in historical times in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, and in the islands of Lemnos and Imbros. The fictions of an original man, or an early king of Arcadia or Argos, named Pelasgus, are obviously intended to account for the extension of the name Pelasgi, and may be compared with the fiction of Hellen

A Criticism of the tradition of the Pelasgi.

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[1] Hellanic. *Frag.* 1, M.

[2] Thuc. iv. 109. There is a Pelasgic (barbarian) element in the cities of Chalcidice derived τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων. Herod. i. 57: Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων.

[3] Paus. viii. 1, 4.

[4] Aesch. *Suppl.* 250; Soph. *Inach.* Frag. 249 N. with the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. i. 580. The account of Ephorus (*Frag.* 34, M.) will be found in Strabo, p. 221. It is merely a repetition of the explanation which Thucydides gives (i. 3) of the manner in which the name of the Hellenes spread through Greece.

[5] Hellanic. *Frag.* 1, M.

and his sons, which is a similar invention, intended for a similar purpose. The name Larissa, which is thought to be a characteristic mark of the Pelasgi, is found in Aeolis and in Thessaly, at Argos, on the borders of Elis and Achaea, at Mytilene, at Ephesus, and in Crete.[1] The existence of the name proves the presence of the people, among whom it was once in use, in many different places, If, then, the theory (for it is no more than a theory) which connects Larissae with Pelasgi is correct, we must assume that the Pelasgi did once inhabit various parts of Hellas, the islands of the Aegean, and the coast of Asia Minor.

It is inevitable that modern historians should take widely divergent views of a nation concerning which tradition is so uncertain. Some writers, among whom is Kiepert, think that the Pelasgi were a Semitic tribe, who immigrated into Greece. This theory, though it explains their presence on the coast, fails to account for their position at Dodona and in Thessaly. Yet these are places to which, even in the Homeric form of the legend, the title Pelasgic clings. That the Pelasgi are said by Herodotus and Thucydides to have spoken a barbarous language is, of course, no proof that their language was not Indo-Germanic. In another view, which has received the assent of Thirlwall and Duncker, Pelasgian is nothing more than the name of the ancient inhabitants of the country, which subsequently gave way to the title Achaean, as this in its turn was supplanted by the term Hellenes. In support of this view the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides may be cited. Both authors regarded the Pelasgi as the ancient inhabitants of the country, and Herodotus combines them with the Ionians. The connection of the Pelasgi with the worship of Zeus at Dodona,[2]

Modern views.

[1] Strabo, pp. 440, 620.

[2] This cannot be an invention of the priests, however much Herodotus may have taken from these authorities. Holm, *Griech. Geschich.* i. 70.

with the Thesmophoria,[1] and with certain religious ceremonies celebrated at Athens and Samothrace,[2] is in favour of this view. It is not impossible that the Hellenes connected the ancient fortresses found in Greece, the Islands, and Asia Minor with the Pelasgi, and presupposed their existence wherever such fortresses or their ruins were found. When in this manner the Pelasgi had become established as an ancient tribe, those nations which laid claim to great antiquity, as the Athenians and Arcadians, became Pelasgians.

The Pelasgic Age.

But we have no evidence to support the idea of a Pelasgic Age as a period of simple habits and agricultural occupations, which slowly gave way before the more martial age of the Achaeans.[3] The civilisation of the "Achaean Age" exists only in the epic poems, and the "Pelasgic Age" is but another name for the prehistoric Greeks,[4] of whose agriculture we know nothing.

4. The traditions which we have of the Lelegians, like those of the Pelasgians, differ greatly in different authors.

The Lelegians — Traditional Account.

In the epic poems the Lelegians are an Asiatic tribe, which supports the Trojans.[5] Herodotus closely connects them with the Carians, who, while they dwelt in the Islands and were subject to Minos, were called Leleges.[6] In these accounts we hear nothing of the Leleges in Greece. Strabo, on the other hand, supported by the authority of Aristotle, not only finds Leleges in Asia, where they are united with Carians, but places them in Acarnania, Locris, Boeotia, Megaris and Leucas; and Pausanias, who also combines the Carians and Leleges, places them in Pylus and Laconia. We hear of an aboriginal Lelex, who, like Pelasgus, is either the first man

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[1] Herod. ii. 171.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 51.

[3] See Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, Bk. i. chap. viii.; Hehn, *Wanderings of Plants*, p. 65.

[4] See Holm, *l.c.* c. vi.

[5] *Il.* xx. 96; x. 429. They are omitted in the *Catalogue*. Pedasus was a Lelegian city, Strabo, pp. 584, 611. See also Maspero, *Hist. Ancienne*, p. 245.

[6] Herod. i. 171.

or the first king of a country.[1] A passage is quoted by Strabo from Hesiod, in which the Leleges are apparently identified with the Locrians, on the strength of a doubtful etymology which combines Locrus, Lelex, and Λεκτός.[2]

Thus the parallel between the Pelasgians and the Lelegians is pretty close. In "Homer" both appear as Asiatic nations. Both are carried by later writers into Greece, which is indeed divided between them. There is one important difference. While the Pelasgi were supposed to have remained in Greece, and to have become by some unexplained change a part of the Greek people, the Lelegians disappeared entirely. Even in Asia the only traces of them are deserted forts which bear their name, and Strabo speaks of them as entirely extinct.

The Leleges are merely a name in history. The Greeks could not point to any invention or religious rite which they had received from this numerous tribe. They may have been a seafaring nation, perhaps Carians, who, because they touched at many places, were supposed to be the inhabitants of many districts. It is, however, more probable that their presence in such various parts of Greece is due to the misdirected research and untrained imagination of the Logographers. We can hardly over-estimate the irreparable confusion which these writers introduced into Greek legends by their attempts to formulate and arrange them. A resemblance in names, however distant—an etymology, however false, was quite sufficient foundation to support a historical connection. From these sources, doubtless, Aristotle drew his information when placing the Leleges in the west and the centre of Greece. At

Criticism of the Accounts of the Leleges.

[1] Strabo, p. 321. There were "establishments" (κατοικίαι) of Leleges in the Milesian territory, and sepulchres and deserted fortresses called Lelegia in many parts of Caria (Strabo, pp. 321, 611). Lelex is the first king of Laconia, and αὐτόχθων (Paus. iii. 1, 1); yet in i. 39, 6, he is brought from Egypt to Megara, and is the son of Poseidon and Libya (*ib.* i. 44, 3).

[2] They were the chosen people given to Deucalion by Zeus (Strabo, p. 322).

least we know of no better evidence which can be adduced in support of his statement.[1]

The Carians.

5. As we have seen, the Carians are closely connected with the Leleges. The Carian historian Philippus asserted that the Leleges were the slaves of the Carians.[2] In opposition to the Cretan story that the Carians were Leleges driven from the islands to the mainland of Asia Minor, the Carians maintained that Asia was their original home. They considered themselves to be nearly akin to the Mysians and Lydians, who shared with them in the worship of Carian Zeus at Mylasa.[3] In the Homeric *Catalogue* the Carians are said to be *βαρβαρόφωνοι*, an epithet applied to the Carians only, and in Strabo's opinion very remarkable, owing to the large number of Greek words existing in the Carian language.[4] In Greece Proper the Carians were supposed to have settled at Megara, where one of the two citadels was known as Caria, at Epidaurus and Hermione. That the islands of the Aegean were inhabited by them, was proved to Thucydides by an examination of the tombs. Whether they settled in Attica or not was more doubtful, but the family of Isagoras, the opponent of Clisthenes, worshipped the Carian Zeus.[5] In historical times the Carians existed as a nation in Asia Minor, where they were distinguished from all their neighbours by the worship of Zeus Stratius.[6]

[1] For the Leleges, see Busolt, *l.c.* p. 32 ff.; and Holm, *l.c.* ch. vii.

[2] Athenaeus, p. 271. Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 46) informs us that the fine for killing a Lelegian was a bushel of vetches. [3] Herod. i. 171.

[4] *Il.* ii. 867 ; Strabo, p. 662, on the authority of Philippus. He adopts the Cretan version of the Carian history.

[5] From the Carians the Greeks borrowed the custom of wearing plumes in their helmets, of fixing handles in their shields, and placing devices upon them (Herod. i. 171). For Carians in Megara, *cf.* Paus. i. 40, 6 ; in Epidaurus and Hermione, Strabo, p. 374. For Isagoras, *cf.* Herod. v. 66. Thucydides' statement concerning the islands is given in i. 8. Köhler is of opinion that the graves at Mycenae exhibit the Carian mode of burial.

[6] Herod. v. 119. His temple was at Labranda, in a large and sacred grove of plane-trees; see Strabo, p. 659, who describes the place; Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* i. p. 573 ; *infra*, ch. iv. Carian names exhibit very distinct forms—*e.g.*, Aridolis, Ibanolis, Osogo, and the numerous words in *-nda*.

6. In the Homeric poems the Thracians are represented as a highly civilised people. They fight from chariots, and are clad in armour of bronze; their king Rhesus is distinguished by the splendour of his equipment. "His horses are whiter than snow and swift as the wind; his chariot is inlaid with gold and silver; his armour is of gold, huge in size, a delight of the eye."[1] So great is the excellence of the Thracian weapons, that the corselet and sword of Asteropaeus, the Paeonian, form one of the prizes at the games held in honour of Patroclus. The culture of the vine and the worship of Dionysus are also known in the land of the Thracian Lycurgus.[2] In legends which are not Homeric, Thrace is the birthplace of Orpheus, the earliest minstrel. Strabo quotes Boeotian legends which speak of Thracians as settling on Helicon, and establishing there a shrine of the Muses, for those deities were worshipped in Pieria before they advanced into Hellas. In Attica the Thracians are found at Eleusis under their king Eumolpus, the "sweet singer," from whom was descended the race of the Eumolpidae, the guardians of the sacred rites of Eleusis.[3]

Thracians—the Homeric Account.

The Thracian Minstrels.

The position of the Thracians in history was widely different. They were a barbarian race, numerous but disunited, and without the elements of civilised life. They did indeed possess certain warlike virtues, but their want of civilisation rendered these useless to themselves, while their bloodthirsty ferocity made it dangerous for others to employ them as mercenaries. If we regard the legendary picture as a true one, we have here an

The Thracians in historic times.

[1] *Il.* x. 436 f.

[2] *Il.* xxiii. 560, 807; vi. 132 f.

[3] Strabo, p 471: *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλους καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ πᾶσα Θρᾳκία καὶ Ἀσιᾶτις νενόμισται. Δῆλον δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς αἱ Μοῦσαι τετίμηνται. Πιερία γὰρ καὶ Ὄλυμπος καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λείβηθρον τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Θρᾴκια χώρια καὶ ὄρη. . . . τόν τε Ἑλικῶνα καθιέρωσαν ταῖς Μούσαις Θρᾷκες οἱ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐποικήσαντες . . . οἵ τ' ἐπιμεληθέντες τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς Θρᾷκες λέγονται, Ὀρφεύς τε καὶ Μουσαῖος καὶ Θάμυρις, καὶ τῷ Εὐμόλπῳ δὲ τοὔνομα ἐνθένδε.*

instance of a lost or decayed civilisation.[1] If, on the other hand, we treat it as a fiction, we have to explain the origin of a legend so strikingly at variance with the facts of history.

We have seen reason to believe that the Pelasgians, Leleges and Carians inhabited both shores of the Aegean. The same is the case with the Thracians. The Brygi of Thrace were identified by Strabo with the Phrygians. Herodotus says: "So long as they lived in Europe, such is the Macedonian account, the Phrygians were Briges, but when they crossed over into Asia they changed their name and became Phrygians."[2] When the Phrygians and Thracians were thus identified, it was natural to ascribe to the European parent stem the musical genius and skill which existed in historical times among the Phrygians. Phrygia was the home of Marsyas and Olympus, the region whence musical modes were brought to Greece. The Phrygians were addicted to orgiastic forms of worship, which were also attributed to the Thracians.[3] In this manner the fiction (if it is a fiction) of the civilised Thracian may have come into existence. Strabo, in the passage referred to, completely identifies the Thracian and Phrygian forms of civilisation. He accepts the former as a historical fact, and implicitly believes in the presence of the Thracians in Boeotia and Attica.[4]

Thracians found on both sides of the Aegean Sea.

The Thracians and Phrygians

7. Of the remaining barbarian tribes the Dryopians, Temmices, Hyantes, Abantes, Caucones, Curetes, and others, it is not necessary to speak at length. They are of little or no importance. The Dryopians are found in historical times at Carystus and Styra in Euboea, at Hermione and Asine in Argolis, whither they came by sea

Dryopians, etc.

[1] Helbig, *Das Hom. Epos*, p. 4 ff., assumes this, supposing that the civilisation of the Thracians was due to their contact with the Phoenicians.

[2] Herod. vii. 73.

[3] Strabo, p. 470, 471. The Thracian women appear to have been liable to that extraordinary fanaticism which the Greeks ascribed to the influence of Dionysus.

[4] We may observe that the Greeks spoke with the utmost contempt of the Phrygians in spite of the debt which they owed them.

from an earlier settlement in the north. The Cauconians were inhabitants of Elis, the Curetes of Acarnania. The Temmices, Abantes and Hyantes appear in Euboea and Boeotia.[1]

Result of the examination of Greek Legends.

8. The conclusion to be drawn from the legendary account of the early population of Greece is negative rather than positive. We cannot distinguish between the tribes which inhabited both sides of the Aegean. Pelasgi, Leleges, Carians, Thracians are found on either shore. It is only when we come to the Achaeans and Hellenes that we have names which are restricted to the peninsula;[2] and it is not difficult to show that even these names are too closely connected with the Pelasgians for us to suppose that they denote an entirely different population. The three nations are neighbours in the south of Thessaly. The Achaeans no less than the Hellenes follow Achilles from Phthiotis to Troy, and with Achilles also came those "who dwell in Pelasgic Argos." On the occasion of a solemn oath the Hellenic Achilles appeals to the Pelasgic Zeus. There is an Achaean Argos and a Pelasgic Argos, and we have no reason for separating the Larissa in Argos from the Larissa in Thessaly. Strabo tells us that the Achaeans of Phthiotis invaded Peloponnesus, and became so distinguished there that they gave their name to the Achaean Argos.[3] It is at the Pelasgic sanctuary of Dodona that we first hear of the Helli or Selli, men who slept on the ground and never washed their feet. The district called Hellopia lay in the neighbourhood of Dodona. Against this evidence of connection, the distinction of Greek and barbarian is of very little weight, for the Greeks themselves believed that their ancestors were "barbarians." The evidence of legend therefore tends to show that in the earliest times a number of tribes, more or less homogeneous,

Achaeans, Hellenes, Pelasgians, not really distinct.

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1 From the Hyantes was derived the term ὗς, *hog*, for a Boeotian.

2 With the exception of the Achaeans in Crete. *Od.* xix. 175.

3 Strabo, p. 365.

occupied both sides of the Aegean and the islands. The tribes were known by different names, and sometimes one, sometimes another, gained the predominance; but there is no reason to suppose that the change from Pelasgians to Hellenes was brought about by the introduction of any new or alien element into the population. What were the causes which led to the adoption of the name Hellenes, as the general title of the nation, cannot be determined with certainty.

II.—(*A.*) *EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE.*

9. This conclusion would, of course, be entirely overthrown if it could be proved that any of these primitive tribes spoke a Semitic language. For there is no doubt that the Greeks were an Indo-Germanic race, whatever may be the position which they occupy in the circle of Indo-Germanic nations.[1]

The Pelasgian Language.

It is true that Herodotus and Thucydides, as we have seen, speak of the Pelasgian language as a "barbarous" tongue, but we may reasonably doubt whether this view was correct. If the Pelasgian language was radically different from Greek, and the Pelasgians were the ancient inhabitants of the greater part of the country, the spread of the Hellenic language would be inexplicable. When two nations of unequal numbers come into contact, the language of the majority will, as a rule, prevail, unless the minority are more highly civilised.[2] Since, therefore, the Hellenes were neither a majority nor more highly civilised, in comparison with the Pelasgi, we should expect that the Pelasgic language would have prevailed over the Hellenic, if the two had been distinct. And if we consider how little we know of the value of the word "barbarous" when applied by

[1] The theory of a Graeco-Italic period, in which the Greeks and Italians lived together, separate from the rest of the Indo-Germanic stock, is untenable. If there is a large number of words found only in Greek and Latin, there are many words found only in Greek and Indo-Persian, and the grammar of Greek and Latin differs more than the grammar of Greek and Old Persian. See also Delbrück, *Study of Language*, p. 135 ff.

[2] Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 161.

the Greeks to language or nationality, we may venture to believe that a speech which Greek historians called barbarous may have certainly been Indo-Germanic, and perhaps even a dialect of Greek.

In the vocabulary of the Greek language there is a considerable residuum which cannot be recognised as Indo-Germanic in origin.[1] These words may be solitary survivors from lost Indo-Germanic roots, but it is also possible that they have been borrowed by the Greeks from some earlier inhabitants of the country. Unfortunately, we know little of the Greek dialects, which, for ethnographical purposes, are of far greater value than the written or literary language, and that little is of uncertain antiquity. Of the Thracian and Illyrian languages, the links between the Greeks and their neighbours on the north, nothing remains upon which we can found a judgment. If they were connected with the Phrygians, the Thracians were of Indo-Germanic race.[2] On the other hand, the Illyrians may have been the ancestors of the modern Albanians, whose language is certainly very unlike anything that can be called Greek. In the names of places also, it is obvious that, while many can be explained at once from the Greek language, others can only be derived by tortuous processes from Greek originals. Many names in this second class are, perhaps, not Greek words at all. They may be in part Semitic, especially those of places on the sea-coast, but the greater number will always remain inexplicable. Though local names are singularly tenacious of life, they often become changed, in pronunciation or form, by those who preserve them orally, owing partly to convenience in pronouncing them, and partly to false etymologies.[3] Another striking fact is the constant repetition in

Evidence of the Greek Language.

Names of Places.

[1] Wharton, *Etyma Graeca*, p. 165. *Cf.* Schrader, *l.c.* p. 168 ff.

[2] The evidence of names supports this view. Pauli, *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift, etc.*, pp. 20-29.

[3] See Tozer, *Lectures on Greek Geography*, Lect. x.

Greece of the same name in different places. Euboea is the name of the island, and of the mountain in Argolis. We find a Pamisus in Thessaly and in Messenia; a Peneus in Thessaly and Elis; an Inachus in Thesprotia and Argolis; an Asopus in Boeotia and Sicyon. Some of these names, such as Pamisus, Peneus and Asopus are not readily explained as Greek. They appear to indicate the presence, in various parts of Greece, of a nation which did not speak the Greek language.

Languages of Asia Minor.

The more that we learn of the languages of Asia Minor, the more probable does the conclusion become that the Anatolian shore was inhabited by tribes of Indo-Germanic speech. The Phrygian language was certainly Indo-Germanic, and so, perhaps, was that of the Carians, with whom the Leleges, and, in a less degree, the Mysians and Lydians, were connected.[1] Strabo calls attention to the similarity of names on the opposite shores of the Propontis. In Thrace there was a river Arisbus, in Lesbos and the Troad there were towns called Arisba. At Troy there was a Scaean gate, in Thrace there was a Scaean fort, and a river Scaeus.[2] Of the route by which these tribes came into Asia Minor—whether it was by the Bosphorus, as Herodotus relates in regard to the Phrygians, or through Armenia, we cannot tell. Nor is it worth while to speculate on the subject until the original home of the Indo-Germanic race is more definitely fixed.

The evidence of language, then, however imperfect, confirms the evidence of tradition in so far as it testifies to the presence of Indo-Germanic nations on both sides of the Aegean. It also carries us further, and points to a remote past, when Greece may have been inhabited or visited by nations which did not speak the Greek language.[3]

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[1] E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. § 250 ff.; Maspero, *Hist. ancienne*, p. 240 ff., 749; *infra*, ch. iv. [2] Strabo, p. 590.

[3] Benloew, *La Grèce avant les Grecs*, explains Greek names from Albanian, but with little success. On the names containing σσ (σ) νδ (δ) see Pauli, *l.c.* p. 44 ff. He connects the Pelasgians and Etruscans.

(*B.*) *EVIDENCE OF RELIGIOUS RITES.*

10. A great deal has been written about the connection of Greek and Indian mythology, and, within somewhat narrow limits, the connection may be regarded as established and certain. There is no doubt that the Greek Zeus corresponds to the Indian Dyaus, the deity of the sky. Eos and Ushas are names for the same spirit—the goddess of the dawn. Varuna and Uranus are doubtless the same word, though the beings which they denominate became widely different. And it may be true that in the myths of Geryones and Heracles, Hermes and Apollo, we have a repetition of the ideas which gave birth to the stories of Indian mythology.[1] But the importance of these coincidences must not be overrated. Even if we could go as far as some modern mythologists would take us, we should still fail to establish any great resemblance between the religion of Greece and India.

The Connection of Greek and Indian Mythology.

The religion of the Greeks, when it becomes Hellenic, is distinguished by its anthropomorphic and ethical character; but there seems to have been a time when it was neither one nor the other. Many survivals of primitive and barbarous forms of faith and worship continued to exist till the latest times. Proofs of this will be found in abundance in the writings of early Christian authors, who naturally found a peculiar pleasure in taunting the civilised and intellectual Greeks with the stupidity and indecency of their religious doctrines and rites. Without appealing to the evidence of professed opponents, it is quite clear, from the statements of the Greeks themselves, that stones, and trees and shapeless wooden idols were worshipped even in the best period of Greek civilisation. Deities were conceived in degrading shapes, and actions of the grossest immorality and indecency were ascribed to them. Human sacrifices were by no means uncommon, and in those parts

Greek Religion.

[1] The cows are the clouds for which the deities of light and darkness contended.

of Greece where the Hellenes came into contact with Semitic nations, we find frantic excesses of asceticism and sensuality forming a part of religious worship.[1] Whether the Indo-Germanic immigrants of Hellas brought these crude ideas with them, or whether they borrowed them from earlier inhabitants, we have no means of ascertaining. The mere comparison of a few deities which happen to bear similar names in the Indo-Germanic nations can give us no idea of the Indo-Germanic religion. The Vedas are probably as misleading in regard to the religion of the ancient Indians as the Homeric poems are in regard to the religion of the ancient Greeks. They tell us nothing of the beliefs of the people, unchanged by poet or priest. On the other hand, indecency and cruelty are such universal characteristics of primitive religion, that we are not justified in ascribing every human sacrifice in Greece, every Corinthian or Cyprian orgy, to the influence of Semitic immigrants. The evidence of religion confirms the evidence of tradition in pointing to an age of barbarism, from which the Hellenes emerged as the Israelites emerged from the sensuality of Canaanitish worship. As an ethnological test of the early population of Greece, it has little or no value.[2]

III.—EVIDENCE OF MONUMENTS.

Excavations.

II. The excavations carried on in various parts of Greece, of the Troad and the islands of the Aegean, during the last twenty years, have greatly increased our knowledge of the material civilisation of those regions at a time previous to any historical record. And for years to come it is probable that fresh evidence will continually

[1] Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 13, speaks of a human sacrifice offered to Dionysus Omestes at the time of the battle of Salamis. The sacrifice of a daughter is peculiarly frequent in Greek myths.

[2] A fair estimate of the common elements in Greek and Indian religion will be found in Holm, *l.c.* i. 23 ff.; Schrader, *l.c.* p. 430 ff. Mr. Lang's essay, prefixed to the translation of Grimm's *Stories*, is marked by a reasonable scepticism. Some Sanskrit scholars carry the identification much too far.

be pouring in from this source. At present these discoveries, valuable as they are, suggest questions rather than answer them. They present us with the relics of a civilisation, but do not tell us who or what the nations were which created and enjoyed it. Were they Greeks, or Phoenicians, or Carians? In what relation did the powerful chiefs of Mycenae stand to the inhabitants of Argolis, Laconia and Arcadia? Even the earliest of the legendary cities is far from primitive, and leaves ample room for previous inhabitants in Greece.

Of such inhabitants we have some traces, however scanty, in relics of the Stone Age, and lacustrine habitations. A few axes and hammers of the Neolithic period have been found, chiefly in the south of Euboea, and arrow-heads of flint are said to be not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Cephisia in Attica. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of these relics, and the rarity of them may perhaps be explained by the superstitious reverence with which the larger stones are regarded by the peasants who find them.[1] In the time of Herodotus lacustrine dwellings existed on the shores of Lake Prasias in Thrace.[2] In other parts of Europe this mode of habitation has been found in connection with relics of primitive life. But no examination has yet been made of Lake Prasias, and the mere existence of a tribe dwelling on a lake is a matter of small importance, unless their primitive character is made clear on other grounds.

The Stone Age.

Ancient Lacustrine Dwellings.

We have seen that the evidence of tradition and language renders it probable that both sides of the Aegean, and the interjacent islands were at a very early period in the possession of tribes of similar origin. This conclusion is borne out, in the main, by the evidence of monuments. The relics discovered at Hissarlik, Santorin, Rhodes, Mycenae

Monuments the same on both sides of the Aegean Sea.

[1] On the subject see Lenormant, *Revue Arch.* xv. 16 ff.; Dumont, *ib.* xvi. 141 ff.

[2] Herod. v. 16.

and other sites on the eastern coast of the peninsula, are unmistakably connected, though belonging to different stages in the progress of civilisation.

12. The ruins excavated at Hissarlik (Troy) are those of a city comparatively small in extent. The walls of the citadel were built of stone, but neither in the art of construction nor in the size of the stones will they bear comparison with the ruins of Mycenae. The houses, with one exception, which may have been the residence of the chief, were built of unburned bricks or of wood, and seem to have perished by fire. In their construction they may be compared with the prehistoric houses discovered on Santorin[1] (*infra*, p. 44). From the relics found in the city, it appears that metal and stone implements were both in use, though stone implements are the more numerous. In shape, the armour is not different from that found in Greece. Silver and gold were also discovered, though not in such abundance or in such beautiful forms as at Mycenae. Ivory was found, and an immense number of objects in terra-cotta. The art displayed in these is of the same kind, but more primitive than the art of Santorin and Mycenae, and leads us to the conclusion that we have at Hissarlik the earliest specimens of those vases which seem to have been manufactured in Greece before the appearance of the Phoenicians.[2]

The Ruins of Hissarlik.

The remains discovered at Hissarlik are, in fact, the most primitive which have yet been found in the Mediterranean. In the pottery we see the first attempts at decorative art. Beginning with the rudest strokes and points, we progress by degrees to circles and waving lines, drawn with a firm and skilful hand. The artist is unable to delineate trees or figures. A symbolic meaning has been attributed to some of the subjects represented on the vases, such as the zigzag lines, the *swastika*,

The primitive nature of the Hissarlik relics.

[1] Compare also the account of Sardis in Herod. v. 101, and the description of the Mosynoeci in Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, *s.v.*

[2] Dumont, *Céramiques*, p. 5; Schliemann, *Ilium*, *Troja*, etc.

and the rude outlines of trees; but as these designs are found elsewhere in localities widely remote from each other, we may doubt whether they have any special meaning in this case. Of the vases, many are made in the shape of animals, such as bears and pigs. Others, even more numerous, present a rude imitation of the upper parts of a woman's body. There is no reason to suppose that these grotesque imitations are due to any religious feeling; they pleased the taste of those who used them, and were the works of art of the time. They are probably of native manufacture, for there does not appear to be anything in the pottery which can certainly be distinguished as Oriental in origin. The ornaments of gold, on the other hand, display considerable skill, and for this reason are probably works of Phoenician artists or manufactured under Phoenician influence. The Phoenicians were certainly in possession of Thasos at a very early period, and it is possible that this island was the source of much of the gold which was so common in the Aegean in prehistorical times. From this point they could very easily carry on a trade with the tribe which possessed the citadel in the Troad.[1] Lesbos may have been the intermediate station. The first king of that island is known in Greek tradition as Makar, a name which clearly betrays its Phoenician origin.

Are the relics Oriental?

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[1] The extent to which the vases, ornaments, etc., discovered at Hissarlik can be called Phoenician is still an unsettled question, and is likely to remain so till the distinctive features of Phoenician or Oriental art can be more precisely fixed. At present it seems best to put the question thus: Is there anything at Hissarlik which distinctly recalls the types of Babylonian or Egyptian art? On the whole, we are justified in saying "No." It is true that we find Phoenicians on the walls of Rekhmara's tomb, in the reign of Thothmes III., "bringing, as tribute, vases with animals' heads, similar to those found at Rhodes and Hissarlik" (Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, p. 186). But such vases are not peculiar to Hissarlik and Rhodes, nor can it be proved that they were manufactured under Phoenician influence. On the other hand, the gold work at Hissarlik is so delicate that we can hardly believe it to be of native manufacture. *Cf.* Helbig, *Das Hom. Epos*, p. 36; E. Meyer, *l.c.* i. § 204; Maspero, *l.c.* p. 244.

Next in point of antiquity to the remains at Hissarlik come the prehistoric dwellings which have been discovered in Santorin. As is well known, Thera and Therasia, the larger islands of the Santorin group, are portions of the extinct rim of a volcano, the centre of which has fallen into the sea. Beneath the crust of "puzzolan," which eruptions have thrown over the surface of the islands, the remains of a number of houses have been found, consisting of several chambers, which vary in size, and present considerable differences in structure. Some are rudely built, and plastered with earth on the inner surface of the walls; others are more carefully finished, and even decorated with painting. The foundations of all rest upon the lava, which formed the soil of the island before the puzzolan was deposited. The chambers in the houses are provided with windows in which are traces of wood work; layers of wood are worked into the masonry of the walls, and the roofs were formed of wood covered with earth. On Therasia the remains of a skeleton were found, but it was too mutilated to be of value. Metal of any kind appears to have been almost unknown. With the single exception of a copper saw, all the implements yet discovered are of stone. In the production of pottery considerable skill had been attained. Not only did the inhabitants manufacture small vases for use or sale, but they also stored their cereals in jars of immense size. These vases are among the oldest known to us, and present distinct peculiarities both in material and design. From the remains found in the larger jars, we see that pease and barley were already in cultivation. Flocks and herds were also kept, and cheese was made. The dog was known as a domestic animal. The inhabitants of these dwellings were destroyed by a calamity even more appalling than that which overtook Pompeii. The crater, which had been thrown up in the centre of the island, increased in weight with every successive eruption, and at the same time the subterranean cavity was constantly being enlarged. At length a great eruption not only covered the island with a layer of puzzolan sufficient to overwhelm and

Islands of Thera and Therasia.

Relics found in these islands.

destroy all the inhabitants and their houses, but at the same time caused the entire centre of the volcano to disappear in the sea. Nothing remained above the waters but those inconsiderable fragments of the edge which form the present group of islands.

Who this primitive people were we cannot even conjecture. The pottery which they manufactured presents resemblances to that found at Hissarlik on the one hand, and on the other to that found in Rhodes, Cyprus and various parts of Greece. But it is unlike that of Egypt and Phoenicia. It is probable, then, that it was manufactured at a time when Oriental types did not yet prevail in the Aegean. M. Fouqué, whose monograph on Santorin gives the fullest account of everything connected with the island, is of opinion that the catastrophe in which the central cone disappeared may be placed about 2000 B.C. But there appear to be no adequate grounds for this assumption.[1]

Ialysus, Rhodes.

At Ialysus, in Rhodes, a number of vases have been found which exhibit the Santorin type carried to a state of greater perfection, and largely influenced by Oriental models. The ornamentation is more delicate and more certain, but it has not yet become fantastic. This pottery appears to occupy a position between the vases discovered at Santorin and those which are distinctive of Mycenae. It appears to date from the 16th century B.C.[2]

Far more important are the monuments and relics which have been found on the continent of Greece. At Pharsalus in Thessaly, at Orchomenus in Boeotia, at Spata and

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[1] Fouqué, *Santorin et ses Eruptions*. See also Bent's *Cyclades*, pp. 149, 150. Mr. Bent speaks of iron as found at Akroteri (in Santorin), but this is unknown to Fouqué and Dumont. Helbig, *l.c.* p. 37, mentions the saw and two small rings of gold. Mr. Bent assigns the remains on Therasia, which he considers to be older than those on Thera, to an age anterior to Hissarlik. Other indications of the ancient population of the Aegean are noted in Mr. Bent's work, p. 410, where he speaks of the "vast population which inhabited the islands of the Aegean Sea in remote antiquity." Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 108.

[2] *Céramiques*, p. 71 ; Helbig, *l.c.* p. 37.

Menidi (Acharnae) in Attica, and, above all, at Tiryns and Mycenae in Argolis, we find remains of ancient structures.

Prehistoric Remains in Greece.

Huge walls built of enormous stones, which are fitted together with greater or less care; underground "treasuries," somewhat resembling a beehive in shape, approached by passages, and partly hewn out of the natural rock, partly constructed by layers of stone, each of which as it rises projects inwardly above the layer beneath; slabs of sculpture, exhibiting war chariots and hunting scenes; and, above all, the memorable gateway of Mycenae surmounted by two lions leaning their fore-paws on a pillar placed between them;—of these remarkable monuments of the past, the Greeks themselves could give no clear account. Recent excavations at Mycenae have shown that the gateway opened upon a place of sepulture, where, if we may judge from the costly ornaments which have been discovered in the tombs, a royal race was buried. Though Greek legends spoke of Mycenae as the burial-place of the Atridae, no Greek can possibly have been aware of the existence of real sepulchres, containing bodies and treasure. Nothing more clearly proves the chasm between the historical Greeks and their past than the fact that so large an amount of treasure should have been left untouched in the citadel of Mycenae. The tombs must have been opened repeatedly for the interment of fresh corpses; the funerals must have been celebrated with great pomp and ceremony; but every trace or hint of the sepulchres opened by Dr. Schliemann had disappeared in historical times. The natural inference is, that a wide interval separated the age when the sepulchres were made, and the princes who were buried in them, from the Mycenae of later times—an interval in which, owing perhaps to some great change of population, the memory of the past entirely perished. Shrines may become desolate and ruined through a change of faith, as has been the case at Stonehenge, but the treasure buried at Mycenae would have been valuable at any time. Had its existence been known to the Dorians, when they took Mycenae from the Achaeans,

Mycenae.

or to the Argives at the time when the city was destroyed after the Persian war, nothing would have remained for modern excavation to discover.

It is remarkable that these remains are found only on the eastern side of the peninsula, and that Greek legends connect them with Asia. The walls of Tiryns were supposed to be the work of Cyclopes, artists from Lycia, who built them for king Proetus. The underground chambers at Mycenae were the tombs and treasuries of the Pelopids who derived their origin and wealth from Lydia. To some extent these legends are confirmed by modern discoveries. Though it is true that we can find nothing in Asia Minor quite similar to the conical chambers of Mycenae or Orchomenus, sculptures have been found which, in spite of some differences, exhibit striking resemblances to the figures over the Lions' Gate. "At least eight tombs exist in the two Phrygian necropoleis, in which recurs the same device of lions as guardians over the doorway."[1] Whether these structures were the work of native princes who hired or copied the skill of Oriental artists; or whether they were raised by Oriental dynasties, which in prehistorical times established powerful monarchies in the more fertile districts of eastern Greece, we cannot yet determine. Further researches in Asia Minor will doubtless throw much light on the relations of the opposite shores of the Aegean in the earliest times. Within the tombs which have been opened immediately behind the Lions' Gate a large number of ornaments, etc., was discovered, quite unlike anything which we hear of in early historical Greece. Plates of gold lay on the breasts of the corpses, the faces of six were covered with golden masks, on which the features were rudely marked. Vases of clay, alabaster and gold, swords and helmets, ornaments of gold, silver, copper, ivory, amber beads in large quantities, engraved gems, idols of clay, lay round and upon the bodies.

Old Legends.

Connection of Mycenae with Asia Minor.

The Tombs at Mycenae.

[1] Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii, 19

No trace of iron occurs in these tombs. The swords and helmets are of bronze, the arrow-heads of obsidian. Yet the work upon the swords, which are intended for the thrust rather than the stroke, shows great skill. The gold ornaments exhibit various devices; they are partly moulded, and partly in the style known as *repoussé*. The decoration of the vases consists of spirals, geometric figures, plants and animals. Ornaments similar in kind have been found at Nauplia, and at Spata on the eastern slope of Hymettus.

Scholars do not yet appear to be agreed upon the precise nature of these objects. No traces of distinctly Hellenic art occur among them. The idols are of a Phoenician type, and the abundance of gold points to trade with the East. Some of the plants exhibited in the decoration are Oriental, such as the palm and the lotus. The amber beads, the ostrich egg, and the ivory are Phoenician importations. On the other hand, the ornamentation of the swords is Egyptian, both in pattern and mode of execution. The spiral, which occurs so frequently, is by some authorities referred to Phrygia. The vases are similar to those which have been found in Crete and Rhodes (Ialysus). The gems fall into two classes, "island stones," as they are called—*i.e.* those which belong to the class of stones found in the islands of the Archipelago, and in certain localities on the mainland of Greece, but not, as yet, on the mainland of Asia Minor—and others of a more Oriental design.[1]

Nature of the Remains at Mycenae.

Though these relics leave no doubt that Mycenae must have been inhabited by princes who could draw to themselves all the wares of the Aegean known in their time, they do not enable us to ascertain who these princes were, whether they were of Hellenic or Oriental race, and how their power was overthrown. The only safe conclusion to be drawn is, that in early times the Aegean and the eastern coast of Greece were the seat of a lively and

Conclusion.

[1] *Cf.* Schliemann, *Mykenae*, *Tiryns;* Milchoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst;* Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos.* [Schuchardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, E. T. 1891.]

lucrative traffic, which had almost entirely passed away at the period when the history of the Greece that we know begins. It is extremely improbable that the Dorians were the builders of the fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns, or that they possessed the riches which were found in the tombs. The conquest of an ancient but decaying civilisation by a ruder people is an almost unavoidable hypothesis for the explanation of these monuments.

IV.—GREECE AND PHOENICIA.

13. In the genealogical table which we find in Genesis, Javan is said to be the father of Rodanim, Chittim, Elishah and Tarshish, a statement which is supposed to mean that Javan is the generic name given to the inhabitants of Rhodes, Cyprus, the islands of the Aegean, and Tartessus at the mouth of the Guadalquivir—the inhabitants of the West with whom the Hebrews were acquainted at the time when the genealogy was written down.[1] Whatever the value of this explanation, Javan is very probably the same word as Ion, which thus appears to be a name known to the Phoenician traders from the East at a tolerably early date. The use of the word in the early history of Greece cannot be precisely fixed. The Ionians are barely mentioned in Homer, but at an early time the name was given to the inhabitants of the north-east of Peloponnesus (Epidaurus) and the district on the north coast, subsequently known as Achaea. The inhabitants of Attica and Euboea were also claimed as Ionians, and in any case the Ionians must have been inhabitants of the coasts and acquainted with the sea. Poseidon was a deity zealously worshipped by them. At a later time, owing to the development of Athens and the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor, they became the most adventurous and the most civilised part of the Hellenic nation. Yet the name was regarded with dislike. Great families at Athens like the Alcmaeonidae

The Ionians.

[1] See Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, i. 35. The name Javanu is found in Assyrian inscriptions (Sargon); *cf.* Ἰαονᾶ in Aristoph. *Achar.* 104.

claimed to be Athenian rather than Ionian, and many Ionians wished to be rid of the title altogether.[1] The faults of the Ionian nature were apparent, and at all times the possessors and cultivators of the soil are inclined to disparage those who are engaged in maritime adventure.

14. Greek legends speak of foreigners who settled in their land. Of these the chief were the Phoenician Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, and Danaus of Egypt, whose posterity became kings of Argos. That the Phoenicians established themselves in various parts of Greece, and continued there for a considerable period, seems beyond a doubt. Traces of their settlements remained in names, deities, religious rites, legends, monuments and arts; if they exercised no influence on the political development of the Greeks, the reason is that they were pirates and traders in search of gain rather than colonists. The islands, more especially Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes and Thasos, and the shore extending from Cythera to Boeotia were the scene of Phoenician activity. In Cyprus, Thasos and Euboea, they found the ores of gold and copper, which they knew how to manufacture into armour or works of art; the mussels, from which they extracted the dye needed for the famous Tyrian purple, abounded off the coast of Cythera and Argolis, and in the straits of the Euripus. To protect their factories they built forts; altars and shrines were raised for the performance of their national rites and the worship of their national deities. At Thasos, for instance, where Herodotus saw "a whole mountain overturned" by their mining operations, they built a temple to Baal Moloch, the sun-god of the Phoenicians, who, perhaps through the epithet Archal, became the Heracles of the Greeks. In Cythera there was a temple of the "armed Aphrodite," the most ancient shrine of the goddess in Greece. As this deity is said to have been brought from Syria, we may with reason

Foreigners settled in Greece.

Their Mines.

Their Deities.

[1] Herod. v. 69.

identify her with the Syrian goddess of love and war, of birth and destruction. From the worship of this or a similar goddess by maidens in armour may have been derived the legends of the Amazons, which occupy so large a place in Greek mythology.[1] The rites which made the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth notorious in Greece—rites wholly opposed to Hellenic feeling about the sanctity of temples[2]—find a parallel in the worship of Mylitta at Babylon. In the Melicertes, whom legend connects with the isthmus of Corinth, we can hardly mistake the Greek form of Melkart. In Attica the deme of Melite reminds us of Miletus and Mylitta, a coincidence proved to be something more than fortuitous, not only by the worship of Heracles, which was prevalent in the deme, but also by the remains of sepulchres, either of Phoenician construction, or made after Phoenician models, in the rocky ground.[3] The mention of a cannibal bull at Marathon (where also Heracles was worshipped) reminds us that the Syrians represented their god Moloch in the form of a bull, and offered human sacrifices to him. With this clue to guide us, we can hardly refuse to connect the fountain of Macaria at Marathon with Makar, a second form of Melkart. The cannibal bull was slain by Theseus, who also expelled the Amazons. These legendary contests are perhaps an echo of the struggle which was necessary before the Greeks could expel the foreign settlers and their inhuman rites from the land. In Euboea, it is true, the traces of the Phoenicians are less distinct; but the ores of copper and iron which abounded in the island, and the purple fish which swarmed in the adjacent sea, were not likely to escape the keen eye of the trader.

The Amazons. Melkart.

[1] It is, however, doubtful whether that mode of worship came direct from Syria.

[2] Herod. ii. 64, i. 199. The Corinthian deity on the Acropolis was clad in armour, like the Cytheraean (Paus. ii. 4, 7). For the Hierodules, see Strabo, 378 ff., 559; Athenaeus, p. 573 ff.; Pind. *Frag.* 99, Bergk, iii.

[3] For an account of these sepulchres, see Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, vi., vii.

From the Phoenicians the Euboeans at an early age learned the working of metal; they are said to have been the first in Greece to manufacture bronze armour, and the name of the city Chalcis is a proof of the importance of copper in early Euboean history. If the island was once called Porphyra, that name, like the Porphyrion of Attic legend, must be connected with the production of purple dye.[1]

Thebes a Phoenician settlement.

Thebes in Boeotia was probably the most important and the most lasting settlement of the Phoenicians on the mainland of Greece. Here they left the sea-coast, and built, not a fortress only, but a city. In Greek legend Thebes is founded by Cadmus, and through historical times the Acropolis was known as the Cadmea. Here Cadmus had celebrated his marriage with Harmonia, a legend which has been explained by comparison with Semitic mythology. Here, it was said, Heracles was born, who, as we have seen, often represents the Baal of Syria. The gates of Thebes were seven—a number sacred among Semitic nations. The ruins or remains of Thebes yield but few results to exploration, for the subsequent fortunes of the city tended to obliterate the traces of the founders and the earliest inhabitants. But the Greeks believed that Cadmus brought the use of letters to Thebes, and in the days of Herodotus there were ancient inscriptions in that city, which, in his opinion, represented the original form of the letters. Whether the existence of writing in Greece can be carried back to the Phoenician immigrants is yet unproved. The earliest forms of the Greek letters with which we are acquainted are not found in Boeotia. There is, however, no reason to doubt that in this instance the feeling which gave rise to the legend is founded on a fact. The names Cadmus, Cadmea, Cadmeans cling to Thebes from the earliest times; and we seem to be justified in connecting the words with the Phoenician Cadmon, "the aged one," or "the Oriental."[2]

[1] For Chalcis, see Strabo, p. 445 ff.; Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, i. p. 69.

[2] Duncker, *l.c.* i. 70; Busolt, *Griech. Geschich.* i. p. 51, takes another view. *Cf.* E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. § 193.

On the islands which lie nearer the Syrian coast, the traces of Phoenician occupation become more marked and decisive. In Cyprus and Crete the oriental names of the cities are but slightly disguised in their Greek dress. Thus in Cyprus we find Cittium (Chittim), Amathus (Hamath), Paphos (Paphia), Salamis (Sillumi), and the antiquity of the settlements is shown by the peculiar alphabet in use on the island. In Crete we find Caeratus (Karath), Itanus (Ethanath), Libena (Leben). The highest mountain summit in Rhodes was Atabyris, in which we recognise the Syrian word Tabor. This evidence is confirmed by what we know of the religious rites practised in the islands, and the deities worshipped in them. Cyprus, even in Homer, is a favourite abode of Aphrodite; at Paphos she had "a precinct and an altar of incense." The women of Cyprus worshipped the goddess by sensual practices such as prevailed at Corinth and Babylon. Crete is the home of the Minotaur, the fire-breathing bull, which devours children (in Hebrew history children are made to pass through the fire to Moloch); the same island is also the home of Daedalus, in whom we seem to have a personification of the artistic skill of the Phoenicians. Minos, in the eyes of Greek historians and philosophers, was a great conqueror and lawgiver; he drove out the Carians from the islands of the Aegean, and gave the Cretans their political institutions. But the name cannot be separated from the similar word Minoa, which occurs on the peninsula of Greece and in Sicily, and appears to be of Semitic origin. From Rhodes and Crete the Phoenicians spread to Thera and Melos, where we find indubitable evidence of their existence, in tombs and in pottery. In Thera they doubtless found the native population which has already been mentioned. Other islands of the Cyclades in which we have traces of the Phoenicians are Oliarus, Cimolus and Ceos.[1]

Phoenicians in the Islands.

Isles of Cyprus and Crete.

Isle of Rhodes.

[1] For the islands, see Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* ii. 60; Busolt, *l.c.*; Bent *Cyclades*; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* p. 250.

Even in the west of Greece, and Peloponnesus, there are traces of an Oriental population which was probably Phoenician.

Phoenicians in the west of Greece, and Peloponnesus.

On the Acarnanian coast we meet with the name Phoenice, and with the worship of Heracles.[1] At Aegira, in Achaea, we find the worship of Aphrodite Urania. At Patrae, which was the chief seat of the manufacture of byssus or cotton, a rare and valuable article among the Greeks, the women, as we are told by Pausanias, were more than double the number of the men, and were "devoted to the worship of Aphrodite."[2] At Patrae also burnt sacrifices were offered each year to Artemis Laphria, and in the neighbourhood there was a temple of Artemis Triclaria, at which, according to the legend, human sacrifices had once been the custom. The whipping of boys before the altar of Artemis Orthia at Sparta may be the last relic of human sacrifices such as the Phoenicians offered. The youthful Hyacinthus, in whose honour the Hyacinthia were celebrated at Amyclae, was the Greek counterpart of the Syrian Adonis. At Olympia we find a Zeus Apomyius—a lord of flies;[3] and Macariae, in the neighbourhood of Megalopolis, reminds us of Makar. As the worship of Aphrodite and the offering of human sacrifices are known to have been practised by the Semitic nations, it is possible, though by no means certain, that these customs have been brought into Greece, at least in some instances, by a nation of Semitic race. The conclusion becomes more probable when we find such rites connected with places or names which can be explained as Phoenician. On the other hand, every student of anthropology is aware that human sacrifices and sensual rites are not confined to the Semitic races, and that we may have in them a relic of some yet older races once domiciled in Greece, or of a barbaric age in the life of the Greek nation.

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[1] Eugen Oberhummer, *Die Phoenizien in Acarnania;* München, 1882.
[2] Paus. vii. 21, 14.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 18, 8; vii. 19, 1: v. 14, 1.

Whatever may have been the extent of their settlements on the mainland of Greece, the Phoenicians did not succeed in obtaining a permanent hold of the country. How the Greeks were enabled to resist amalgamation with these aliens, who in material civilisation were far their superiors, we do not know; but what evidence we have seems to warrant the conclusion that, in a period before the dawn of Western history, the Phoenicians were expelled from the peninsula of Greece and the northern islands of the Aegean, by the nation to whom we owe the gift of Hellenic civilisation, poetry and thought.

V.—GREECE AND EGYPT.

15. In the legends of Argos we find traces of an ancient connection between Greece and Egypt. Io, the daughter of Inachus, the Argive river and king, is driven from her home to seek shelter in Egypt, where she brings forth her son Epaphus. From Epaphus were descended two brothers—Danaus, the father of fifty daughters, and Aegyptus, the father of fifty sons. When the sons of Aegyptus desire their cousins in marriage, Danaus, with his daughters, crosses the sea and takes refuge in Argos, his ancestral home. In one version of the legend, the sons overtake the daughters and marry them, but all, save one, perish on the marriage night by the hands of their brides; in another version, Pelasgus, the king of Argos, takes the Danaids under his protection, and saves them from their pursuers. This legendary contact is sometimes thought to be confirmed by certain names which occur in Egyptian monuments: Uinim=Ionians, in the lists of Thothmes III. (1450 B.C.) and Sethos I.; Akaiwasha=Achaeans, in the lists of Menephtah (1230 B.C.); Danau=Danai, Pulishta=Pelasgians, in the list of Rameses III. (1265 B.C.); and by the style of the ornaments discovered at Mycenae and Orchomenus. It is also true that when the Greeks did become acquainted with Egyptian

Egypt and Argos.

Tradition.

Evidence.

civilisation, they seemed to find in it much that resembled their own. Herodotus is never weary of identifying Greek and Egyptian deities. Even Plato finds a similarity between the earliest forms of society in Greece and the Egyptian castes, and, while preserving the "autochthony" of the Athenians, identifies Athena with the Saitic Neith.[1]

Later Views.

Such evidence is of little value. That the Greeks settled in Egypt after the time of Psammetichus is a historical fact beyond all dispute, but what earlier connection there may have been between the two countries, it is difficult to say. We have no means of testing the antiquity of the legend of the Danaids. It does not occur in the Homeric poems, and, though Egypt is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, the description of the country is extremely vague. The legend may have been invented after the time of Psammetichus to account for the supposed similarity between the Argive Io and Isis, the Egyptian deity. Epaphus, the son of Io, is probably the Egyptian Apis. With regard to the evidence which the monuments are supposed to furnish in the names previously quoted, it is urged, on the other side, that "Uinim" means "islands," not "Ionians," and that the nation which has been identified with the Achaeans—the Akaiwasha—is included among the circumcised nations in the Egyptian lists, so that it is not impossible to think of it as Hellenic.[2]

Uncertainty of the Tradition and Evidence.

Greek ships may have been driven to the shore of the Delta, and Ionian mercenaries may have taken service in the Egyptian army in very early times, but it is highly improbable that any Egyptian colonists settled in Greece. The Egyptians distinguished themselves from strangers as the "clean" from the "unclean," and so far from settling among

[1] Plato, *Timaeus*, 21 ff.

[2] Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt*, ii. 116 ff. See also Wiedemann, *Die aeltesten Beziehungen zwischen Aegypten und Griechenland*, who gives other reasons against the identification. He does not mention the circumcision

foreigners, they only allowed foreigners to settle in Egypt under fixed conditions, and at certain places. In the earliest times all the foreign trade was in the hands of the Phoenicians, by whom, no doubt, some knowledge of Egyptian art and some Egyptian symbols may have been carried to Greece. Until we can add something more definite to the stock of our knowledge, there does not appear to be sufficient reason for assuming that the legend of Danaus points to any direct colonisation of Greece by Egyptians in prehistoric times.[1]

The connection improbable.

[1] See Busolt, *l.c.* p. 181 ff. He assumes that the Danauna were the Danai, so that the Greeks and Egyptians must have met then (Rameses III. 1180 B.C.), or even under Thothmes III. (1450 B.C.), who conquered the Tenau "of the islands;" yet he allows that Egypt did not directly "influence" Greece till the time of Psammetichus (pp. 84, 57 note 8). Herodotus speaks of the kings of Argos down to Perseus as Egyptians (vi. 53). The tradition that Danaus was an Egyptian is as old as Hesiod (*Frag.* 48, Kinkel). Meyer regards the legend of Danaus as a "faded reminiscence of the supremacy which in the fifteenth century Egypt exercised over the Greek islands, and the campaigns which the Danai in the twelfth century undertook against Syria and Egypt" (*l.c.* § 264). [Cf. my Excursus to Herodotus, Bk. vi. p. 299.]

CHAPTER III.

MIGRATIONS AND LEGENDARY HISTORY.

Movements in Early Greece.

1. Thucydides, whose brief preface contains the best account which we possess of the early history of his country, tells us that for a long time Hellas was in a state of disturbance, the population of the various districts paying little attention to the tillage of the soil, and preferring to live by plunder, or to migrate, when opportunity offered, into a territory more fruitful than their own. The best parts of the country were overrun by successive waves of invaders, and it was only in the more inaccessible or the less productive regions that the inhabitants remained in secure possession of their lands. In Attica, at least, owing to the poverty of the soil, the population remained unchanged from all antiquity—a state of security and peace which attracted thither a large number of those who had been driven out of other parts of Hellas. In this manner the number of the inhabitants of Attica rapidly increased until an outlet was found in the colonisation of Asia.[1]

About the details of these migrations we have little information which can be called historical. The general direction in which they moved was from north to south, and it is possible that the first impulse may have proceeded from the pressure of hordes beyond the northern limits of Greece. Herodotus speaks of a great incursion of Mysians and Teucrians into Europe in times anterior to the Trojan war. These tribes crossed the Bosphorus, reduced all the Thracians to subjection, and penetrated to the south as far as the Peneus.

[1] Thuc. i. 2.

But the movement which led to the greatest changes of the population in the peninsula, was the irruption of the Thesprotians over Mount Pindus into Thessaly.[1] At this time, we are told, Thessaly was known as Aeolis, and the country was inhabited by a number of different tribes. Boeotians dwelt on the Curalius, Hestiaeans on the upper Peneus; Pelasgians and Lapithae on the lower river. Perrhaebians were settled under Mount Olympus; Magnetes on Mount Pelion; Achaeans and Aenians on Mount Othrys; Dorians and Dolopians dwelt on Mount Pindus.

Irruption of the Thesprotians into Thessaly.

A large proportion of these tribes was expelled by the invaders. The Boeotians, passing to the south, succeeded in conquering Boeotia.[2] The Hestiaeans found a refuge in the north of Euboea. The Pelasgi and Lapithae retired to Attica, where at a later time some of the leading families claimed to be of Lapithan descent. The Minyae, who had long been established in the south of Thessaly at Iolcus, and at Orchomenus in Boeotia, were compelled to give way before the invaders. Their power had already suffered from the growth of Thebes, and they had lost their position as the leading race in Boeotia. Now they were entirely expelled. Some colonised Lemnos and Imbros; others migrated to the lower Eurotas, where they aided the Achaeans in their resistance to the Spartans. The inhabitants of the more mountainous districts (Perrhaebians, Magnetes, and Achaeans), whatever their loss of territory may have been, were not entirely expelled from their homes, with one exception. The Dorians, who dwelt in Hestiaeotis, on the slopes of Pindus, were driven to the south, and thus entered on the series of migrations, which the Greeks embodied in the story of "The Return of the Heraclids."

The Return of the Heraclids.

[1] Herod. vii. 176. This is equivalent to an invasion from Dodona, for in the time of Herodotus the Thesprotians dwelt round Dodona. Strabo, p. 328; Busolt, *l.c.* p. 46, n. 5.

[2] This at least is the account which Thucydides (i. 12) has preserved, though it is at variance with epic legends. Previous to this invasion Boeotia was called Cadmeis.

2. Heracles, there is reason to believe (see p. 50), is a Grecian counterpart of a Phoenician deity. He was born at Thebes, where the Phoenicians established themselves in the north of Greece. When mythology had transformed him into a beneficent hero, by whose labours Hellas was rescued from monsters and tyrants, the chiefs of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus attempted to give him a place in their genealogy. Thus Heracles, though born at Thebes, is of Argive parentage; though the legitimate heir of the throne of Argos, he is kept from his inheritance, and his descendants also, until, after the lapse of generations, they are enabled by the assistance of the Dorians, to regain it. The whole legend of the "Return," which is not mentioned in Homeric poetry, is an invention designed to justify the conquest of Peloponnesus and confirm the Dorians in the possessions which they had won by the sword. Even Laconia and Messenia, regions of Peloponnesus which do not form a part of the inheritance of Heracles, are spoken of in the legend as conquests which the hero had "deposited" with Tyndareus and Nestor.[1]

Amphitryon, the son of Alcaeus, king of Tiryns, slew his uncle and father-in-law Electryon, in a quarrel about oxen, and, having thus fallen under the pollution of blood, he was compelled to leave the country. The vacant throne passed to Sthenelus, king of Argos, who by the death of Electryon also received the throne of Mycenae.[2] At Thebes, whither Amphitryon retired, his wife Alcmena brought forth Heracles. On the same day a son, Eurystheus, was born to Sthenelus; and as Zeus had promised sovereignty to the child which should first see the light on that day, Hera in subtlety hastened the birth of Eurystheus. Thus Heracles was, from the beginning, destined to be the servant of Eurystheus.

Heracles and Eurystheus.

[1] Paus. ii. 18, 7; Apollodorus ii. 7, 3.

[2] This is a device to account for the position of Agamemnon in the Homeric poems, and of Argos in the Dorian tradition. What the real relation between Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns was, it seems impossible to ascertain.

When he was dead, Eurystheus, not content with imposing ceaseless labours upon the father, sought to persecute and slay the children. They fled for refuge to Attica, where Eurystheus was killed in the effort to take them. He was succeeded on the throne of Mycenae (Argos) by Atreus, of the race of Pelops. Hyllus, the eldest of the sons of Heracles, who had been adopted by Aegimius, the Dorian chief, attempted to regain his dominions by force, but he was slain in single combat by Echemus of Tegea. His descendants were Cleodaeus and Aristomachus, both of whom made unsuccessful endeavours to return to Peloponnesus. But in the fourth generation Temenus, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, the three sons of Aristomachus, with the aid of the Aetolian Oxylus, succeeded in crossing the Corinthian Gulf at Rhium. Leaving Elis to Oxylus, the Dorians pressed on through the interior to Messenia, Sparta and Argos. Argos was ceded to Temenus, as the eldest son; for Messenia lots were cast, and by an act of treachery the country was secured for Cresphontes. Sparta fell to Aristodemus, who almost immediately died, leaving twin sons, from whom were descended the two lines of the Spartan kings.

The Dorian Invasion of Peloponnesus.

3. The nucleus of this legend, down to the time when the Dorians entered Peloponnesus, is given in a sentence of Herodotus, who tells us that the Hellenic race had undergone many wanderings; in the time of Deucalion it dwelt in Phthiotis; in the time of Dorus, the son of Hellen, in the region called Hestiaeotis, under Ossa and Olympus. When driven out of Hestiaeotis by the Cadmeans, it dwelt in Pindus, and was called Macednian; from thence it removed into Dryopis, and finally into Peloponnesus, where it received the name Dorian.[1] What we can accept as historical is the fact that the Dorians removed from Hestiaeotis into the territory lying between Oeta and Parnassus, to which, after expelling the Dryopian inhabitants, they gave their own name. Here they founded four cities or

The Account of Herodotus.

[1] Herod. i. 56; viii. 43, with Stein's notes.

communities—Pindus, Erineus, Boeum and Cytinium, from which they issued forth to join the Aetolians in an invasion of Peloponnesus. The identification of the Dorians with the Hellenes made it necessary to carry them back to Phthiotis, the home of Deucalion. In placing Hestiaeotis under Ossa and Olympus, Herodotus appears to have confounded Hestiaeotis with Pelasgiotis. Hestiaeotis is not in the north-east, but in the north-west of Thessaly, on the eastern slopes of Mount Pindus. The Cadmeans, of whom the historian speaks, are merely the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleis, who claimed descent from Cadmus, and had offered a refuge to the Cadmeans (Phoenicians) when expelled from Thebes by the Epigoni. The settlement of the Dorians in Pindus refers, not to the mountain, but to the town, as the most important city of the four Dorian communities, is alone mentioned. In another passage, when speaking of the same migration, Herodotus unites Pindus and Erineus. Of the name Macednian no explanation can be given.

The probable course of these events.

The legend of the Return of the Heraclids attempts to disguise the fact that the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians was due in a large measure to the co-operation of the Aetolians. Oxylus, the Aetolian, is indeed the guide who conducts the Dorians into their new home, but the possession of the most fertile portion of the peninsula by the Aetolians is explained as the result of fraud, the invading army being led through Elis in the night to prevent them from perceiving the excellence of the soil. We can hardly doubt that the Aetolians formed the main body of the immigrants, who by their superior numbers were able to secure for themselves the fertile plain of the Peneus. It was by their assistance that the Dorians were able to enter Peloponnesus at the outlet of the Corinthian Gulf, after failing in their attempts to penetrate it by way of the isthmus. The Dorians, on the other hand, so far as we can follow their movements, seem to have established themselves at Stenyclarus, among the mountains which command the upper plain of the Pamisus.

The old inhabitants were not driven out, but compelled to submit to the authority of Cresphontes, and to divide the land with the Dorians. From Stenyclarus, the Dorians spread in a south-westerly direction to Pylus, which, under Nestor and his descendants, had become the capital of Messenia. Passing from Messenia to the east, the Dorians next descended into the valley of the Eurotas, and settled at Sparta. Their success here is said to have been due to the treachery of Philonomus, who received Amyclae in return for his services. Here, also, we are told, the inhabitants of the country were for a time admitted to equal rights with the Dorian conquerors. Unable to force their way further down the river, the Dorians passed over the range of Parnon to the east, and attacked Argos, the oldest and most important city in Peloponnesus. The ancient home of the Pelopids did not succumb without a struggle. The invaders are said to have established themselves in the so-called Temenium, a fortress on the coast, which enabled them to cut off all communication between Argos and the sea. Legend relates that the wives and children of the Achaeans fell into the hands of the Dorians, who were thus in a position to dictate their own terms. From the existence of a fourth tribe at Argos (the Hyrnethians), and the difficulties with which legend surrounds the reign of Temenus, it is highly probable that at Argos, as in Messenia, the original inhabitants were able to secure some recognition. Argos was assigned in the legend to Temenus, the eldest of the three brothers who led the invaders, partly owing to the ancient renown of the city, and partly because it was the first to rise to distinction after it had passed into the hands of the Dorians.

The Dorians in Messenia.

Settle Sparta.

Conquer Argos.

From Argos, the invaders in the next generation extended their conquests among the Ionian and Achaean cities in the north-east of Peloponnesus. Corinth, which was even at this time an important seat of commerce, was captured, as Argos had been captured, by means of a fortress established on the sea-coast. Mount

North-eastern Peloponnesus.

Solygeus, on the bay of Cenchreae, about nine miles distant from the city, offered a commanding position. The leader of the conquering army was Aletes, a descendant of Heracles. The kings of Corinth, Doridas and Hyanthidas, are said to have made favourable terms for themselves, while the common people were expelled from the country. As there were eight tribes at Corinth, of which only three were Dorian, we may assume that the ancient inhabitants of the city formed the larger, if the less influential part of the community, even after the conquest. In like manner Epidaurus, Troezen, Aegina, Sicyon and Phlius fell into the hands of the Dorians. In most cases legend covers the conquests of the cities by some supposed compact between the old rulers and the new. In Sicyon the old inhabitants continued to form a fourth tribe, the Aegialeis. The city of Epidaurus is said to have been ceded to Deiphontes, the husband of Hyrnetho and son-in-law of Temenus, by Pityreus, a descendant of Ion. It was in consequence of the cruel treatment of Deiphontes by his brothers-in-law, the sons of Temenus, who suspected him of aiming at the throne of Argos, that Epidaurus separated from the rest of Argolis[1] (*infra*, p. 90 ff.).

Epidaurus, Troezen, etc.

The Achaeans who had been driven out of Argolis retired, under the guidance of Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, to the

[1] Such is the legend in its most common, perhaps its Laconian, form. It is highly improbable that the invasion was carried on in an uniform manner with a steady progress to the east. We hear (see *infra*, ch. vi.) of the Spartans under Sous at Cleitor, under Eurypon at Mantinea, under Charilaus at Tegea; if not mere fictions, these legends would prove the presence of the Dorians in the north of Arcadia before they spread to the south. In any case it is highly probable that they came to Argos from their original home by sea, in the same manner as the Dryopians came to Asine and Hermione. There is nothing to prove that they came over the ridge of Parnon to the shore, and from thence to the Temenium. On the other hand, it is difficult to see that the roads which have been discovered between Mycenae and Corinth prove anything for the advance of the Dorians from Corinth to the south. Mycenae is a city of the past, even at the time of the Dorian migration. We cannot suppose that the Dorians built it to break the connection of Argos and Corinth. *See* Busolt, *l.c.* p. 61 ff.

northern coast of the peninsula, in which, when they had expelled the Ionians of the shore (Aegialeis), they established a dodecapolis. The Ionians, in their turn, sought refuge in Attica, which had already become the home of various fugitives from the north and the west.

4. The early history of the nations over which this stream of conquest passed, was related in a number of legends, of which many have been preserved by Apollodorus, Pausanias and other writers. We cannot affirm of any of these that they are certainly true, and of many it is evident that they are fictions, invented to explain the events of later history. Others again became the theme of epic story, and the incidents in them have been doubtless "exaggerated after the manner of poets." On the stories, as I relate them, I shall make some criticisms, to which I will prefix a few remarks on the nature of Greek myths and legends.

Greek Legends.

In a people of lively imagination, and fettered by no canons of historical criticism, it is inevitable that a number of legends should spring up, and take the place of any historical account of the early history of the nation. Among the Greeks, every city and every village possessed legends of the past which were accepted with unhesitating confidence; every family of distinction was connected with a heroic ancestor, whose existence was satisfactorily proved by the descendants whom he had left behind. In the beginning the gods had visited the earth in the likeness of men, and by mortal mothers had become the progenitors of sons whose achievements were more than human. The places which had been rendered sacred by these divine visitors were recorded in local legends; the deeds of their descendants were extolled by minstrels and cherished by posterity. Later ages turned with delight to the memorials and patterns of a nobler life; and, though the difficulties and contradictions presented by the legends became more apparent with the growth of historical criticism, it was long before the Greeks lost their belief in the reality of a past so flattering to their pride, and so congenial to their habits of thought.

To the modern historian these legends are a source of great perplexity. If he rejects them entirely, he must renounce the attempt to give a picture of the early history and civilisation of Hellas. If he accepts them, he is compelled to relate numbers of stories, which have no historical value as a record of incidents. If he attempts to sift them, and distinguish the true from the false, he is in danger of being misled by some theory about the origin of myths, or by want of sufficient information about each story. Or he may confuse the real meaning of a myth with the use which the Greeks made of it. Even if it be true that Achilles is a form of the "solar deity," it is not less true that the Greeks thought of him as a hero who fell in their cause, in a place with which they were acquainted, and at a time which they endeavoured to fix. Amid the uncertainty which prevails about the origin of myths and legends, it seems true that no one mode of explaining them can be safely adopted to the exclusion of others. Greek myths at any rate are compounded of many elements, inextricably blended together. If we cannot succeed in distinguishing them, we must be content to indicate the sources from which these elements are derived.

Legends and Greek History.

Many myths arise out of the personification of natural phenomena, the alternations of storm and sunshine, of day and night, of growth and decay being represented as the struggles of contending powers. In an early stage of mental development force and life are always regarded as personal qualities; the dawn, the sun, the night are persons, male or female, good or bad, friendly or hostile. Out of the actions of these persons arise stories, which in the first instance expressed natural phenomena, but in the course of time became stories only, the names being separated from the phenomena out of which they arose. They are sometimes shocking in their obscenity, because they are engendered in minds which were without ideas of decency and morality. They are often unintelligible, until we discover a similar story current among a people where it is, as it were,

Origin of Myths and Legends.

Partly Solar or Atmospheric.

at home, and easily explained. An instance of such a story is the myth of Uranus and Cronus, related by Hesiod. As a product of Hellenic civilisation it is unintelligible; but, when we compare it with other stories of a similar nature current among savage nations, we find that it carries us back to a time when the sky and the earth were regarded as pressing upon each other in close contact, so that the creatures living upon the earth were repressed by the incumbent weight. When Uranus (Heaven) came with Night desiring to embrace Gaea (Earth), Cronus put forth his hand and made the union impossible. Thus Heaven and Earth were sundered, and there was room for their offspring to flourish. The legend of Cronus and the deception practised upon him by Rhea belongs to a similar stage of civilisation.[1] When the origin of these stories was forgotten, they were developed in various ways, and often received additions which sprang from quite another source; or they were localised in particular districts (as the story of the birth of Zeus was localised in Crete), and made to agree with their surroundings.

Another source from which myths have arisen is the belief that men were descended from animals, or could be changed by magic into the shape of animals. One of the earliest kings of Arcadia was Lycaon, whom Pausanias ventures to regard as a contemporary of Cecrops. Lycaon taught men to live in cities and to celebrate festivals; but he was also the first to introduce human sacrifices into Arcadia. On

The Belief in the Connection of Men and Animals.

[1] Sir John Lubbock (*Origin of Civilisation*, p. 329) thinks that we get rid of the unpleasant grossness of myths by referring them to an atmospheric origin. "As the sun destroys the darkness from which it springs, and at evening disappears in the twilight, so Oedipus was fabled to have killed his father and then married his mother. In this way the whole of that terrible story may be explained as arising not from the depravity of the human heart, but from a mistaken application of the statements—that the sun destroys the darkness and ultimately marries, as it were, the twilight from which it springs." But how did men come to make so shocking a story out of such innocent matters as the sunrise and the sunset? See Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 45 ff.

the altar of Zeus he sacrificed a child, and poured a libation with the blood. For this cruel act he was changed into a wolf, and ever afterwards, at this feast of Zeus, men might be changed into wolves. If they ate no human flesh when in that form, they were restored at the end of ten years to their human shape. Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, was changed into a bear, and was placed in the heavens after her death. By a similar metamorphosis, Cadmus and Harmonia became serpents. A legend related that, when the Arcadians and Eleans were about to engage in battle, a woman presented herself to the Elean commanders with a child at her breast, which she offered to them as an ally. The child was laid naked between the contending armies. Suddenly he became a serpent, which so terrified the Arcadians that they fell back. The Eleans seized the opportunity, and won a complete victory.[1]

Myths: Local circumstances.

Other myths have arisen out of purely local circumstances. The story of the Danaids, who were compelled for their misdeeds to pour water through a sieve, is explained, so far as the punishment is concerned, by the nature of the soil in "thirsty Argos." The streams no sooner reach the porous soil at the foot of the mountains than they disappear in the sand (p. 7). Others, again, owe their existence to mistakes in etymology. The story of the death of Argos at the hands of Hermes has probably arisen out of the epithet Ἀργειφόντης applied to Hermes. The similarity between the words λύκος (wolf), Λύκιος (Lycian), and the root *luc* (to shine), seen in *lux* (light), has caused confusion among deities which were originally distinct. The similarity between the first half of the word Aphrodite and ἀφρός (foam), has given rise to the birth of the goddess of love from the sea—a myth as old as Hesiod. Prometheus, the fire-giver, is probably a personification of the fire-stick used by the ancient Aryans (*Pramanthas*);[2] but Prometheus the "fore-thinker," the

Myths arise from mistaken Etymology.

[1] Paus. vi. 20, 4.

[2] Kelly, *Indo-European Tradition*, p. 41 ff.

"inventor of memory," the friend of men, who taught them arts and sciences, is a Greek Titan, a great part of whose story is derived from his name. The tendency of the Greeks to represent the deities in human shape co-operated with the worship of ancestors, and possibly with the derivation of descent through females, to provide the famous families of Greece with a divine origin. This was another fertile source of legends. The mortal women who claimed to have been beloved by the gods were a numerous company. That such a parentage should be permitted in epic poetry is not unnatural. Even in historical times we find Greeks who were eager to connect themselves with a divine ancestor, after the lapse of a sufficient interval, and Alexander the Great did not scruple to claim an immediate descent from Zeus.

We must also bear in mind that many distinct tribes existed side by side in early Greece. That there were inhabitants in the land before it was occupied by Aryan immigrants is, as we have seen, not improbable, and even if the Aryans were the first to enter it, they would not all arrive at the same time. One horde succeeded another, and passed into new valleys separated by high mountains from their neighbours. The Aryan power of inventing stories did not come to an end with the occupation of a new country, however willing the immigrants may have been to identify the new with the old, and localise the deities, which they brought with them, in the conquered territory. Lastly, every new conquest brought with it the desire to range the deities of the conquered people with the gods of the conquerors. And at some early time which we cannot fix definitely, the Greeks came into contact with Semitic races who inhabited the islands of the Aegean, and Asia Minor. From these they could borrow and adapt a new stock of myths, working them into their own as suited their purpose, till the whole formed a complicated web which it is now vain to attempt to disentangle. Asiatic deities were identified with Hellenic, or the gods of one tribe became the

The influence of the union of Tribes.

Semitic Elements.

heroes of another. In this manner Greek mythology grew into a tangled mass of stories, which represented the ideas and conceptions of the early Greeks, but which are beyond our powers to explain and analyse.

Historical facts in Legends.

Even now the limits of confusion are not reached. Beside the myths which may be of purely fictitious origin, and indissolubly connected with them, are legends which probably arose out of historical facts. Some of the stories of which a brief account is here given will be found to contain historical incidents. The Greeks sailed to Colchis, Corcyra and Libya, whatever be the meaning of the myth of the Argonautic expedition. The works of Heracles were in existence, whether Heracles be a god, or a personification of a forgotten tribe. The inhabitants of Attica were gathered round Athens as a central city, whether Theseus be a god or a man. This historic element was often enlarged as time went on. The more various the voyages of the Greeks, the greater their knowledge of distant lands, the more complicated became the story of the ancient mariners of the Argo.

To lay down general rules for the "interpretation" of myths is useless. Each story must be considered separately. We may, however, point out that: (1) Stories which are found with little or no alteration of their essential features in widely distant nations can hardly have had a local origin. Some incidents in the story of Jason and Medea are repeated not only in that of Theseus and Ariadne, but also in the mythology of nations which have had no connection with Greece. It is improbable therefore that the legend first arose out of circumstances which occurred at Iolcus. (2) Stories which are merely a reflected image of later historical facts were probably invented to explain those facts. We shall find an instance of this in the early history of Elis. (3) Stories which are supported by later customs and rites probably contain some element of historical truth. It is reasonable to allow that human sacrifices were offered at Halus in ancient times, though we refuse to accept the story of Athamas and Phrixus.

But even in the cases where these rules apply, it is often impossible to draw a clear line between what is local and what is universal—what is historical and what is fictitious.

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF NORTHERN GREECE.

Thessaly.

5. Thessaly was inhabited by a number of various tribes, which gave their names to different parts of the country, and it was, no doubt, due to the variety and changes of the population that it became the home of many legends. Here was Pelion, where Apollo had sojourned; here was the home of Peleus, the scene of his marriage with Thetis, and the birthplace of Achilles; here were the plains upon which Zeus had overthrown the giants; here also was Iolcus, whence the Argo had set forth on her adventurous voyage.

The Importance of Thessaly in Legend.

Among the remarkable legends of Thessaly are those of the Centaurs and Lapithae, whose fierce conflict at the marriage of Pirithous supplied a theme of never-ending interest for artist and poet. The Centaurs are represented as wild creatures—half man, half horse, monsters of furious and unbridled lusts. When bidden to the marriage feast, they threw down the bowls of milk provided for them, and drank deeply of wine. Their passions thus inflamed, they proceeded to unseemly acts which provoked the resentment of the Lapithae, who at length, after a severe struggle, cleared the banquet-hall of their rude guests. These half-human creatures are sometimes explained as personifications of the mountain torrents, which, bursting down from the hills of Thessaly, spread destruction over the rich plains beneath. The horse is regarded as a symbol of the swift course of running water, and the weapons which the Centaurs use, stones and branches, denote the devastation caused by swollen streams. However this may be, to the Greeks of later times the conflict of the Lapithae

The Centaurs and Lapithae.

and Centaurs, like that of Theseus and the Amazons, was symbolical of the opposition between civilisation and barbarism. The Lapithae were regarded as historical persons. Not only was their chief Pirithous the friend of the great Attic hero Theseus, but at a later time, when expelled from Thessaly, many Lapithae found a refuge at Athens, and became the ancestors of Athenian families. By what appears to be a strange inconsistency, the legend does not regard all the Centaurs as barbarous. Chiron, the eldest of the race, was a pattern of wisdom and temperance, skilled in music and the art of medicine, the teacher of Achilles. To us such a figure recalls the fiction of the "noble savage," but in the Greek legend it may be some echo of a forgotten civilisation. Or, if the explanation of the Centaurs as personifications of the mountain torrents be accepted, the good Centaur may represent the rivers regarded as beneficent fertilising forces. It is remarkable that the Centaur Chiron claimed a different parentage from the rest. They were descended from Ixion and Nephele, but he is the child of Zeus and Philyra. Expelled from Thessaly for their violence, the Centaurs finally perished at the hands of Heracles.[1]

Centaur Chiron.

In the south of Thessaly was the town of Iolcus, whence the Argo sailed to recover the Golden Fleece which had been carried away to Colchis. There is, perhaps, no story which illustrates in a more striking manner the way in which the Greeks enlarged their legends as time went on. In their earliest form some incidents in the voyage of the Argo may perhaps have arisen out of solar phenomena; it is, at any rate, the Island of the Sun to which the voyage is directed. To the Greeks the myth becomes an event of history, which is localised at a definite place. The island is placed at Colchis, in the furthest east. Jason, the

The Argonauts.

[1] *Il.* i. 263 ff.; *Od.* xx. 295 ff. The Centaurs reappear in Arcadia, where Pholus is the counterpart of Chiron. On the subject, see Colvin, "The Centaurs," etc., in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, i. 177 ff.

son of Aeson, appears at Iolcus to claim his rightful possessions from the usurper Pelias. He is bidden to recover the Golden Fleece from Aeetes, king of Colchis. For this enterprise he summons heroes from all parts of Hellas, but more especially the Minyae, the princely race who were dominant in southern Thessaly and at Orchomenus in Boeotia. After many adventures, the Argonauts return with the prize, which Jason has won with the aid of Medea, the king's daughter. On the way they have colonised Lemnos, which was ever afterwards regarded as a home of the Minyae. But Jason has brought back more than the fleece. He has wedded Medea, a woman skilled in sorcery beyond any other in Greek legend. Pursued by her father, they escaped by a cruel expedient; when Jason found that the king was near at hand, at Medea's suggestion he cut in pieces her brother, the boy Apsyrtus, and strewed the fragments on the waves, that Aeetes might be delayed in collecting them. Jason does not remain in Iolcus; he visits Corinth, where he abandons Medea for the king's daughter. Medea, in revenge, slays not only her own children, but also the new bride and her father, after which she escapes in the chariot of the Sun to her own land. Another form of the legend carries Jason and Medea to Corcyra, and in yet another form, they travel to the Tritonian lake in Libya. It is obvious that some of the details of the story could only have been added when the Greeks were acquainted with the Euxine, and could identify the eastern end of it with the island of Aeetes. The connection of the story with Corinth is perhaps due, in the first instance, to the worship of Helius on Acrocorinthus; but it was not till Corcyra and Sicily were known to Hellenic mariners that Trinacria could become the Island of the Sun, or Jason and Medea be transplanted to Corcyra. Though the Argo is mentioned in the Homeric poems as the theme of song, and epics were composed on the subject by Eumelus of Corinth and others, the incidents connected with the voyage were not fixed like those of the Trojan war. Hence they could develop more freely, until at length, in the

Alexandrian period, Apollonius gave a definite shape to the whole in his *Argonautica.*[1]

Remarkable Rites of Halus.

The Golden Fleece, which reminds us of the Golden Lamb of Atreus in the Argive legend, connects the story of Jason with a peculiar form of worship which prevailed at Halus, in southern Thessaly, in early times, and had not wholly died out even at the invasion of Xerxes. It was the custom there to offer human sacrifices to Zeus Laphystius, and Athamas, king of Halus, was induced by Ino to sacrifice Phrixus, his son by a former wife. Before the rite was completed a golden ram appeared, which carried Phrixus away to Colchis, where he sacrificed the ram, and hung up the fleece as a Palladium. Subsequently Athamas was on the point of being sacrificed to Zeus in the place of Phrixus, when he, in turn, was rescued by the son of Phrixus. Thus the sacrifice still remained incomplete, and it became a custom that no one of the race of the Athamantidae should enter the council-chamber at Halus on pain of being sacrificed to the god.[2]

Boeotia.

Two ancient Greek cities—Orchomenus and Thebes.

6. Two centres are distinguished in the ancient legends of Boeotia—Orchomenus and Thebes. Orchomenus stood in close connection with the south of Thessaly, and Athamas, whom we have already mentioned, is said to have been one of the earliest kings of the city. Eteocles, his successor, founded two tribes at Orchomenus, the Cephisiad and the Eteoclid. He was followed by Phlegyas, the eponym of the warlike Phlegyae, and Minyas, the son of Chryses, from whom the Minyae derived their name and their wealth. Pausanias tells us that Minyas was the first of men to build a treasure-house for the reception of his

[1] *Cf.* A. Lang, Introduction to Grimm's *Household Tales*, p. 55 ff., and *Custom and Myth*, p. 94. Other views will be found in the article in Pauly's *Encyclopaedia.*

[2] Herod. vii. 197.

possessions.[1] To the Minyae also is ascribed the construction of the great tunnels which drain (or would drain if open) the low land round lake Copais (see *supra*, p. 6). Minyas was succeeded by Orchomenus, from whom the city took its name. A later king was Clymenus, who was slain by the Thebans at the festival of Poseidon. Erginus, his son, compelled the Thebans to pay a tribute as atonement for the death of his father. But Heracles liberated the Thebans, and greatly curtailed the power of Orchomenus. The sons of Erginus were Trophonius and Agamedes, of whom the second lost his life, when stealing the treasures of Hyrieus, in precisely the same manner as the thief who stole the treasures of Rhampsinitus in Egypt, while Trophonius was swallowed up in the earth on the site of his oracular cave. They were followed by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, who led the Minyae to Troy. In the Homeric poems the Minyae are mentioned separately from the rest of the Boeotians; and Orchomenus is elsewhere mentioned as one of the cities which belonged to the Amphictyony of Calauria (p. 104), a proof that it must have been the seat of an extensive maritime trade.[2] It is very noticeable that the succession is constantly broken in the list of kings given by Pausanias; it is the exception for the son to follow the father on the throne. This would seem to indicate constant strife and change of dynasty, unless, indeed, it be merely the result of piecing together families of different stocks which claimed to be ancestors of the Minyae.

Thebes was founded by Cadmus, the Phoenician. Arriving in Greece in search of his sister Europa, he consulted the oracle of Delphi, by which he was bidden to abandon the quest, and follow a cow. On the spot where the cow lay down he was to found a city. In this manner he was directed to the site of Thebes. The cow

Legends about Thebes.

[1] For a description of this treasury, see Schliemann, "Orchomenus," in *Journal of Hellen. Soc.* ii. 122 ff. Ornamentation of a distinctly Egyptian kind is said to be found in it.

[2] Paus. ix. chaps. 36, 37; *Il.* ii. 511 ff; Strabo, p. 374.

he sacrificed to Athena Onca. When he desired to draw water from the neighbouring spring, in order to pour a libation, he found himself opposed by a serpent, who guarded the fountain. This monster, with the aid of Pallas, he slew, and sowed the teeth in the earth. Hence sprang the Sparti, a furious race of armed warriors, who fell to slaying each other until only five remained, the founders of the five most famous families in Thebes. After eight years of purification for the slaughter which he caused, Cadmus became king of Thebes, receiving to wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. The wedding, like that of Peleus and Thetis, was honoured with the presence of the gods. From the union were born four daughters, famous in Greek legend for the sorrows and disasters which attended themselves and their offspring—Autonoe, the mother of Actaeon; Agave, the mother of Pentheus; Ino, the wife of Athamas; and Semele, the mother of Dionysus. There was also a son, Polydorus, from whom were descended Laius and Oedipus.

Cadmus.

The close of the reign of Cadmus was disturbed by troubles arising from the presence of Dionysus at Thebes. Pentheus, who, for some reason, ascended the throne in the lifetime of Cadmus, strongly opposed the rites which were introduced at Thebes by Dionysus, who, in Theban story, was the son of Zeus and Semele. Suspecting the nature of the sacred orgies which led his mother with other women to the wilds of Cithaeron, he followed the troop and watched them from a pine-tree. He was detected and torn to pieces by the infatuated women, his mother Agave being the first to rend off a limb. In distress at these disasters, Cadmus and Harmonia left Thebes for Illyria, where they were changed into serpents.

Pentheus.

7. The citadel of Thebes was known as the Cadmea from its supposed founder. The lower city was traced to a different origin. Zethus and Amphion were twin brothers, sons of Zeus by Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, a Theban. When they became kings of Thebes, they

Zethus and Amphion.

fortified the city with a wall, in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the neighbours, "for strong though they were, they could not without a wall dwell in Thebes."[1] Zethus, who is represented as a man of vast strength, gathered huge stones and ranged them in order, while the minstrel Amphion was able to move the stones by the sound of his lyre, without the need of physical touch. The gates of the city were seven, a number which is thought to indicate the Phoenician origin of the city. However this may be, it is not improbable that the name Neitae, which was given to one of the gates, has been the source of the story of Amphion and his music. *Neitae* was confused with *netè*, the lowest in order of the three strings composing the oldest form of the lyre, to which Amphion is said to have added the other four.

This pair of twin brothers does not stand alone in Greek mythology; we must place beside them the more famous twins of Sparta, Castor and Pollux, and the Messenian pair, Idas and Lynceus. Counterparts have been found by comparative mythologists in the Açvins of India, the spirits of the morning light, which pierce the darkness and bring back the cheerful day. It is remarkable that the Spartan twins are in close connection with Helen; the Theban with Antiope. Both Helen and Antiope have been thought to be forms of the goddess of the moon. Antiope is also the daughter of Nycteus, whose brother is Lycus, names obviously connected with night and day. Even the search of Cadmus for Europa and his union with Harmonia in the west is by some explained as the Greek repetition of a Semitic myth, in which Baal, the sun-god, seeks the moon goddess in the far west, and is there united with her in marriage.[2]

Myths of Helen and Antiope.

Here then we seem to have two myths, not altogether distinct in origin, but arriving in Boeotia by different routes.

[1] *Odyssey*, xi. 264, 265.

[2] Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* ii. 58.

The Greeks connected them in the following manner. Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, left an infant son Labdacus, whom, together with his throne, he committed at his death to the care of Nycteus. When Nycteus was mortally wounded in an attempt to recover his daughter Antiope from Epopeus of Sicyon, he transferred his double charge to his brother Lycus, who in due time gave up the throne to Labdacus. Labdacus died young, leaving an infant heir, Laius, of whom Lycus became guardian. At this time Zethus and Amphion appeared at Thebes with an armed force. Laius was removed to a place of safety, but Lycus was slain. Zethus and Amphion became kings of Thebes, and added the lower city to the Cadmea. When they died—Amphion in a pestilence, and Zethus through grief for his son—Laius returned to be king over Thebes.[1]

Connection of the Theban Legends.

8. The narrative now takes a new shape, in which myth and legend are blended with ideas of destiny and an inherited curse. It was announced to Laius that if he begot a son he would fall by the hand of his child, who would also become the husband of his own mother. Heedless of the warning, he begot Oedipus, whom shortly after his birth he caused to be exposed, with his feet pierced and bound together, in the wilds of Cithaeron. The attempt to escape the ordinance of heaven was fruitless. Oedipus was saved by a shepherd, and conveyed to the court of Corinth. From thence he returned to Thebes, and, meeting Laius on the way, he slew him. On arriving at the city he found it suffering from the visitation of the Sphinx, a winged monster, who proposed a riddle to all comers, and ate those who failed to guess it. When Oedipus was successful in solving the riddle, the Sphinx destroyed herself, and the city was delivered. As a reward, he received the hand of the queen Jocasta, who was his own mother. By her, according to one version of the story, he had four children, Polynices and Eteocles, Antigone and Ismene. Then the terrible secret

King Laius.

King Oedipus.

[1] Paus. ix. 5.

came out. Oedipus blinded himself. Jocasta took her own life. When the sons grew up, Oedipus, enraged at some slight, pronounced his curse upon them. They quarrelled, and Polynices, the elder brother, was driven out of Thebes. He repaired to Argos, whence, with the help of Adrastus, he returned with six chieftains to recover the throne.

The Sons of Oedipus.

At each of the seven gates the battle raged, Eteocles meeting Polynices in person. The assault failed; all the chieftains, with the exception of Adrastus, were slain, and the two brothers fell each by the hand of the other. In the next generation the attack was renewed by the Epigoni, or sons of the heroes, who succeeded in restoring Thersander, the son of Polynices, to the throne of Thebes. Thersander was succeeded by his son Tisamenus. Owing to his youth, Tisamenus was unable to take the command of the Boeotian forces before Troy, which were therefore intrusted to Peneleos.[1] Autesion, the son and successor of Tisamenus, was warned by an oracle to join the Dorians, in order to escape the divine wrath, which still pursued the race of Labdacus. In his place Damasichthon, the son of Opheltas and grandson of Peneleos, was chosen king. In the time of Xanthus, the grandson of Damasichthon, the Boeotians invaded Attica; but their chieftain fell in single combat by the hand of Melanthus, or, in another version, of Andropompus, and the invasion proved fruitless.[2]

Thersander and his descendants.

Thucydides states quite definitely that Boeotia was invaded by the Boeotians from Arne, in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy. But the Homeric *Catalogue* speaks of Boeotians as dwelling in the land at the time when the expedition sailed to Troy.[3] This contradiction caused the utmost difficulty to later writers. In

Conquest of Boeotia by Arnaeans.

[1] Peneleos was an Argonaut, and one of the suitors of Helen, quite unconnected with the royal family of Thebes. He and his race probably represent the Arnaean immigrants from Thessaly.

[2] Paus. ix. 5.

[3] Thuc. i. 12; *Il.* ii. 494 ff.

the account just quoted from Pausanias, Peneleos is represented as leading the Boeotians to Troy because Tisamenus was still too young to undertake the command. His grandson, Damasichthon, acquires the throne of Thebes, which is voluntarily resigned by Autesion at the divine command. In this manner the conquest of the country by invaders is veiled, and the presence of the Boeotians at Troy under a prince who was not the reigning monarch is explained. Strabo unites the conquerors and the conquered in another manner. In the earliest times Boeotia was inhabited by a number of barbarian tribes, Aones, Temmices who came from Sunium, Leleges and Hyantes. Subsequently it was acquired by the Phoenicians under Cadmus, who built the citadel and founded the kingdom. His descendants added Thebes to the Cadmea, and maintained their power, most of the natives being their subjects, till the war of the Epigoni. Then they were driven out for a time, but afterwards they returned. On a second occasion they were expelled by the Thracians and Pelasgians; and for a considerable time they lived in Thessaly, where they formed one power with the Boeotians of Arne. When the Aeolian host was gathering at Aulis, under the sons of Orestes, in order to sail to Asia, they returned, united the district of Orchomenus to Boeotia, and, with their combined forces, drove out the Pelasgians to Athens and the Thracians to Parnassus. When these conquests were ended many of the Boeotians took part in the Aeolian colonisation of Asia.[1]

The account of Pausanias,

Strabo's account.

In this account also, the fact of the conquest of Boeotia by a nation issuing from the north is concealed. The Cadmeans and Arnaeans are a united people who move southwards about the time of the Aeolian migration, the Cadmeans having previously joined the Arnaeans in Thessaly.[2] Another passage in Strabo enables us to trace more precisely the southward

[1] Strabo, 401, who, no doubt, follows Ephorus. *Cf.* Paus. *l.c.*

[2] This account supposes Thebes to be deserted at the time of the Trojan war, and so explains the silence of the *Catalogue*. *Cf.* Strabo, p. 412.

movement of the invading hosts.[1] Coronea was the first town taken. There the invaders established a shrine of Athena Itonia, which always remained the central point of meeting for the Boeotians, the seat of the great festival of the Pamboeotia. Then Orchomenus fell, and in the next generation Thebes was conquered.[2] Whatever may be the historical truth concealed in these legends, there is no doubt that it was asserted, on authority which satisfied Thucydides, that Boeotia passed into the hands of the Boeotians two generations after the Trojan war. Previous to this event the country may have been divided between two powers—the Minyae at Orchomenus, and the Cadmeans at Thebes, between which there were constant feuds. After the conquest Orchomenus ceased to be a great power. Thebes became the leading city, though she never attained to universal dominion. A further attempt to invade Attica was defeated. With the failure of common enterprises, the Boeotians ceased to act in common, and the leader of the host could no longer claim the authority of a king.

Of the territories which separated Boeotia from Thessaly there is little to relate. Four generations before the Trojan war, so ran the legend, the Locrians, who had hitherto been a united nation, were separated into two parts, an eastern and a western. No reason is given for the separation, and perhaps we may doubt whether the union is not a fiction. Throughout historical times the Locrians existed in two distinct communities, one of which bordered on the Euripus, the other on the Corinthian gulf. Between the two lay Doris, the country in which the Dorians paused in their way to Peloponnesus from Thessaly and Phocis. Phocis was rendered famous by the worship of

Locris. Doris. Phocis.

[1] Strabo, p. 411.

[2] This legendary history is to some extent confirmed by the evidence of names; there was a river Curalius in Thessaly and in Boeotia, and in the neighbourhood of each a shrine of Athena Itonia (Alcaeus, *Frag.* 3). The presence of the Thracians is an attempt to explain the worship of the Muses on Helicon and Parnassus (see *infra*, ch. vii.; Strabo, p. 410).

Apollo at Delphi, on the southern slopes of Parnassus, of which we shall have to speak in a subsequent chapter. It was on Parnassus also that Deucalion and Pyrrha alighted after the flood by which Zeus destroyed the Grecian world; and from the stones which they cast behind them sprang the new race of the Hellenes.

Euboea.

9. In the Homeric *Catalogue* the inhabitants of Euboea are called Abantes, and they are spoken of as possessing the cities of Eretria and Chalcis, Styra and Carystus, of which the two first were certainly Ionian, and the two last Dryopian, in historical times. These Abantes wore the hair only on the back of the head, and were armed with spears which they used for the thrust.[1] The name was derived from some Thracians who immigrated into Euboea from Abae in Phocis;[2] and Herodotus distinguishes them from the Ionians.[3] The Athenian account of the colonisation of Euboea is at variance with the *Catalogue*. Eretria and Chalcis were claimed as Athenian colonies, founded before the Trojan war, and subsequently renewed by Aeclus and Cothus. This legend may have arisen after the conquest of the island by Pericles, when it was convenient to establish some sort of hereditary claim, and the double colonisation was necessary to smooth over the contradiction with the *Catalogue*.[4] There seems no reason to doubt that the Ionians were in possession of Euboea at a very early time. If, then, the Abantes are to be regarded as "barbarians," we must assume a conquest, or amalgamation of the two elements of population. Traces of primitive inhabitants (stone axes, etc.) have been found in the south of the island; and Pausanias tells us that in his time the Euboean peasants were still clad in skins. Whether the early inhabitants were Greeks or not, we cannot

Abantes in Euboea.

Ionian in Euboea.

[1] *Il.* ii. 536 ff.
[2] Strabo, p. 445.
[3] Herod. i. 146.
[4] Strabo, p. 447.

determine. Of the conquest and change of population, if it ever happened, we have no trustworthy record.[1]

Attica.

10. In the earlier accounts of the ancient history of Attica we meet with four names of native kings—Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion and Aegeus. The *Catalogue* in the Homeric poems entitles Athens the deme of Erechtheus. But in the time of Herodotus, Cecrops had taken the place of Erechtheus as the earliest king of the country; and Ion was also included in the royal dynasty, though he never occupied the throne. Later logographers amplified the list of kings, partly with the intention of combining as many legends as possible, and partly in order to make arrangements which harmonised with their views of chronology. Thus we obtain the following list of early Attic kings:—Cecrops I., Erysichthon, Cranaus, Amphictyon, Erichthonius, Pandion I., Erechtheus, Cecrops II., Pandion II. To Pandion II. were born four sons—Aegeus, Pallas, Nisus and Lycus. Ancient Kings of Attica.

With the names many legends were connected. Cecrops is said to have divided the whole tract of Attica into twelve districts: Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Decelea, Eleusis, Aphidnae, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia and Phalerus. His daughters were Aglaurus (bright), Erse (dew), and Pandrosus (dewy)—names of importance in Athenian religious customs (*supra*, p. 20). He was also said to have introduced the institution of marriage. Cecrops divides the country.

The kings who immediately follow Cecrops are mere inventions. Erysichthon and Erichthonius are repetitions of Erechtheus; Cranaus is an eponym derived from the old title of the Athenians, who were originally The Successors of Cecrops.

[1] Strabo gives Macris and Abantis as old names of the island, and also Oche and Hellopia (p. 445). He even regards Aeclus and Cothus as barbarian names (p. 321). For early Euboean history see Bury, *Historical Review*, 1886, p. 626 ff.

called Cranai,[1] and Amphictyon is obviously a fictitious name. It is, however, remarkable that legend represents the succession as constantly broken: Cranaus is not the son of Erysichthon, who died without issue; Amphictyon expelled Cranaus, and was in turn expelled by Erichthonius. The daughters of Pandion I. were Procne and Philomela, the former of whom became the wife of Tereus of Thrace. The tragic story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus is well known; it is remarkable partly for the credit given to it by Thucydides, and partly for the connection which it presupposes between Thrace and Athens. In the time of Erechtheus, the son of Pandion, a war broke out between Eleusis and Athens, in which Eumolpus of Eleusis, himself a Thracian, was greatly aided by allies from Thrace. The contest was severe. Though Athens remained victorious, Erechtheus fell in the battle. It was only by the devotion of his three daughters that success was rendered possible.

Erechtheus.

In resisting the attack of the Thracians, Ion, the son of Creusa and grandson of Erechtheus, rendered such service to the Athenians that he became general-in-chief of the Athenian forces. Under his command they were enabled to pass beyond the limits of Attica, and give their name to the people on the northern shore of Peloponnesus.[2] The festival of the Boedromia was said to have been founded in commemoration of the aid which he rendered to the Athenians. From the four sons of Ion, legend derived the names of the four Attic tribes.

Legends of Ion.

Pandion the Second divided his territory between his four sons, Aegeus, Nisus, Lycus and Pallas. Aegeus received Athens and the throne, Lycus "the garden-land opposite Euboea," Nisus the land adjacent to the Scironid rocks, and Pallas the south of Attica.[3] This division, like the earlier one into twelve townships, assumes that Attica was from the first united under the sway of

Pandion II.

[1] Herod. viii. 44.
[2] Herod. vii. 94.
[3] Soph. ap. Strab. p. 392.

Athens. Such an union is extremely improbable in itself, and is contradicted by other legends, which represent Theseus as the author of the union of Attica, inasmuch as he first persuaded or compelled the various townships in Attica to give up their independence and accept Athens as their head. On the other hand, it is highly probable that in the earliest times the Megarid, which is included in the territory of Pandion, was in close connection with Athens, and inhabited by a people of Ionian, or at any rate non-Dorian, race.

II. The son of Aegeus was Theseus. He was born at Troezen, the home of his mother Aethra. At sixteen years of age he was able to remove the huge stone under which his father had placed his sword, and, with the sword as his credentials, he set out on his way to Attica.[1] As he wished to make his name famous, he determined to destroy the robbers who infested the country between Troezen and Athens—Sinnis, who slew his victims by attaching them to two pine-trees which he bent together, and allowed to fly asunder; Sciron, who hurled them from the rocks of the isthmus into the sea; Cercyon, who compelled them to wrestle with him, and then strangled them; Procrustes, who stretched them on a bed of iron, cutting off the limbs of those who were too tall and stretching the limbs of those who were too short. All these he slew, and then presented himself at Athens before his father.

King Theseus.

Here also he had enemies to contend with. He overcame the Pallantidae, the race of giants who sought to deprive Aegeus of a part of his kingdom, and captured the bull which laid waste the fields of Marathon. At this time Athens paid to Crete a periodical tribute of seven boys and seven maidens, to be devoured by the Minotaur. Theseus offered himself as one of the victims. Ariadne, the daughter of the Cretan king, gave him a clue by which he was able to pene-

Slays the Bull of Marathon.

Theseus' journey to Crete.

[1] *Cf. History of King Arthur* (ed. Wright), vol. i.

trate the labyrinth of Daedalus, in which the Minotaur was concealed. Theseus slew him, and returned with Ariadne, whom, however, he abandoned on the island of Naxos. It had been agreed that, if successful, he should furl the black sails with which he set out on his mournful errand, and hoist white sails in their place. This he forgot to do, and Aegeus, who was watching on the shore for the return of the ship, on seeing the black sails, concluded that his son was lost, and plunged into the sea.

Other adventures carried Theseus far beyond the limits of Attica. He took part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, and in the recovery of the Golden Fleece. He also fought against the Amazons, whom he expelled from the soil of Attica, and pursued to the banks of the Thermodon. When Helen was a child, dancing at Therapne in honour of Artemis Orthia, Theseus, with the help of Pirithous, carried her away and placed her in the keeping of his mother Aethra at Aphidnae, from whence she was recovered by her brothers before Theseus could make her his wife. Then he attempted to carry off Persephone from the under-world, in concert with Pirithous. Pirithous was slain by Cerberus, and Theseus owed his escape to the aid of Heracles. On his return to Athens, he was involved in new troubles by the disastrous passion of his wife Phaedra for her step-son Hippolytus. Finally he was driven out of Attica, and retired to Scyros, where he was treacherously slain.

Theseus and the Amazons, Helen, etc.

Theseus always remained the great Attic hero, but two distinct views prevailed in legend about him. On the one hand, he is the founder of Athenian greatness—the noble and chivalrous hero in whom the Athenian type of character reaches its culmination; on the other, he is little more than a marauding chief, of exceptional strength and power. Both legends agree in his final expulsion from Attica. As we shall see, the race of the Thesidae continued but a short time on the throne of Athens.[1]

[1] On the union of Attica ascribed to Theseus, see *infra*, c. ix.

Aetolia and Acarnania.

12. Aetolus, the eponymous hero of Aetolia, was said to be a son of Endymion, king of Elis,[1] who, being stained with blood by the slaughter of Apis, was compelled to leave his native country. From him were descended two famous women, Leda and Althaea. The children of Althaea were Meleager and Deianira, with whom are connected two remarkable Aetolian legends.

Oeneus, the king of Calydon, and husband of Althaea, neglected to offer sacrifice to Artemis at the vintage festival. In revenge, the goddess sent a huge boar to ravage the lands of Calydon. But Meleager, the son of Oeneus, with the help of a number of the Curetes of Pleuron—the country is said to have been called Curetis before it was called Aetolia — succeeded in slaying the monster. A dispute followed concerning the spoils, in which Meleager slew his mother's brother, the king of Pleuron. The Curetes immediately attacked the Aetolians, to revenge the death of their king. So long as Meleager led his people, the attacks of the enemy were beaten off. But his mother Althaea imprecated bitter curses upon him for the slaughter of her brother, and Meleager, enraged at her want of affection, refused to leave his chamber and his wife Cleopatra. Only when the city was in danger of being stormed, could Cleopatra prevail on him to go out and repel the invaders. This is a brief summary of the account given in the *Iliad* of the famous Calydonian boar-hunt.[2] It is related there for a special purpose. Agamemnon has sent envoys to Achilles beseeching him to forego his resentment, and listen to the entreaties of the Achaeans. The aged Phoenix relates the story of Meleager. Though deaf to the entreaties of father and mother, and unmoved by the prospect of ruin impending on his city and people, Meleager allowed himself to be prevailed upon by Cleopatra. Whether the poet has omitted the details which did not serve his purpose, we cannot

Oeneus.

Meleager.

[1] *Infra*, § 14, p. 91.

[2] *Il.* ix. 536 ff.

say; but in other poems the legend was far more complicated. Before the birth of Meleager the Moerae announced to Althaea that her son would perish when the brand then upon the fire was reduced to ashes. Althaea preserved the brand until, in her anger at the death of her brother, she allowed it to be consumed, and Meleager perished. The hunt of the boar is also extended into a national enterprise. The conspicuous figure in it is Atalanta, the Arcadian huntress, who was the first to wound the boar, which was finally slain by Meleager. Meleager assigned the spoils to her, but they were carried off by his uncles, who, as next-of-kin, claimed what Meleager renounced. Meleager slew them, and Althaea in revenge brought about the death of her son.

The Calydonian Boar-hunt.

The Greeks believed in this hunt as a historical fact. The hide and tusks of the boar were suspended in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, where they remained till Augustus took the tusks to Rome. The skin was shown to Pausanias in the second century A.D. Near the town of Methydrium the same traveller saw the racecourse on which Atalanta had contended with her suitors. She would yield herself only to the man who surpassed her in swiftness; if defeated, the suitor must pay for his presumption with his life. With the help of Aphrodite, Milanion was enabled to succeed. She gave him three of the golden apples of the Hesperides, which he allowed to fall one by one near the maiden in the race; Atalanta stooped to gather them, and meanwhile Milanion was victorious.

Atalanta.

The sister of Meleager was Deianira. She was sought in marriage by Achelous, the river god, who paid his court to her in various monstrous shapes. At length Heracles appeared as a rival; he defeated Achelous and carried away Deianira. When crossing the Enipeus on his way to Trachis, he allowed Deianira to be conveyed over the river by the centaur Nessus. In mid-stream Nessus offered her some rudeness, and was at once pierced by an arrow from the bank by Heracles. The dying centaur gave

Deianira.

Deianira some of the poison which flowed from his wound, assuring her that it was a charm which would enable her to retain the affections of Heracles against any rival. After the capture of Oechalia, Heracles sent home Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, under circumstances which aroused the jealousy of Deianira. She sent her husband a robe anointed with the philtre, to wear when offering sacrifice to Zeus on the Cenaean headland. Warmed by the flames, the poison ate into his flesh with intolerable pains, which death alone could end. Deianira, on hearing the result, took her own life.[1]

Alcmaeon.

13. The hero of Acarnania is Alcmaeon. When pursued by the Furies, after the death of his mother Eriphyle, whom he had slain for her treachery to his father Amphiaraus, Alcmaeon was informed by the oracle that all the earth was closed against him except the portion which had come into existence since the murder was committed. This portion consisted of the islands at the mouth of the river Achelous, formed by the alluvial soil deposited by the river.[2] Thither Alcmaeon went and found repose. His son was Acarnan, from whom the nation previously called Curetes obtained their name. Acarnania was also said to have been originally in the possession of the Taphians and Teleboae, but afterwards Laertes of Ithaca and the inhabitants of the island of Cephallenia became masters of the country.[3] The historian Ephorus asserted that the town of Argos Amphilochicum was founded by Alcmaeon, but Thucydides considered that it was founded by Amphilochus, the son of Amphiaraus, who, on his return from Troy, being dissatisfied with the position of affairs in Argos, retired with his companions to Acarnania. Thucydides adds the remarkable statement, that the inhabitants of Argos obtained their knowledge of Greek from the Ambraciots, while the rest of the Amphilochians were barbarians.[4]

[1] See *infra*, p. 110. [2] Thuc. ii. 102. [3] Strabo, p. 461.
[4] Thuc. ii. 68. The necessary inference is that Amphilochus and his comrades who took part in the Trojan war were themselves barbarians (*supra*, p. 26; Strabo, p. 462).

From these legends little can be won for history. Till the foundation of the Corinthian colonies this part of Greece remained a *terra incognita;* and even afterwards it was comparatively of little importance, except for purposes of trade. But the cultivation of the vine by Oeneus, and the appearance of Heracles as a suitor for the hand of Deianira, combined with other mythological and geographical evidence, tend to show, as we have already said, that the western coast of Greece was not unknown to the Phoenician mariners. The worship of Aphrodite Aeneas on the island of Leucas and the promontory of Actium is probably due to Phoenician settlers, and it was doubtless in consequence of the existence of the worship of the goddess in these localities, that Aeneas is brought into connection with Epirus on his journey to Rome.[1] Another point of importance is the connection which the legend presupposes between Aetolia and Elis. The eponymous hero of Aetolia is the son of Endymion, king of Elis. This legendary connection is supported by other evidence. On both sides of the Gulf of Patrae we find the same local names (*e.g.*, Olenus), and the Calydonian Artemis was worshipped at Patrae.[2]

Historical value of the Legends.

II.—LEGENDARY HISTORY OF PELOPONNESUS.

Elis.

14. In the widest sense of the name, Elis included three districts. The northern part of the country was Elis proper. The central portion, extending to the south as far as the Alpheus, was Pisatis. South of the Alpheus, as far as the borders of Messenia, lay the territory known as Triphylia; the abode of three tribes or nations, Epeans, Eleans and Minyae (or Arcadians). Besides these tribes, the Cauconians also dwelt in Elis; some placed them

The Divisions of Elis.

[1] The whole subject is treated at length by Eugen Oberhummer, *Phoeniz'en in Acarnania*, München, 1882.

[2] Curtius, *Peloponn.* i. 411; *infra*, p. 106.

in the north near Dyme and Buprasium; others in the south, towards Messenia; while others considered that the whole land was once known as Cauconia.[1] Whether the Cauconians were expelled or absorbed by the victorious invaders, we cannot tell; they were of no historical importance; their territory, which was first taken from them by the Minyae, afterwards became a part of Elis.

With the help of Pausanias, we are able to give the following account of the legendary history of Elis down to the time of the Aetolian invasion. The first king of the country was Aethlius, a son of Zeus and Protogenea. The son of Aethlius was Endymion. In one form of the legend, Endymion became by the Moon the father of fifty daughters; but in the version which Pausanias considers more credible, he married Asterodea, by whom he had three sons, Paeon, Aetolus and Epeus, and a daughter Eurycyde. Endymion decided the succession to the throne by a foot-race between his sons, in which Epeus was successful. Paeon retired in chagrin to the distant land known as Paeonia. Epeus took to wife Anaxirrhoe, by whom he had one daughter, Hyrmina, but no sons. In his reign Oenomaus, the prince of Pisa, was deposed by Pelops, the Lydian, who not only possessed himself of Pisa and Olympia, but acquired a part of the territory of Epeus. On the death of Epeus, the throne of Elis passed to his brother Aetolus. By an involuntary act, Aetolus slew Apis, an Arcadian. It became necessary for him to leave Elis, and, as we have seen, he retired to the region which was subsequently called after him.[2] He was succeeded on the throne by Eleus, the son of his sister Eurycyde, from whom the inhabitants, who were previously called Epeans, received the name of Eleans. The son of Eleus was Augeas, whose stables

King Epeus.

King Eleus.

[1] Strabo, p. 345. He points out that in the "poet," the Cauconians are allies of the Trojans.

[2] Strabo, p. 357, quotes Ephorus to the effect that Aetolus was driven out by Salmoneus, king of the Epeans and Pisatans.

Heracles was bidden to cleanse. Heracles accomplished the task by directing into them the stream of the river Menius, but Augeas refused the stipulated reward, and banished his son Phyleus, who desired to deal more honestly with Heracles. A quarrel now arose between Heracles and Augeas. Both sides prepared for a conflict. Augeas entered into alliance with Amarynceus, a Thessalian settled in Elis, to whom he gave a share of the kingdom, and with the sons of Actor, the grandsons of Epeus, who also had a share in the monarchy, and dwelt in the city of Hyrmina.

King Augeas.

Against this combination Heracles fought with little success. He then took advantage of the truce of the Isthmian games to lie in wait for the sons of Actor on their way to Corinth, and slay them.[1] When the deed was discovered, the Eleans demanded satisfaction from the Argives, Heracles being then resident at Tiryns; and, on the refusal of the Argives, they pressed the Corinthians to exclude the Argives from the Isthmian games. This request being also refused, the Eleans bound themselves by a solemn oath not to compete in the Isthmian games.

Heracles.

Heracles then collected a force from Thebes, Argos and Arcadia, with which he took Augeas captive and laid Elis waste. The Eleans had been assisted by the Pisatans and the Pylians, and Heracles was about to continue his conquests against Pisa, when he was checked by an oracle from Delphi. He gave back Elis to Phyleus, to whom also he restored his father Augeas. Not long afterwards, Phyleus retired to Dulichium, leaving the throne of Elis to Augeas. Augeas was succeeded by Agasthenes, his own son, and by Amphimachus and Thalpius, the sons of the Actoridae. Diores also, the son of Amarynceus, continued to

The Resettlement of Elis.

[1] The Actoridae are the Siamese twins of antiquity, Eurytus and Cteatus. Apollodorus represents Actor as the brother of Augeas (ii. 7, 2); but in Pausanias (v. 1, 11) Actor is the son of Phorbas, the son of Lapithes and of Hyrmina, the daughter of Epeus. They were usually known as the Molionidae, from the name of their mother Molione.

hold a share in the government. At this time, therefore, there were four princes in Elis. In the Homeric *Catalogue* forty ships are assigned to Elis; twenty under the command of Amphimachus and Thalpius; ten under Diores; and ten under Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus was succeeded by his son Amphimachus, who was in turn succeeded by Eleus II. In the reign of Eleus II., the Aetolian Oxylus and the Dorians invaded Peloponnesus.[1]

The Fictitious nature of these Legends.

It is of course obvious that much of this history is fictitious. It has arisen out of the later history of Elis, and is in part an attempt to explain it. Endymion is merely the man of the west. Aethlius, the athlete, is named after the contests which made Elis famous. Epeus and Aetolus are eponymous heroes invented by the nations which bore their name. The real condition of Elis appears when we come to Augeas and the Actoridae. If three or four princes ruled side by side, we may assume that Elis was divided into three or four principalities, each governed by a separate monarch. These were to some extent combined at the time of the Dorian invasion, though the old opposition between Elis and Pisatis continued to exist, and Triphylia remained independent. The town of Elis may have been built at the time of the Dorian migration, but the various adjacent villages were not incorporated with it till after the Persian wars.

It is true that the Eleans were excluded from the Isthmian games, but for this the jealousy of the Corinthians is a sufficient reason. The elaborate explanations given in antiquity for the exclusion are mere fictions,[2] which are proved by their diversity to have no foundation. Moreover, the Isthmian games did not become a national festival till the time of Periander, many centuries after the supposed slaughter of the Actoridae.

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[1] Paus. v. chaps. 1-3.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 2, 3; Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 293.

Messenia.

15. Messenia was not a united kingdom at the time of the Dorian invasion. If we may trust the evidence of tradition, there were three cities in the country which had been the seats of regal government—Andania, Arene and Pylus. Pausanias[1] tells us that in the earliest times the land was uninhabited. But Polycaon, the younger son of Lelex, king of Laconia, was impelled by the ambition of his wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas of Argos, to gather settlers from Argos and Lacedaemon, and establish himself as king of the country. He fixed his capital at Andania. It was to Messene at Andania that Caucon brought the mysteries of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis in Attica.

Messenia.

Of the posterity of Polycaon, Pausanias could find no trace in any of the authorities which he consulted. About five generations later, Perieres, the son of Aeolus was invited to be king over Messenia. He was succeeded by Aphareus, who built the city of Arene, and invited Neleus to settle in his kingdom, at Pylus. In his reign Lycus brought the knowledge of the rites of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus, conducting him for the purpose of initiation to Andania, where Caucon had previously initiated Messene. The sons of Aphareus were Idas and Lynceus, who left no male children behind them. The house of Aphareus being thus without male descendants, the throne passed to Nestor, the son of Neleus, the king of Pylus. In the third generation after Nestor, the Dorians expelled the Nelidae from Pylus. The dislike which the Messenians cherished towards the Nelidae, who were Minyae from Iolcus, and not native princes, caused them to enter willingly into negotiations with the Dorians, whom they received into their country, and allowed to settle at Stenyclarus. Cresphontes also took to wife Merope, the daughter of Cypselus, the king of the Arcadians, by whom he had a

Neleus settles in Pylus.

[1] Paus. iv. chaps. 1-3.

number of children, Aepytus being the youngest. His government being conducted in the interest of the people, a rebellion broke out among the aristocracy. Cresphontes was slain, and all his children, except Aepytus, who was in the care of Cypselus. When Aepytus grew up, he was restored to his throne by the help of the Arcadians and the other Dorians of Peloponnesus. Aepytus took vengeance on the murderers of his father, and established himself so firmly on the throne that the royal race of Messenia were henceforth known as Aepytidae.

From Stenyclarus, the Dorians extended their power over the whole of Messenia. The Nelidae were compelled to quit their citadel at Pylus. They sought refuge at Athens, where for many generations they were the ruling family. Among the most eminent of the exiles, Pausanias mentions Alcmaeon, Melanthus, the sons of Paeon, and Pisistratus.[1]

A Criticism of the Legends.

It is perhaps uncritical to select one part of this legendary history as more worthy of credit than another. But if we are justified in drawing any conclusions at all from statements of which the historical truth can never be ascertained, it would seem that the Dorians when passing up the Alpheus made terms with the Arcadians. It was with their assistance that they established themselves in the region of Stenyclarus. The Messenians themselves at the time were either divided into two or more principalities, or under the dominion of an immigrant power which had settled at Pylus, on the coast; and it is not improbable that the Dorians found it possible to take advantage of some divisions among the Messenian people. In the first instance the Dorians received but slight support, and in no long time the opposition was strong enough to drive them out into Arcadia; but, with the help of the other Dorians in Peloponnesus and their Arcadian allies, the next generation succeeded in firmly establishing themselves, and they became masters of the whole of Messenia.

[1] Paus. ii. 18, 8, 9. Whether Pisistratus went to Athens is uncertain.

Sparta.

16. Sparta was the second settlement of the invaders in the Peloponnesus, and in time it became the most important city of the Dorians in Greece. Just below its confluence with the Oenus, the mountain walls which line the banks of the Eurotas fall back on either side, and leave a plain of moderate extent. On the left bank the land is low and marshy; on the right, spurs run down from Taygetus and form a number of low hills. Upon this higher ground lay the city of Sparta, or rather the group of villages which bore the name of Sparta in antiquity. Below the city the mountains again approach the river, which passes through rocky chasms to the sea. The extent of the plain is about eighteen miles by four.[1] Near the middle a spur of Mount Taygetus strikes across it. It was the upper portion which formed the original settlement of Sparta. Secluded from the sea, and easily defended on every side, Sparta was the natural stronghold of Peloponnesus. From the "Return" till the time of Epaminondas (370 B.C.), no invader ever set foot in the valley of the Eurotas.

The valley of the Eurotas.

In the legendary account preserved by Pausanias, the names of the territory are derived from the ancient sovereigns.[2] Eurotas is the son of Myles, the son of Lelex. Sparta is the daughter of Eurotas, who is given in marriage to Lacedaemon, the son of Taygete. Amyclas, the son of Lacedaemon, founded Amyclae. It is through Amyclas that the line of kings is continued to Oebalus, the father of Tyndareus. Tyndareus was expelled from the throne by his brother Hippocoon, and some time elapsed before he was restored, by the aid of Heracles, to his rightful heritage. From Tyndareus, the throne passed through Menelaus to Orestes, whose son Tisamenus was reigning at the time of the Dorian invasion, when apparently Sparta and Argos were regarded as forming one dominion.

Early History of Sparta.

[1] Tozer, *Lect. on Geogr.* p. 283.

[2] Paus. iii. 1.

It is perhaps reasonable to conclude from these legends that Amyclae was in early times a more powerful city than Sparta. Ephorus, indeed, represents the invaders as masters from the first of the whole of the valley of the Eurotas and of some towns in Arcadia. He adds that the entire territory was divided into six portions, Amyclae being ceded to the traitor who had placed Laconia in the hands of the Dorians. Sparta was the capital, from which kings were sent to the other five districts, and all who submitted enjoyed equal rights with the Dorian conquerors.[1] But this account is incredible. The union of Amyclae with Sparta is a mere fiction, invented to cover the failure of the Dorians to capture the town, for it is certain that the Amyclaeans retained their independence till the time of Teleclus. For a considerable period after the invasion the Dorians were unable to penetrate up or down the valley of the Eurotas beyond the limits more immediately commanded by Sparta.

Amyclae and Sparta.

Argos.

17. As we have already seen, the ancient legends of Argos carry us beyond the limits of Hellas. Io, the daughter of Inachus, the king of the country, was beloved by Zeus, by whom she was visited in the fruitful meadow of Lerna. The jealous rage of Hera changed her into a cow-headed monster, and drove her out to wander over the earth. At length she arrived in Egypt, where she brought forth her son Epaphus. From Epaphus were descended Aegyptus and Danaus. The sons of Aegyptus sought their cousins in marriage, but Danaus fled with his daughters to Argos, to escape the connection. There, according to one account, they were hospitably received, and the maidens were protected from their pursuers. According to another version, the sons of Aegyptus succeeded in their object.

Legend of Io.

[1] Quoted in Strabo, p. 364.

But on the marriage-night all the brides, save one, slew their husbands. From Lynceus, the sole survivor, and Hypermnestra, sprang Danae, who became, by Zeus, the mother of Perseus. Perseus built Mycenae, and, at his death, established his three sons, Alcaeus, Electryon and Sthenelus, at Tiryns, Mycenae and Argos. By the death of Electryon, who was slain in a quarrel by Amphitryon, the son of Alcaeus, and the banishment of Amphitryon as one guilty of bloodshed, Sthenelus became lord of the three cities of the Argolid. His kingdom descended to Eurystheus, who was finally slain in Attica (p. 60). The throne now passed to Atreus, the son of Pelops, whose sister was the mother of Eurystheus. In this manner the legend brings the Pelopids, who are heroes of the Pisatid, where Pelops contended with Oenomaus for the hand of Hippodamea, to Argos. To Atreus were born Agamemnon and Menelaus, under whom the great expedition went forth to Troy for the rescue of Helen.

The Danaids.

Eurystheus.

Between Atreus and his brother Thyestes there had been a terrible feud, which descended to their sons. In the absence of Agamemnon, Aegisthus, the son of Thyestes, seduced his wife Clytemnestra, with whose aid he slew the king on his return from Troy. But Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, lived to return to Argos and take vengeance on his mother and Aegisthus. For this deed he was tried on the hill of Ares at Athens, and acquitted, as the votes were equal. His posterity did not long remain in the land, being expelled by the descendants of Heracles, whom Eurystheus had unjustly kept from his rights. At the time of the Dorian invasion Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, was on the throne (p. 96).

The Pelopids.

Here, again, we see traces of history. Io is undoubtedly some form of a cow-headed goddess, whether we identify her with the deity of the Phoenicians, or, as the legend implies, with the Isis of the Egyptians. Perhaps she is to be identified with both, for, in another legend, she is carried away from Argos by Phoenician mariners. The establishment at Argos of the Pelopids, whose

Cow-headed deity of Argos.

home, before they visit Peloponnesus, is Mount Sipylus, near the river Hermus, points to a connection between Argolis and Asia Minor, which is confirmed by archæological researches (p. 47). The story of the flight of the fifty daughters of Danaus from their cousins may have arisen from some rule of "exogamy," which made it unlawful for women to marry men of their own family. Guesses such as these may be made in regard to portions of the myth; but more than guesses they cannot be, till we know precisely the stages in the growth of the legend. What are the earliest traits? What have been added later? Was there in reality any connection between Egypt and Argos in ancient times, or has the legend which connects them grown up after Egypt was opened to Hellenic commerce? These are questions which we have very imperfect means of answering.

Argos is the natural capital of the peninsula which runs out to the north-east of Peloponnesus; and at an early time she became the most important city in the district, to which she gave her name. But here, as everywhere in Greece, the larger unit is formed by a combination of smaller units. Even in the part of Argolis which forms the plain of Argos there were, at least, three cities existing as the capitals of independent principalities— Tiryns, on an elevated plateau near the sea; Mycenae, in the recesses of Mount Euboea; and Argos, at the foot of the outlying spurs of Lycone, an offshoot from the range of Parthenium. The early history and relations of these cities are told at length in mythological accounts, but we have no clue to the real condition of affairs. We may reasonably suppose that the temple of Hera, near Mycenae, was common to all the inhabitants of the district. But even this is no more than a conjecture. In historical times the temple is under the control of Argos.[1]

Argos, Mycenae and Tiryns.

[1] In addition to the three ancient cities in the Argolid, we hear of three kings at Argos (Paus. ii. 18, 4). The desire to reconcile the accounts of Argos in the Theban and Trojan epics, and the confusion of Argos with Mycenae, led no doubt to numerous difficulties.

At Argos there was a fourth tribe, in addition to the three Dorian tribes—the Hyrnethians (*supra*, p. 63). Without further evidence, this would lead us to suspect that the old inhabitants of the city had a share in the new settlement.

The Temenids.

Legend also describes the reign of Temenus as one of great disturbance, owing to the favour which he showed to his son-in-law Deiphontes. At length the sons of Temenus, fearing that they would be deprived of the succession to the throne, slew their father. Deiphontes fled to Epidaurus, where he was able to maintain himself in an independent position. It appears therefore that at Argos, as in Messenia, the position of the Dorians was at the first very precarious.[1]

Corinth.

18. The early history of Corinth was made the subject of an epic poem by Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, a member of the great family of the Bacchiadae. Pausanias speaks of him as the reputed author of poems (ἔπη) and also of a history of Corinth (συγγραφὴ Κορινθία), but he doubts whether the history is a genuine work of Eumelus.[2] It appears that the poems of Eumelus were lost before the time of Pausanias, but that an epitome of them, written in prose, was still in existence. This was certainly not the work of Eumelus, for at the date when he flourished (760 B.C.) prose was not yet written. We do not know where, or by whom, it was compiled, or whether it was a faithful representation of the poems upon which it was founded. It is the source from which Pausanias drew his account of the mythical history of Corinth before the Dorian invasion.

Eumelus' Poem.

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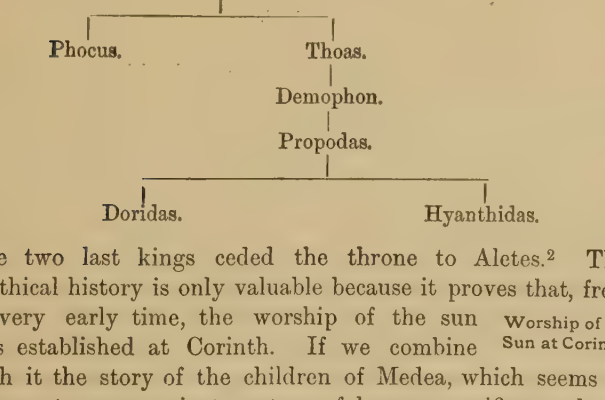
[1] Paus. ii. 28, 3 ff.

[2] Paus. ii. 1, 1. See, by all means, Kinkel, *Græc. Epic. Frag.*, p. 185 ff.

Ephyre, the daughter of Helius, was the first inhabitant of the territory of Corinth, which then included Sicyon. Afterwards Helius gave Asopia (Sicyon) to Aloeus, and Ephyraea (Corinth) to Aeetes. Aeetes left his portion in charge of Bunus, and retired to Colchis; and when Bunus died, Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, became king of the whole territory. From Epopeus the throne descended to Marathon. During the lifetime of his father, Marathon, in alarm at his fierce and lawless actions, had retired to Attica, but at his death he returned to Corinth. After dividing the kingdom between his sons Sicyon and Corinthus, he returned once more to Attica, where he died. As Corinthus left no children, Medea, the daughter of Aeetes, was brought from Iolcus to Corinth. By Medea the throne was handed over to Sisyphus.[1] The following table gives the succession to the time of the Dorian invasion :—

Ephyre, etc.

Medea.



The two last kings ceded the throne to Aletes.[2] This mythical history is only valuable because it proves that, from a very early time, the worship of the sun was established at Corinth. If we combine with it the story of the children of Medea, which seems to represent some ancient custom of human sacrifice, and the

Worship of the Sun at Corinth.

[1] Paus. ii. 3, 10.
[2] Paus. ii. 4, 3 (*supra*, p. 64).

worship of Aphrodite, which is known to have prevailed at Corinth, it is not rash to assume that the sun-god thus worshipped was the Semitic sun-god, to whom children were made to pass through the fire. This conjecture is rendered more probable by the introduction of Marathon into Corinthian legend. Marathon in Attica was the home of a fire-breathing bull in which we may recognise the symbol of Baal-Moloch.

From early times Corinth was a wealthy and important city. By crossing the isthmus, the mariner escaped the dangers of Malea and shortened the voyage to Sicily and the west. With a harbour on either side of the isthmus, and at the same time holding the key of communication between Peloponnesus and Northern Greece, the city became a centre of traffic, where strangers from all parts met and traded. There were eight tribes in the city, of which three only could be Dorian. Hence it is probable that in the so-called conquest the Dorians allowed a great portion of the original inhabitants to remain, but retained the monarchy in their own hands.[1]

Wealth of the City of Corinth.

Sicyon.

19. The Sicyonian account of the early history of their city is at variance with the Corinthian version. Aegialeus, they said, was their first king, the founder of a city Aegialea. He was succeeded by Europs, Telchis, and Apis—a powerful king who gave his name to the whole of Peloponnesus. After Apis came Thelxion, Aegyrus, Thurimachus, and Leucippus, who died without male issue. Calchinia, the daughter of Leucippus, became, by Poseidon, the mother of Peratus, who was succeeded by his son Plemnaeus. After some generations we arrive at Corax, at whose death Epopeus came to

[1] Pausanias says, indeed, *τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ* (ii. 4, 3), though he allows that the deposed kings, Doridas and Hyanthidas, remained in the city. The large number of tribes indicates a mixed population (*supra*, p. 64).

Sicyon from Thessaly, and obtained the throne. Epopeus was eager to take to wife Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus of Thebes, or, as some said, of the Boeotian Asopus, and succeeded in carrying her off by force, but afterwards died of his wounds. Then Laomedon, the grandson of Corax, gave Antiope back to her people. Laomedon found himself at war with his neighbours, the Achaeans, and summoned Sicyon from Attica to aid him. Sicyon received the hand of Zeuxippe, the daughter of Laomedon, and in due time became king of the city, which was now called Sicyon instead of Aegialea. From Sicyon was descended Polybus, in whose reign Adrastus came to Sicyon from Argos. After a few more reigns, in which the succession was broken, Agamemnon appeared with an army, and Sicyon, under her king, Hippolytus, consented to be the vassal of Mycenae. The descendant of Hippolytus was Lacestades, in whose reign Phalces, the son of Temenus, conquered Sicyon, and added it to the kingdom of Argos. The native king was allowed to retain his throne.[1]

Legends about Antiope, etc.

Sicyon becomes subject to Agamemnon.

In this account the union of Sicyon and Corinth, if it is a historical fact, is carefully concealed. The Sicyonian territory forms a part of the ancient district of Aegialea, and it is only when it is suffered to come under Attic influence, that the city receives the name of Sicyon. But while maintaining their independence in the west, the Sicyonians lost it in the east; the Argives under Agamemnon, and the Dorians under Phalces, reduced them to submission. It is worth observing that Phaestus, who held the throne of Sicyon in the second generation after Adrastus, is spoken of in the legends as a Heraclid, and the resistance which the city may have offered to the Dorians—a resistance so vigorous that the native prince retains his throne in spite of the so-called conquest—can thus be changed into a friendly compact between the descendants of a Heraclid king and a Heraclid invader.

[1] Paus. ii. 5, 6.

Phlius.

20. Of the origin of Phlius various accounts were given. Pausanias, who heard them all, came to the conclusion that the Phliasians were first Argives, and then Dorians. The first king was Aras, a child of the soil, who built his city near the hill Arantinus, at a short distance from the later town. He had a son Aoris, and a daughter Araethyrea; and in honour of his sister, who died before him, Aoris called the country Araethyrea. Of Phlias, who gave to the city the name by which it was afterwards known, there were various stories; some regarded him as the son of Cisus, the son of Temenus, others as a son of Dionysus. In the third generation after the Dorians invaded Peloponnesus, Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, advanced upon Phlius from Argos. A party in the city were inclined to listen to his proposals, and receive him, with his Dorians, giving up to them a portion of the land; but Hippasus and others were for resistance. The matter was referred to the people, who decided to receive the Dorians, and Hippasus retired to Samos.[1]

King Phlias.

The Dorian Conquest.

Troezen and Epidaurus.

21. Of Troezen and Epidaurus there is little to relate beyond the forms of worship which prevailed there. Troezen was sacred to Poseidon. It was by Aethra, the daughter of the king of Troezen, that Aegeus, who is thought to be Poseidon, became the father of Theseus. Off the city lay the island of Calauria, the meeting-place of an Amphictyony, or association for the worship of Poseidon. The cities which joined in it were Hermione, Epidaurus, Prasiae, Aegina, Athens, Nauplia, and the Minyan Orchomenus; but after the Dorian conquest Argos took the place of Nauplia, and Sparta of Prasiae. Epidaurus was thought to be a

The Calaurian Amphictyony.

[1] Paus. ii. 12. Hippasus was the reputed ancestor of Pythagoras.

settlement of Carians.[1] It was famous for the worship of Asclepius (*infra*, pp. 125 and 238). About the early inhabitants of the country, Pausanias could obtain no information. Epidaurus, the eponymous hero of the land, was variously said to be a son of Pelops, Argus, or Apollo. Of the conquest of the city by the Dorians we have already spoken (p. 64). The Epidaurians always claimed to be independent of Argos, and at some early period they established their authority over the island of Aegina, which, in legend, is the home of Aeacus and the Myrmidons.[2]

Aegina.

Achaea.

22. The northern coast of Peloponnesus, from the territory of Sicyon to the river Larissus, near the mouth of the gulf of Corinth, was known in historical times as Achaea. But this was not the original name of the country. In the earliest times it was known as Aegialea, or "the shore," and the inhabitants were Aegialeis, or shore-men. When Attica became very populous, after the victory of Ion over Eumolpus and the Thracians, a colony was sent across the Corinthian Gulf, and the shore fell into the possession of the Ionians. The country was now divided between twelve communities. After the Dorian migration, the Achaeans, who dwelt in Laconia, were led by Tisamenus against the Ionians. In a succession of battles the Ionians were driven into Helice, and finally forced back into Attica, whence they had come. The Achaeans established themselves in the country, which was henceforth known as Achaea, and maintained their ground against all attacks.[3]

The Aegialeis.

The Ionians.

The Achaeans.

After the conquest the Achaeans, following the example of the previous inhabitants, arranged themselves in twelve cities. The Ionian population was absorbed—where it was not ex-

[1] Strabo, p. 374 (Aristotle). [2] Paus. ii. 26, 2. [3] Strabo, pp. 383, 384.

pelled, and what had perhaps in earlier times been little more than villages became walled towns, each of which was farther increased by the combination of a number of hamlets. The names of the twelve cities were—Pellene, Aegira, Aegae, Bura, Helice, Aegium, Rhypes, Patrae, Pharis, Olenus, Dyme and Tritaea. In the period immediately following the conquest, the government of the Achaeans is said to have been monarchical. Tisamenus was the first, and Ogyges the last king of Achaea. In historical times we hear no more of these kings. The Achaeans formed themselves into a league, public affairs being managed by representatives from the twelve cities, who met at Aegium (*infra*, p. 257).

The unbroken repose which Achaea enjoyed for centuries was favourable to the preservation of old customs and religious rites. We have already observed that the manufacture of byssus at Patrae, and the worship of Aphrodite in that city, may have been a legacy from Phoenician colonists. Other remarkable Achaean rites are the sacrifices offered to Artemis Laphyria (p. 90) and Artemis Triclaria. Before the temple of Artemis Laphyria at Patrae there stood a great altar of burnt sacrifice. At the festival of the Laphria, a large wooden palisade was erected round the altar, into which were driven a number of animals both wild and tame. The wood was then fired, and the animals were burnt alive in honour of the goddess. About a mile and a half from Patrae, on the banks of the river "Meilichos," was the temple of Artemis Triclaria—*i.e.* the Artemis worshiped by three (adjoining) districts. Here it had been the custom to offer a yearly sacrifice of a boy and a girl to the goddess, and an oracle had declared that the cruel rite would only cease when a foreign deity was brought to the temple. It chanced that when a boy and girl were about to be sacrificed, Eurypylus appeared on the shore, on his way from Troy, bringing with him the image of Dionysus. The oracle was supposed to be fulfilled; the stream, which was hitherto known as Ameilichos (cruel) was now called Meilichos (gentle), and the inhuman rites were discontinued. But the memory of them lingered in certain expiations

performed by the children of Patrae even down to the time of Pausanias.[1]

Arcadia.

23. Secure in their mountains, the Arcadians were able to resist the Dorian conquerors. Even if we allow some transitory and partial conquests, it is clear from the long strife which was necessary to gain Tegea at a later time, that the original invaders were unable to establish themselves either in the west or the north of Arcadia. Hence in Arcadia, more than elsewhere, the old legends must have remained undisturbed; there, more clearly than in the rest of Greece, they reflected some characteristic features of early Greek civilisation. Unfortunately, our chief authority on the legends of Arcadia is Pausanias, in whose time many of the ancient villages of the country had become desolate, and with their extinction many an ancient rite and custom had passed out of existence.

The Primitive character of Arcadia.

Pelasgus[2] was the first king of Arcadia; he taught men to build huts, and to wear the skins of swine as clothing. He pointed out the acorn as the food of men, who had hitherto fed on herbs which were unwholesome, and even poisonous. He was succeeded by Lycaon, who built the city of Lycosura, the oldest of Arcadian cities, and founded the Lycaea in honour of Zeus Lycaeus. This festival continued to be the great national feast of the Arcadians. The sons of Lycaon founded cities throughout Arcadia, Pallas settling at Pallantium, Orestheus at Oresthasium, and Phigalus at Phigalea, while Nyctimus, the eldest, remained at Lycosura. In fact all the cities of Arcadia are assigned to the sons of Lycaon. His daughter was Callisto, who was beloved by Zeus. The son of Callisto was Arcas, from whom the land was called Arcadia—hitherto the name had been Pelasgia. Arcas taught

King Pelasgus.

King Lycaon.

[1] Paus. ii. 19, vii. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* viii. 1 ff.

his people to grow corn, to make bread, and to weave garments. He divided the land among his three sons, Azan, Apheidas and Elatus, who in their turn became founders of cities (see *infra*, ch. vii.).

Here, as always, a territory which was originally divided into numerous cantons, is given to a single king. The tradition which places Pelasgus at the head of the Arcadian line of kings is probably late. In the earliest legends, so far as we can tell, the Pelasgians were confined to a comparatively small area far removed from Arcadia.[1] Even the account of Lycaon would seem to be a pure invention, unless, indeed, it indicates a previous population, whom the later Arcadians expelled. At any rate, his whole male issue—numerous as it is—makes room for the son of his daughter, with whom begins a new era and a new name for Arcadia.

More interesting than any attempt to make history out of legend, are the stories of Lycaon changing into a wolf, and Callisto, whose son is Arcas, becoming the Great Bear. Here we seem to have a definite trace of early beliefs—we are at the point of development when the animal and human world are not yet divided, and a change may take place between them. Elsewhere in Arcadia we hear of a precinct in which a man lost his shadow, another well-known incident in the belief of savages. Unfortunately such superstitions had no attraction for Polybius or Strabo, and but little for Pausanias. In their place we have the fictitious eponyms of Arcadian cities, and genealogies invented to connect what was never connected.

Superstitions.

The Arcadians maintained that they were the children of the soil. They were the most ancient nation in Greece, and "lived before the moon."[2] They were doubtless right in preferring this claim. No invader had settled in their country; they had never been dispossessed since the remote period when they may have driven some earlier savages out of the land.

The Foreign relations of primitive Arcadia.

[1] *Supra*, p. 27 ff.

[2] "Proseleni."

Yet there is reason to suppose that even in early times bands issued from their mountains and settled in Cyprus. Legend tells us that Agapenor, who was carried out of his course on his return from Troy, went to Cyprus, and this connection is confirmed by the similarity of the Cyprian dialect to the Arcadian (*infra*, p. 150). We also hear of Arcadians who emigrated to the west (Evander, etc.).

THE LABOURS OF HERACLES.

24. Two groups of legends still remain, which, without being specially connected with any city, mark historical facts of importance in the early civilisation of Hellas—the labours of Heracles, and the Trojan war. Of these a short outline may be given. In them we shall find, as before, a mixture of myths in the stricter sense, and legend; phenomena of the natural world, which have been thrown into a personal form, being combined with incidents of a historical character.

Heracles.

In Grecian legend, Heracles was the son of Zeus and Alcmena, the wife of Amphitryon, king of Tiryns. Born in Thebes, where his father had taken refuge after the murder of his uncle and father-in-law Electryon, king of Mycenae, by the jealousy of Hera, Heracles became subject to the commands of Eurystheus, king of Argos, by whom he was compelled to undertake a number of toils. He slew the Nemean lion, and the hydra of Lerna, the Erymanthian boar, the birds of Stymphalus, and the bull of Crete. He caught, after a year's pursuit, the hind with the brazen feet; cleansed the stables of Augeas by diverting the course of the Menius through them; caused Diomed, the Thracian king, who fed his horses on human flesh, to be himself eaten by them; carried off the golden apples of the Hesperides, the girdle of Hippolyte, the oxen of Geryones; and enchained Cerberus in order to deliver Theseus. These were his Twelve Labours, but they formed only a small part of his works. He slew the Centaurs, delivered Thebes from Orchomenus, and turned the territory of the Orchomenians into a marsh by blocking the channels through which Lake Copais was

drained; he delivered Alcestis from death, and Prometheus from the eagle which devoured him; he assisted Atlas in sustaining heaven, and formed the outlet of the sea at the pillars which bear his name. After the murder of Iphitus, whom he slew by treachery, he was sold into slavery to Omphale the queen of Lydia. In her service he wore woman's garments and plied the distaff, while Omphale put on the lion's skin and carried the club. On his return he sacked Oechalia, the city of Eurytus, whom he slew, with all his race, except Iole, whom he brought home as a bride. He had previously wedded Deianira, of Aetolia, whom he won from the Achelous (*supra*, p. 88). In order to retain her place in his affections against her younger rival, Deianira sent him the robe which she anointed with the blood of the centaur Nessus, believing it to be a love-charm. Heracles put on the robe as he was offering sacrifice on the Cenaean headland, in thanksgiving for his victory. The supposed love-potion proved to be a consuming poison, by which Heracles perished in agony. His body was burned on Mount Oeta, and from the pyre it was thought that Heracles himself ascended to heaven a glorified hero, to dwell with Hebe and become the type of one who, by endurance and toil, had established his claim to immortality.

25. We have already seen (p. 50) that Heracles is the Greek form of a Babylonian or Phoenician sun-god. In the "Babylonian Epic" he passes through twelve labours, as the sun passes through the twelve signs of the zodiac.[1] In changing him into a national hero, the Greeks have changed his labours into a series of achievements, which are exaggerated accounts of what was really done in Hellas by some ancient tribe. We have also seen how Heracles, the Theban god, became the heir to the ancient kingdom of Argos. When it was afterwards discovered that Heracles was the progenitor of the Lydian kings, no less than the Spartan, it became necessary for the Grecian hero to be

The Semitic elements in the Greek Myth of Heracles.

[1] Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 190.

sold into slavery to the Lydian Omphale. The combination of sex which some of the Semitic races regarded as necessary to make up the full completion of the divine nature, led to the interchange of garments and occupations between Heracles and Omphale. The clearing of the ground from trees, the damming up of water-courses, the slaughter of wild beasts, by which Greece was rendered habitable, were attributed to the hero who represented Phoenician skill and energy. When this tendency had once begun, it went on with increased vivacity. Of the particular acts of Heracles, it would be absurd to attempt any explanation; but we can hardly doubt that the widespread activity of this hero points to that occupation of Greece by prehistoric nations, mainly of Semitic origin, which is becoming more and more probable on other evidence.

THE TROJAN WAR.

26. The great story of the expedition to Troy, the long siege and the capture of the city, and the disasters which overtook some of the Greeks on their return home, were the theme of many epic poems, of which two, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, have come down to us. The story which they relate is well known. Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy, stole away Helen, the lovely wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Then all the chieftains who had ever been suitors for the hand of Helen, fulfilling the oath which bound them to punish any injury done to her, set sail to revenge upon Troy the dishonour of Menelaus. Nine years they laboured with varying success. In the tenth, Achilles, the greatest hero of the Greeks, slays Hector, the "Bulwark of Troy." Even then the city remains uncaptured. Achilles is himself slain by Paris. It is not till the famous wooden horse has been built by the Greeks, and received into Troy as a pretended gift at their departure, that the town is taken. The horse was filled with chosen warriors, who, in the dead of night, slew the Trojans when resting in the belief that at length their enemies were

The Tale of Troy.

gone, and opened the gates to their companions. Then the armament returned home, but many heroes met with disaster. Agamemnon was slain by his wife and Aegisthus; Menelaus wandered seven years before he was able to regain Sparta; and Odysseus—the last to return—reached Ithaca twenty years after his departure, to find his wife surrounded by suitors who were eating up house and home.

Historical truth in the Legend.

The Greeks themselves had no doubts about the reality of these events, though they might allow that Homer had treated them in a poetical manner. On more than one occasion, in historical times, public reference was made to the *Iliad* as an authority for the past. The incidents of the war before Troy are related in the Homeric poems with all the minuteness of an eye-witness. We know what hero slew another; when and how wounds were given or received. And there have been modern writers who have treated the story of the Trojan war as an incident of early Grecian history for which we have satisfactory evidence. But minuteness does not constitute truth. The epic poets knew their business, and were able to give a most accurate and circumstantial account of conflicts, whether they took place or not. The same minuteness is found in other legends, as, for instance, in early Irish history, which are demonstrably false. The myth of Troy is not made more historical than any other myth of Greece because we happen to have two great epics upon it. On the other hand, there is no reason to have recourse to solar phenomena in order to explain what is quite intelligible without them. That there were conflicts on the shores of the Troad, between the old inhabitants of the country and immigrant Greeks, that there was an ancient city there, which the Greeks succeeded in capturing and destroying, is not at all improbable. Nothing more than this was needed to give the foundation of the epics. The *Iliad* belongs to the class of poems of which the French Chansons de Geste are more recent examples. In one of these, the *Chanson de Roland*, we have an instance to show how a great poem, with abundant variety of detail, can arise out

of an insignificant event. That "vast epic," of which "the roots are indeed French, but the branches reach to Ireland and to the East," arose out of a defeat suffered in 778 A.D. by Charlemagne, when re-crossing the Pyrenees. The Gascons fell upon the rear of his army, and not only brought the whole into confusion, but also slew the greater part of the officers of the palace; among them Roland, the warden (*praefectus*) of the marches of Brittany. In the poem the combatants are the French and the Saracens. Roland is now the hero of the story; he perishes by treachery, but his death is severely avenged. The stages through which the epic poem arose out of the historical event appear to be unknown. The development took place with wonderful rapidity. In a hundred years after Charlemagne's disaster the historian of Louis le Debonnaire thought it unnecessary to mention the names of the heroes who fell at Roncevaux (where tradition places the scene of the battle), because they were so universally known.[1] Yet there are no ballads or shorter poems in existence on the subject; nothing bridges the chasm between the historical event and the Epic. The parallel in this respect to the Homeric poems is excellent. We may imagine the songs of the bards, out of which the epic poems of Greece have arisen; and we have reference to such songs in the Homeric poems. But none exist, and there is no external proof that any ever did exist in Greece: we begin with the great epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Comparison with the Chanson de Roland.

The tale of Troy, then, is a myth, no less than the tales of Heracles or Theseus. But underneath it may lie a fact, which, if not historical, is yet sufficiently probable to throw doubt on the resolution of the legend into "Solar Phenomena;" "the immemorial story of the storming of the sky by the bright powers of the day, which had been localised in Thebes, where Greeks and Phoenicians had contended for possession, being again localised by Achaean poets in the land of their adoption."[2]

[1] *Chanson de Roland*, Ed. L. Petit de Julleville, Introduction; Eginhard, *Annales*, 777-778 A.D.; Id. *Vita Caroli Magni*, cap. ix.

[2] Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, p. 229.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ASIATIC COAST AND THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

Colonisation of Asia.

1. The tumult which had been caused by the irruption of the Thesprotians into Thessaly and the displacement of the population of Greece did not subside within the limits of the peninsula. From the north and the south those inhabitants who were unable to maintain their ground against the incursions of the Thessalians, Boeotians, or Dorians, and preferred exile to submission, sought new homes in the islands of the Aegean and on the western coast of Asia Minor. The migrations continued for several generations. When at length they came to an end, and the Anatolian coast from Mount Ida to the Triopian headland, with the adjacent islands, was in the possession of the Greeks, three great divisions or tribes were distinguished in the new settlements: Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians. In spite of the presence of some alien elements, the Dorians and Ionians of Asia Minor were the same tribes as the Dorians and Ionians of Greece. The Aeolians, on the other hand, were a composite tribe, as their name implies. Though they claimed the descendants of Agamemnon as their leaders, they were a mixed multitude, in which Locrians, Magnetes and Boeotians were united with the ancient Achaeans of Peloponnesus. It is possible that they did not receive their distinctive name till gathered together in the common enterprise of colonisation. An eponymous hero was subsequently found for them in Aeolus, the father of Sisyphus and Cretheus.[1] For the Aeolians the

The Three Tribes.

[1] *Cf.* Holm, *Griech. Geschichte*, i. 85; Duncker, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 285. We may conjecture that the Ionians began to feel their unity about the time of the centralisation of Attica; the Dorians at the "Return."

chief point of embarkation was Aulis, on the Euripus; the Ionians came from Athens; the Dorians from various towns in Peloponnesus.

2. Of these three divisions the Aeolians lay farthest to the north. The precise limits of their territory were differently fixed by different authorities. Strabo describes the Aeolian cities as scattered over the whole region between the territory of Cyzicus on the north and the Hermus on the south;[1] Phocaea marked the boundary of Ionia. Ephorus fixed the limits at Abydus and Cyme respectively.[2] But in the stricter sense Aeolis did not extend farther to the north than the promontory of Lectum, the western point of the Troad. Tradition distinguished two streams of migration. The first was led by Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and after his death in Arcadia, by his son Penthilus, who advanced as far as Thrace. "Then Archelaus, the son of Penthilus, brought the expedition to the territory of the Cyzicenes in the neighbourhood of Dascyleum, and finally Gras, after advancing as far as the Granicus, returned with the larger part of the immigrants to Lesbos, and secured the island." The second body of emigrants was led by Cleuas and Malaus, who also claimed to be descendants of Agamemnon. Though they left Greece at the same time as the expedition under Penthilus, these heroes "lost time in Locris and the neighbourhood of Mount Phricius, but afterwards they crossed the sea and founded the city of Cyme, to which they gave the name of Phriconis," after Mount Phricius, in remembrance of their home.

Aeolis.

Traditional account of the Migration.

It is highly improbable that an expedition which had penetrated through the Troad as far as the Granicus should abandon the mainland and retire to Lesbos, and there is evidence to show that this part of Asia Minor did not come into the possession of the Greeks till a date much later than that of the Aeolic migration. Cyzicus was first colonised by the Milesians in 756 B.C., and Abydus is

Criticism of the Tradition.

[1] Strabo, p. 582. [2] *Id.* p. 563.

said to have remained in the possession of the Thracians till it also received a Milesian colony in 715 B.C. Hence we may leave the Troad out of sight, and assume that Lesbos was the point to which the Penthilids guided their ships from Aulis. This island was the prize which fell to the first emigrants; the second band passed on to the mainland and founded the city of Cyme. From Lesbos and Cyme proceeded the great majority of the Aeolian cities, which amounted in all to about thirty.[1]

Of the course of the conquest and the resistance made by the inhabitants we know almost nothing. The Aeolic migration is said to have continued for a longer time than that of the Ionians.[2] A tradition preserved by Strabo asserts that the invaders captured Larissa, the stronghold of the Pelasgic natives, by erecting against it the fortress of Neon Teichos, after which they proceeded to establish themselves at Cyme. In the *Vita Homeri* ascribed to Herodotus the order of events is reversed. Cyme is here represented as the original settlement, from which the invaders spread over the coast. On the south they found their way blocked by the Pelasgic citadel (Larissa), which they reduced by building a new fortress in a still more commanding situation. The position of the two cities Cyme and Larissa is in favour of this form of the tradition.[3]

Larissa and Cyme.

3. The Aeolic cities fell into two groups: a northern, of which Lesbos was the centre, and a southern, composed of the cities in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hermus, and founded from Cyme. Of the second group, twelve cities formed themselves into a dodecapolis—doubtless for some religious purpose. The names of

Cities of Aeolis.

[1] In the *Schol.* to Lycophron, *Alex.* 1374, we have another version of the legend: Orestes went to Lesbos, and there died before he could found a city. This is derived from Hellanicus.

[2] Strabo, p. 582; τέτρασι γὰρ δὴ γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν φασὶ τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς, διατριβὰς δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ χρόνους μακροτέρους. *Cf.* Pherecydes ap. Strab. 632.

[3] Strabo, p. 621; Professor Ramsay, "History of Southern Aeolis," *Journal of Hellen. Soc.* ii. 282.

the members of this association are given by Herodotus as follows: Cyme, Larissae, Neon Teichos, Temnus, Cilla, Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegaeae, Myrina, Grynea and Smyrna. Aegiroessa (Poplar-town) is not mentioned elsewhere, and may be the same city as Elaea (Marsh-town), which subsequently became of importance as the port of Pergamum. Smyrna was, at an early date, conquered by exiles from Colophon, when it ceased to be a member of the Aeolian league.

The northern group included the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos. In the latter there were originally six cities: Methymna, Mytilene, Pyrrha, Eresus, Arisba and Antissa, but Arisba was subsequently conquered and enslaved by Methymna. To this group also belonged the Hecaton-nesi, a number of small islands lying in the immediate neighbourhood of Lesbos, and the settlements on the coast of the Troad, towns or villages chiefly of Lesbian origin, and in possession of the Lesbians. But "the cities on Ida" are placed by Herodotus in a separate class.[1]

In two instances the Aeolians penetrated farther into the interior. The city of Magnesia on the Maeander, though lying far to the south of Aeolis, is distinctly stated to have been an Aeolian city, founded by emigrants from Thessaly and Crete. We can hardly doubt that the town of the same name under Mount Sipylus, though not included among the Aeolian cities, derived its population from the same source. The irruption of the Thesprotians into Thessaly confined the Magnesians to the mountainous tract which bore their name. From hence, owing possibly to the increase of population, a number of emigrants crossed the sea and established themselves in Asia. The subsequent arrival of the Aeolians and Ionians, in numbers which they could not resist, drove them farther into the interior. With a singular tenacity they retained in both their settlements the name of

Magnesians in Asia Minor.

[1] Herod. i. 149-151; Strabo, p. 599 ff. E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Troas*, p. 80 ff., is of opinion that all the colonies in the Troad were later than 700 B.C.

the country from which they came, for the Ionians and Aeolians, generally though not universally, adopted local names for their new cities.[1]

The Ionian Colonisation.

4. The second great stream of migration proceeded from Athens. Among the refugees, who, as we have seen, flocked to Attica from all parts of Hellas, some rose to eminence in the new country. The Nelidae of Pylus, more especially, became the dominant family, owing to the services which they rendered in delivering Attica from her enemies. Xanthus, the Boeotian chief, when invading Attica from the north, challenged Thymoetas the Athenian king to single combat. Thymoetas declined, and his throne was, in consequence, given to the Pylian Melanthus, who accepted the challenge and slew his enemy.

Story of Melanthus and Codrus.

Codrus, the son of Melanthus, performed an act of still greater devotion. The Dorians, when attacking Attica from the south, were assured by the oracle of Delphi that they would never succeed in taking the city if they slew the Athenian king. On hearing of this response, Codrus left the city in the dress of a peasant, armed with a reaping-hook. He fell in with two of the enemy, of whom he slew one, but was at once slain by the other. The Athenians sent a herald to ask for the body of their king, and when the Lacedaemonians were informed of his death they immediately withdrew from a contest in which they had no longer any hope of success.

Sons of Codrus.

Between the children of Codrus a quarrel sprang up. Medon, the heir to the throne, was lame, and, owing to this defect, his younger brothers refused to accept him as king. When the Delphian oracle

[1] Prof. Ramsay, *Journal of Hellen. Soc.* iii. 52, considers Magnesia to be later than the Aeolic cities. In the *Catalogue* (*Il.* ii. 756) we are told that the Magnetes were present at Troy with forty ships, under the command of Prothous, but in the *Iliad* we hear nothing of them. These, of course, are Europeans. The monuments in the neighbourhood and the legends of Tantalus point to Magnesia as an older seat of the Lydian (or Hittite?) power, of which Sardis was the later capital. When, why, or how the change was made we do not know.

decided in favour of Medon, they determined to leave Attica. They directed their course, at the head of a body of emigrants, across the Aegean, to the Carian city of Miletus, which they captured. In like manner Androclus, another son of Codrus, obtained possession of Ephesus and the island of Samos; the colonies spread until a dodecapolis was established, similar to the union which the Ionians had founded in their old settlements on the northern shore of Peloponnesus. In some cities the Ionian population formed a minority; Phocaea, for instance, though considered an Ionian city, was colonised by Phocians, and Clazomenae was mainly inhabited by exiles from Cleonae and Phlius. But in all the sons or descendants of Codrus became the ruling families.

They lead the Emigrants.

It seems to be characteristic of Greek legend to ascribe to a single person or generation a series of acts which must have been achieved by the combined efforts of large numbers of men during many generations. The colonisation of Ionia was undoubtedly, in the main, an achievement of emigrants from Attica, but it was not accomplished by a single family or in the space of one lifetime. "Not all who took part in the so-called colonisation of Ionia were Ionians; some were Thebans, led by Philotas the grandson of Peneleos, others Minyae from Orchomenus, others Phocians, others Abantes from Euboea."[1] Before the Asiatic coast could be reached the Cyclades must have been wrested from the Carians; and though the Lydians of Sardis appear to have been indifferent to the fate of the coast, the Carians were not dislodged from the mouths of the Maeander and Cayster without a severe struggle. In some of the cities we hear of more than one colonisation, and even among the emigrants there were constant feuds and conflicts.

The Emigrants of mixed race.

[1] Paus. vii. 2, 3, after Herod. i. 146 *τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται.*

Ionian Cities.

5. The two most famous of the Ionian cities were (1) Miletus, and (2) Ephesus. The first was a Carian city previously known as Anactoria.[1] The Ionians were conducted to it by Neleus, the son of Codrus. After slaying the Carian inhabitants, they took their wives and daughters in marriage. In revenge the women pledged themselves by an oath not to eat with their husbands or call them by their names.[2] Ephesus was originally in the hands of the Leleges and the Lydians, who were driven out by the Ionians under Androclus. The ancient sanctuary of the tutelary goddess of the place was transformed by the Greeks into a temple of Artemis, who was here worshipped as the goddess of birth and productivity in accordance with Oriental rather than Hellenic ideas.[3] At both these cities the Thesmophoria were celebrated; but the Apaturia, which Herodotus regards as a peculiar mark of Ionic descent, were not celebrated at Ephesus.[4] Nor do the five tribes of Ephesus agree with the old Ionic division into four. Of the remaining cities, (3) Myus, and (4) Priene were established on Carian soil. The founder of Myus was Cyaretus or Cydrelus. The name of the city was derived from the mosquitoes which infested it, and which at length became so intolerable a plague that the inhabitants abandoned their city and retired to Miletus. At the founding of Priene, Androclus of Ephesus lost his life in battle against the Carians. But Aepytus, a son of Neleus, and Philotas, who brought a number of Thebans to share in the colony, were regarded as the founders. (5) Erythrae was originally inhabited by Cretans,

[1] The name Miletus was thought to have been derived from Miletus a Cretan, who directly or indirectly colonised the place, before the Ionians (Paus. vii. 2, 5; Strabo, p. 632 ff.).

[2] Herod. i. 146. This may be a Greek explanation of a piece of savage "etiquette" which survived among the Carians.

[3] According to Strabo, p. 633, the city was originally called Smyrna, after an Amazon of that name. The Amazons worshipped at the old temple.

[4] As the Thesmophoria were celebrated by women, apart from men, the statement implies that the Carian wives of the Milesian settlers adopted Greek rites. At Colophon also there were no Apaturia.

with whom were associated Lycians and Pamphylians. The Ionian colonists were a band collected by Cnopus (or Cleopus) from the various cities of Ionia, who united with the old inhabitants. (6) Clazomenae was chiefly a colony of Phlius and Cleonae, founded by Parphorus, or Paralus of Colophon. (7) At Teos the settlers were a mixed population, consisting of a remnant of the Minyae under Athamas, Ionians under Nauclus, a son of Codrus, and Boeotians under Geres. (8) Phocaea was established by Phocians from the foot of Parnassus; their leaders were Damon and Philogenes of Athens: (9) Colophon, by Ionians, under Damasichthon and Promethus, sons of Codrus: (10) Lebedus, by Ionians under Andraemon. Of the more important islands, Naxos was not included in the Ionian dodecapolis, though it is said to have been colonised by Neleus on his way to Miletus, and subsequently by Archetimus and Teuclus. (11) Samos was occupied by Epidaurians under Procles, and, for a time, by Androclus of Ephesus. (12) Chios was first inhabited by Cretans under Oenopion, and subsequently by Carians, and Abantes from Euboea. These were driven out by the great chief Hector, but of the manner in which Chios became connected with the Ionians the Chians could give no clear account.[1]

6. Herodotus informs us that four different dialects were spoken among the Ionian cities of Asia, of which one was peculiar to Miletus, Myus and Priene, cities founded on Carian soil; the second to the Lydian cities Ephesus, Colophon, Teos, Lebedus, Clazomenae and Phocaea; the third was in use at Chios and Erythrae, the fourth was confined to Samos.[2] This distinction, whatever it may signify, did not prevent all the twelve cities from being united in a religious sacrifice offered each year on the headland of Mycale to Poseidon, the deity of the Ionians. The festival was administered by the "king" of

Dialects of the Ionian Cities.

Ionian sacrifice to Poseidon.

[1] Paus. vii. 2 ff.; Strabo, p. 633. The accounts differ. The colonisation of Chios by Oenopion, a name which also appears in the legends of Naxos and Cyzicus, is due to the abundance of the Chian wine.

[2] Herod. i. 142.

Priene; it was a condition of membership that the city should be governed by descendants of Codrus. When the Phocaeans applied for admission, they were disqualified till they had placed at the head of their city descendants of Codrus, summoned from Erythrae and Teos.[1] This worship of Poseidon the colonists brought with them, perhaps from Achaea. At Calauria also an Amphictyony of cities had combined to offer sacrifice to this deity, who was established beside Athena on the Acropolis of Athens and at Troezen (p. 104).

The Dorian Colonisation.

7. The southern part of the Anatolian coast, and the southernmost islands in the Aegean were colonised by the Dorians, who wrested them from the Phoenician or Carian occupants. Of the islands, Crete is the most important. In legends this island was known as the abode of Minos, who first established a maritime empire in the Aegean, and instituted a system of laws, from which, it was thought, Lycurgus borrowed the institutions of Sparta. The Cretan empire is by some supposed to have been Hellenic, and this was the opinion of Thucydides; by others Carian, a view with which the evidence of Herodotus is not incompatible; others consider that the story of Minos is but the Grecised account of the occupation of Crete by Phoenicians. Here, as elsewhere, it is probable that one name became the centre round which many legends gathered. There were, we cannot doubt, Phoenician colonies in Crete, from which the name of Minos may have been derived. But it was not the custom of the Phoenicians to found naval empires, such as that which legend ascribes to Minos. Nor is there any reason for attributing to the Phoenicians or Carians the peculiar institutions found among the Greeks in Crete. They are due, like those of Sparta, to the Dorian immigrants, and arose out of the necessity of holding in check a subject population. The Dorians claimed to have colonised Crete with a band of emigrants from Argos under the command of

Crete.

Minos.

[1] Paus. vii. 3, 10; Strabo, p. 384.

Althaemenes, but as Idomeneus, the Cretan, was mentioned in the Homeric poems, and Dorians were there included in the population of Crete, it became necessary to assume a still earlier settlement. While yet in Hestiaeotis in Thessaly, the Dorians had sent colonists to Crete.[1] Even these were not the first inhabitants of the island. Homer speaks of Eteocretes and Cydonians "who dwell by the stream of Jardanus," in addition to Dorians, Achaeans and Pelasgians. The Cydonians were probably Phoenicians, for the name Jardanus is of Phoenician origin; the Eteocretes are possibly related to the Carians of Asia Minor, though the Cretans themselves regarded the Carians as subjects, and claimed alliance with the Lycians.[2]

Dorian Colonists in Crete.

Crete was one of the oldest centres of civilisation in the Aegean. The most important cities of the island were Cnossus, Gortyn and Cydonia. The first was the city of Minos, and therefore, we may presume, a Phoenician settlement before it passed into the hands of the Greeks.[3] The name Gortyn is found in Arcadia, where it was given to a city or village, and to the river which flowed through it. It is remarkable that the Arcadian Gortyn was adjacent to a place known as Maratha, a name which some trace

Cities of Crete.

[1] For Minos see Thuc. i. 4, Herod. i. 171. For Althaemenes, and the still earlier migration, see Andron and Ephorus in Strabo, pp. 476, 479, 481. We cannot ascribe any real value to Andron's statement, yet it agrees with the view which represents the Dorians as invading Argolis by sea. To Thucydides, Minos is merely a Greek tyrant, like Cypselus or Polycrates. Hoeck's *Kreta* is still the best book about the island.

[2] The epithet τριχάικες applied to the Dorians of Crete in Homer (*Od.* xix. 177) was supposed by Andron to refer to the three cities founded by the Dorians in Doris: Erineum, Boeum and Cytinium, but Strabo (p. 476) points out that there were four cities in Doris, and that τριχάικες was derived by some from the τριλοφία, by others ἀπὸ τοῦ τριχίνους εἶναι τοὺς λόφους. It is difficult to believe that Κάρ and Κρής are not variations of the same name, in spite of the additional τ in the latter stem. The name *Eteocretes*, "genuine Cretans," points to some mixture of population.

[3] The older name of the city was Caerātus. It was the centre of the legends connected with the Minotaur.

to a Phoenician origin.[1] Cydonia was, of course, the city of the Cydonians. The oldest Laconian colony in Crete was Lyctus.[2]

8. The Dorian colony in Rhodes, like that in Crete, was ascribed to the band which left Argos under the command of Althaemenes, and here also, probably to meet the statements in the Homeric poems (the *Catalogue*), it was assumed that a still earlier colony had been sent out. After the slaughter of Licymnius, Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, fled to Rhodes, whether from Boeotia or Tiryns was not clear.[3] These earlier colonists might indeed claim to be Heraclids, but as they left Greece before the Return of the Heraclids, they could not have been Dorians. Legends spoke of still earlier inhabitants: the Telchīnes who were skilled in all manner of metal work, and the Heliadae or children of the sun. These stories, like the legends of Minos, may have been derived from the Phoenician occupants of the island. The Dorians founded three cities—Lindus, Ialȳsus and Camirus. In Ialysus the Phoenicians appear to have formed a part of the population beside the Greeks.

Rhodes.

The Earliest Inhabitants.

Dorian Cities.

9. The large and fertile island of Cyprus, which was known to the authors of the Homeric poems, was never thoroughly Hellenic. It is true that Greek princes reigned in some of the cities, but the island was only for short periods independent of one or other of the great eastern monarchies—Assyria, Egypt, Persia. Herodotus states that the Greek colonists were emigrants from Athens and Salamis—Arcadians and Cythnians. He also informs us that Curium was said to be a colony from Argolis. Legends related that Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, who was king of Arcadia after Echemus, was carried away to Cyprus on his return from Troy, and founded there the city of Paphus, and the temple of Aphrodite. His daughter subsequently

Cyprus.

[1] Paus. viii. 28, 1.

[2] Strabo, p. 481.

[3] Strabo, p. 653. The later city of Rhodes was built about the time of the Peloponnesian war from the plans of Hippodamus, the architect who designed the Piraeus.

sent a robe from Cyprus to Athena Alea, the tutelary deity of the Tegeans. This connection between Arcadia and Cyprus, however it may have arisen, is supported by the dialect of the Cyprian inscriptions, which, in some respects, presents a striking resemblance to that of Arcadia.[1]

Arcadia and Cyprus.

Other islands colonised by the Dorians were: Thera, which was a colony from Lacedaemon, and named after Theras, the uncle and guardian of the sons of Aristodemus (see p. 221); Melos, which was also founded from Lacedaemon; Carpathus, Calydnae, Nisyrus and Cos. Cos was founded from Epidaurus. The colony, like the mother city, was distinguished by the worship of Asclepius, a hero-deity, who appears to be of distinctly Greek origin, and derived in the first instance from the Phlegyae in Thessaly. In Thera and Melos, and no doubt in many other islands, the Dorians found Phoenician settlements (*supra*, p. 53).

Thera

Melos, etc.

10. From the islands, the Dorians spread to the mainland. The peninsula of Cnidus was perhaps the first settlement; and as the Cnidians were devoted to the worship of Aphrodite, we may assume that here also there was a previous colony of Phoenicians. Halicarnassus was founded from Troezen, and the Ionian element in the city must have been considerable. Not only is Troezen connected in legend with Theseus the Ionian hero, but Poseidon—as among the Ionians—was worshipped with peculiar zeal at Halicarnassus.[3]

Dorians on the Mainland.

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[1] Herod. vii. 90; v. 113. Meyer, *l.c.*, § 279, and for the dialect: Collitz, *Sammlung*, etc., vol. i. For Cyprus consult Engel, *Kypros*, 2 Bde., 1841; Cesnola, *Cyprus;* Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. iii.

[2] For Melos, *cf.* Herod. viii. 48; Thuc. v. 84, 112. Thera, Herod. iv. 147 ff. Calydnae and Nisyrus, Herod. vii. 99; they also were from Epidaurus. Other islands belonging to the Dorians were Anaphe, Therasia, a portion of the Santorin group, and Astypalea. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 199 notes.

[3] Other Dorian cities were Myndus and Phaselis. For Cnidus, Herod. i. 174. Halicarnassus, Herod. i. 144; ii. 178. The "oekist" was Anthes (Strabo, p. 374). His descendants continued to be priests of Poseidon, C. I. G. 2655. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 372.

Of the Dorian cities, six united in the common worship of Apollo on the headland of Triopium. These were Lindus, Ialysus and Camīrus in Rhodes, Cos, and, on the mainland, Halicarnassus and Cnidus. The rites were accompanied with games, at which prizes were given. All other Dorians were rigidly excluded. But in time the "Hexapolis became a Pentapolis:" Agasicles of Halicarnassus, when victorious in the contest, refused to place his tripod in the temple of the Triopian Apollo, and took it home to his own house. His city appears to have supported him in the act, and in consequence Halicarnassus was excluded by the remaining five cities from the sacrifice.[1]

The Hexapolis.

The Worship of Apollo.

II. The territory which the Aeolians acquired is described by Herodotus as more fertile than that occupied by the Ionians, but of a less excellent climate. It was inhabited by a number of tribes, among which the Troes or Teucri were the chief.[2] Callīnus, the earliest of the Greek elegiac poets, whom many later writers followed, regarded the Teucrians as immigrants into the Troad from Crete. Other authors, with even less probability, derived Teucer from Attica, where the deme of the Xypeteans was said to have been the "deme of the Trojans." In Homer the inhabitants of the city of the Troad are Dardani or Troes, and the name Teucri does not occur. In historical times the Gergīthes, who dwelt in the town of the same name (Gergitha) near Lampsacus, and also formed the subject population of Miletus, were the only remnants of this once famous nation.[3] But their former greatness was attested by the Homeric poems, and the occurrence of the name Gergithians at various places in the Troad. To this tribe

Inhabitants of Aeolis.

The Teucri.

[1] Herod. i. 104.

[2] Homer speaks of Leleges and Pelasgi as dwelling in the country colonised by the Aeolians. The Bebrycians, who inhabited the extreme north of the Troad, were Phrygians; see E. Meyer, *G. der Tr.* p. 2 ff. The Trojan language was distinct from the Phrygian: *Hymn. Ven.* 113.

[3] Strabo, p. 605. Herod. v. 122: Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν.

belonged the Troy of the Grecian Epic, the site of which, so far as it represents any historical city, is fixed at Hissarlik. In the *Iliad* the Trojan empire extends from the Aesepus to the Caïcus; it was divided—or, at least, later historians speak of it as divided—into nine principalities which recognised Priam as their chief.[1] But the Homeric descriptions of the city and its eminence are not to be taken as historically true. Whatever the power and civilisation of the ancient stronghold exhumed by Dr. Schliemann may have been, it was necessary for the epic poet to represent Priam and his nation as a dangerous rival in wealth and arms to the great kings of Mycenae and Sparta.

Troy.

12. Of the Carians and Leleges, from whom the Ionians wrested their possessions on the mainland, we have already spoken (p. 30 ff.). South of these nations the coast was inhabited by Pamphylians and Lycians. In the first, who, as their name implies, were a union of various nations, the Greeks formed a considerable element. Some had wandered thither after the capture of Troy, others belonged to the later bands of emigrants.[2] The Lycians who dwelt on the upland slopes of Milyas, and by the banks of the Xanthus, appear to have been one of the most highly civilised, as they were the bravest, of the numerous tribes who inhabited Asia Minor. Their native name was Tramilae, but their origin was unknown. The Cretans claimed them as kinsmen. They were doubtless an immigrant race who drove the native Solymi back to the mountains from the shore. The Greeks gave the name of Lycia—"land of light"—to the beautiful country which the Tramilae inhabited; and the Athenians claimed connection with them through Lycus, the son of Pandion! The Lycians dwelt in cities, but the most remarkable monuments in the country are the tombs which are cut in the rocks on each side of the valley of the Xanthus. Not without reason

Inhabitants of Asia Minor.

Pamphylia.

Lycians.

[1] Strabo, p. 584. The oldest city was very small: E. Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 52.

[2] Strabo, p. 668; Herod. vii. 91.

is the body of Sarpedon conveyed from the battle-field of Troy to be entombed in his beloved Lycia! The whole of the valley is spoken of as one long necropolis. Herodotus asserts that the Lycians had a curious custom of deriving descent through the mother, but whether the custom was ancient or not he does not tell us. It may have come into existence at the time when the nation was almost entirely extirpated by the Persians.[1]

Tombs in Lycia.

Among the nations of the interior, the Phrygians were the most important. We have seen that Herodotus identifies them with the Thracians (*supra*, p. 34). He also connects them with the Armenians, and they were undoubtedly of Indo-germanic race. Their civilisation impressed the Greeks deeply, for not only did their legends of Midas and Silenus, of Marsyas and Lityerses, become a part of Greek mythology, but the Greeks borrowed much from them in the cultivation of the art of music, especially the music of the flute. They were a rural people, devoted to agriculture, from which they derived great wealth; it is said that one of their ancient laws punished with death any man who killed an ox or destroyed an implement.[2] Their chief deities were Bagaeus, whom the Greeks identified with their Zeus, and Cybele, the Great Mother by whose bounty the earth gave her fruits; their wine-god was Sabazius, with whom at a later time were associated Attys and the abominations of Syro-Phoenician worship. The invasion of the Cimmerians inflicted a severe blow upon the country. Midas, who was king at the time, is said to have put an end to his life, and the monarchy ceased at his death (693 B.C.). Subsequently Phrygia became a part of the empire of Croesus, from whom it passed to the Persians. The ancient wealth of the country is attested by the remains

Phrygians.

Cybele.

[1] Herod. i. 173; vii. 92. There is no reason to develop a theory of "mother-right" here. Such a system prevailed among the Aethiopians whom Nicolaus of Damascus describes (*Frag.* 142 M.), but they were on an entirely different level of civilisation from the Lycians.

[2] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 128 M.

of cities; some of considerable extent. The rock-dwellings and tombs are also very striking, most of all the tomb of Midas, discovered by Colonel Leake, which presents a surface covered with ornamentation of a peculiar pattern, surmounted by a gable, and bearing an inscription in Greek letters.[1]

The tomb of Midas.

13. In the valley of the Hermus, where the heights of Mount Tmolus sink towards the river, lay the citadel of Sardis, the capital of the Lydian empire. Even at the time when the Greeks colonised the coast, this city must have been of considerable importance. It was probably the western out-post of that oriental empire, now supposed to be Hittite, which extended through Asia Minor to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and from thence to Syria. By communication with Sardis and the Lydians the Greeks were able to receive the products and manufactures, the arts and sciences, of the Mesopotamian kingdoms. One of the Greek standards of coinage—the lighter or Euboean—is thought to have been introduced by this route,[2] and it is not improbable that the resemblances which have been observed between the art of Assyria and the descriptions of Homer are due to influences conveyed through this channel.[3] For a long time the monarchs of Sardis allowed the Hellenic cities to develop unmolested, but with the accession of Gyges at the beginning of the seventh century B.C., the Lydians entered on a career of aggression, which, after a century and a half of warfare, compelled the Asiatic Greeks to recognise the power of the throne of Sardis.[4]

Sardis.

The Hittite Empire.

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[1] See Leake, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 21 ff. Milchhoefer, *Anfaenge der Kunst*, p. 24, gives a good illustration of the tomb. See also Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Society*, iii. 1 ff. Phrygia was remarkable for a tradition of a flood, in which Ararat figures. *Cf.* Steph. Byz. *Iconium*, and the article in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.

[2] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. xxxix.

[3] Brunn, *Die Kunst bei Homer*. But see Ramsay, *l.c.* p. 50.

[4] For the Hittites (Kheta) in Asia Minor, see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, iv. 484 ff.; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* § 255; Sayce,

14. Among the nations with whom they were now brought into contact, the Greeks found a number of rites and forms of worship, which they adopted and maintained. In spite of obvious differences, the new deities were identified with their own, and received Greek names, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, Hera. The native legends were revised from Greek points of view and extended, and in their new form became a part of Greek mythology.

Influence of Asiatic deities on the Greeks.

The god of the Teucrians was Apollo Smintheus, whose symbol was the mouse. For this curious attribute legend invented a sufficient reason. When the Teucrians from Crete landed in the Troad, they were bidden to settle wherever they were attacked "by the earth-born." The oracle was fulfilled at Hamaxitus, when the mice of the field came up in the night and devoured all the leather of their arms and implements. At Chryse there was a statue of the god, the work of Scopas of Paros, with the foot resting on a mouse. Other native shrines of Apollo were Branchidae, near Miletus, the most important of the Asiatic oracles, and Clarus, near Clazomenae.—At Delphi the responses were given through the lips of an inspired woman, but the inspiration was only felt while the priestess was seated on the tripod. In Aeolis we meet with the Sibyl, or prophetess,

Apollo Smintheus.

Apollo at Branchidae.

Anc. Emp. p. 213 ff. To them are ascribed the reliefs at Nymphaeum, mentioned by Herod. ii. 106, and the so-called Niobe of Sipylus. More important are the ruins and sculptures to the east of the Halys at Uyük, and Boghaz Kiöi (Pteria? Herod. i. 76), which are said to be surpassed in extent by Babylon and Nineveh alone. Hamilton, *Travels in Asia*, i. 393; Texier's *Asie Mineure*, p. 607; Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* i. 550. In the next section Professor Meyer collects the traditions of this empire preserved by the Greeks (Κήτειοι, *Od.* xi. 521; Memnon, Herod. ii. 106: the Hittites are naturally confused with the Assyrians). *Cf.* Strabo, p. 671. The names Sadyattes, Alyattes are Semitic in formation, which is an additional reason for supposing that these princes were of Hittite race, and we may hold the same of the Heraclid dynasty which they succeeded. See also Maspero, *Hist. Ancienne*, pp. 246, 519 ff., 4th ed.

who was not attached to any temple, though the Greeks ascribed her power to the love or inspiration of Apollo. Such a sibyl is Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, in the epic poetry of Greece; such was the famous sibyl of Erythrae, and Herophile of Cyme, and many others.[1]—At Lampsacus the Greeks found and appropriated the worship of Priapus, whom they connected in legend with Dionysus. His rites were of the same rude and obscene character as the rustic festivals in honour of the god of wine, for Priapus was one of the many forms into which the male procreative force of nature was deified. He is said by Strabo to have been "brought into notice by recent authority," and has no place in the theogony of Hesiod. The name might be new, but the deity had long been known in Attica.[2]—The Carians were zealous worshippers of Zeus. At Mylāsa there was a temple of the deity, who was known to the natives by the name of Osŏgo; Labranda, distant about seven miles from the city, was the site of the ancient temple of Zeus Stratius, whom the Carians "alone of men worship."[3] A third temple (at Mylasa) was that of the Carian Zeus, common to all the Carians, in which the Mysians and Lydians also had a share "as brethren." At a fourth temple, near Stratonicea, the

Sibyls.

Priapus.

Carian Zeus.

The Temple at Labranda.

[1] Strabo, p. 613, regarding Apollo Smintheus as the destroyer of mice, quotes other instances of epithets applied to deities for a similar reason:—Heracles Conopion, whom the Oeteans worshipped as expelling locusts; Heracles Ipoctonus, who destroyed the ipes which ruined the vines of the Erythraeans at Mimas; Apollo Erythibius at Rhodes. Mr. Lang takes quite another view of the mouse, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 103-120. For the Sibyls, see Paus. x. 12.

[2] Strabo, p. 588, *ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων*. It is remarkable that Herodotus argues in a similar manner in regard to Dionysus (ii. 49).

[3] In Strabo's time the temple still contained a wooden image of the deity. Labranda was connected with Mylasa by a sacred road, along which the processions were led. The priests of the temple, who held office for life, were taken from the leading families in Mylasa.

Chrysaoreon or Carian league held its meetings and offered sacrifices to Zeus Chrysaoreus.[1]

Magna Mater.

The most distinctive and the most characteristic of the native deities of Asia Minor was that great goddess, whom the Greeks called by various names: Adrastea in Aeolis, Athena at Ilium, Artemis at Ephesus, Hera in Samos, Rhea in Crete. She is the Great Mother, the mother of the gods, whose Asiatic name was Ma, or Amma, or Cybele. She dwells on the summits of the mountains, Dindymus, Sipylus, or Ida, and is known by their names; or she is represented by a rude stone, as at Pessinus. She is the mistress of the world and the ruler of its forces. The wild creatures are subject to her, and lions are yoked to her chariot; for her the Dactyli of Ida ply their craft. She is the mistress of birth and productivity; the deity of many breasts, the guardian of marriage. She is also the queen of cities, on whose head rests the mural crown. Her worship was a wild mixture of exultation and despair, of asceticism and sensuality. Round her were gathered the stories of Attys and Sabazius, of Cronus and the Corybantes. At Ephesus she was worshipped by maidens, whom the Greeks called Amazons. As similar rites prevailed on the banks of the Thermodon, the story of the Amazons was transferred to that site also and by degrees the Greek logographers were able to give an account of the nation of Amazons—women who lived apart from men and trained themselves in warlike exercises. From those parts of Asia Minor which came into the possession of the Greeks the Amazons naturally disappeared, yet many of the Greek cities—Myrina, Smyrna, etc., were said to have been named after them.[2]

Amazons.

[1] Strabo, p. 659, 660. Of Zeus Stratius he says—*τιμᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλατέων . . . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴδια τῆς πόλεως. Cf.* Herod. v. 119, *μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρές εἰσι οἱ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. Id.* i. 171, for Carian Zeus.

[2] For Cybele see Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, § 253; Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* i. 531. For the Amazons, Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* i. 554. In Homer they appear in Asia Minor (*Il.* iii. 189, vi. 186; *cf.* ii. 813).

15. In their colonies the Greeks seem to have become acquainted for the first time with the working of metals. The Dactyli of Mount Ida in the Troad are spoken of as the first who practised the working of iron, and it is a fact that iron is found in Mount Ida. There were also Dactyli in Crete, whence they spread to Cyprus and to Rhodes, where they were known as Telchines. These legendary metallurgists are represented as mischievous imps, ever ready to injure mankind. We may suppose that such legends reflect the impression made on the Greek colonists by the superior work of Phoenician artists. The Phoenicians would probably represent their art as a mystery; and it was not less natural for the Greeks to disparage those who possessed the secret of a skill superior to their own. Even in Hesiod's time potter was ready to decry potter![1] Other arts also, such as the embroidery of garments, for which Thera was famous, and the manufacture of byssus, probably passed from the East to Greece.

Arts in the Colonies.

Metal work.

16. It is among the Dorian colonies in the Aegean that we find the earliest traces now in existence of the Greek alphabet. The oldest inscriptions are those of Thera and Melos, which Kirchhoff would place in the second half of the seventh century B.C. It is usual to fix 800 B.C. as the earliest date to which the knowledge of writing in Greece can be carried back. But the arguments for this are by no means conclusive. We know that Phoenician traders visited the coasts of Greece in much earlier times, and their trade could not be carried on without some know-

The Alphabet.

The worship of the Syrian Astarte was confused with that of the Great Mother, and to this the wilder excesses (Attys, etc.) were due (Meyer, *l.c.* § 257). For some peculiar rites in Cyprus see Herod. i. 199, with which must be compared his accounts of Lydia and Babylon.

[1] See the explanation in Strabo, p. 654—οἱ δὲ (φασί) τέχναις διαφέροντας τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων βασκανθῆναι καὶ τῆς δυσφημίας τυχεῖν ταύτης. The Telchines were accused of putting sulphur in the water of Styx! The Chalybes and Tibarenes on the north coast of Asia Minor supplied metals to the traders of the Aegean. Is the Temesa of *Od.* i. 184 Tamassus in Cyprus?

ledge of Phoenician among the Greeks, and of Greek among the Phoenicians. With this may have come the alphabet, and with the alphabet the materials for writing. The fact that the earliest forms of the letters are found in the islands, is not, I conceive, a proof that the alphabet was first received there, but rather that the forms of the letters remained unchanged.[1] Among the inscriptions of Cyprus there are some which present us with a peculiar mode of writing, quite distinct from the ordinary Phoenician type. The existence of this "script" proves that the inhabitants of Cyprus were in possession of a mode of writing before they acquired the Phoenician letters. That it was not discarded, but preserved into historical times and adopted by the Greeks, is a striking instance of the degree to which development can be arrested by the influence of local feeling or habit.[2]

Antiquity of writing in Greece.

Cyprian Writing.

17. In all these colonies the form of government was, in the first instance, monarchical. The chief who led out the victorious band remained at the head of the new city, and was succeeded on the throne by his descendants. There may have been factions and feuds[3] among the leading families, but for some time the nobility were content to be governed, with a light hand, no doubt, in the hereditary manner. We have seen that only those cities could be admitted to the worship of

[1] The absence of early stone monuments is of little importance in this question; for (1) the earliest Phoenician monuments are apparently far later than the introduction of writing into Phoenicia; (2) we have nothing to prove that writing on stone was the earliest form in which the art was practised. See also Taylor, *Alphabet*, ii. 28 ff.

[2] The Cyprian writing—which is a syllabarium rather than an alphabet, and cannot, therefore, be of later origin than the alphabet of the Phoenicians—is, by Sayce, supposed to be derived from the same source as the Hamathene (Taylor *l.c.* ii. 112 ff). On the Greek letters, see Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch.*, etc., Berlin, 1877; Taylor, *l.c.* vol. ii.

[3] We are told that at Erythrae Cnopus was slain by Ortyges, who, with the help of Amphiclus of Chios, succeeded in establishing a cruel and licentious oligarchy, which quickly perished through its own vices (Athenaeus, p. 259, quoting Hippias of Erythrae).

Poseidon at Mycale which were governed by descendants of Codrus. Even in the time of Strabo we hear that the posterity of Androclus, the founder of Ephesus, were called kings, wore the purple robe, and occupied the chief place at the games. They carried a staff in remembrance of their ancient sceptre.[1] But, in the course of a few centuries, the monarchy entirely disappeared, except in name, and oligarchy—broken by the rise of a tyrant—was the universal form of government. The cities became exceedingly prosperous, and above all Miletus, which was the pride of Ionia, with colonies fringing the shores of the Euxine, and a trade that extended from Egypt to Sybaris. A feeling of unity was kept up among the various groups—Aeolians, Ionians, Dorians—by the worship of common deities, but this feeling never went so far, except in the minds of one or two great men like Thales, as the establishment of a real confederation. Even in the presence of their enemy at Sardis the Greek cities remained isolated, and therefore helpless. In Crete peculiar institutions arose, of a character unknown in any other Dorian state but Sparta. Of these we shall speak in a later chapter. The date of their origin is unknown.

Form of Government in the Colonies.

Disappearance of Monarchy.

18. The traditional dates fix these colonies in the generations which followed the Trojan war. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, was the leader of the Aeolian colonies, which preceded by four generations the colonies to Ionia.[2] The Dorian colonies were led out by Althaemenes, the grandson of Temenus, and thus fall two generations after the return of the Heraclids. These dates would give us roughly 1150-1050 B.C. for the period of colonisation. In themselves they are of no value. We may suppose that the colonisation of the Aegean and of Asia Minor by the Greeks was coincident with the expulsion of the Phoenicians. The greatest extension of the Phoenician power in the Aegean seems to fall in the fifteenth century B.C.

The date of the Migrations.

[1] Strabo, p. 663.

[2] Id. p. 582.

From the thirteenth it was gradually on the decline, and the Greeks were enabled to secure the trade for themselves—partly, no doubt, by the skill which they had learned from the foreign seamen. By 1100 B.C. Asia Minor may have been in the hands of the Greeks, though the Phoenicians still maintained themselves in Rhodes and Cyprus. But all attempts at chronology are illusory. It is remarkable that even Greek tradition places Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes, where the Phoenicians remained longest, among the oldest colonies, and that the Cyprian Greeks were acquainted with a peculiar mode of writing, which, as we have seen, must be a survival from a very remote period.[1]

Relations of the Greeks and the Natives.

19. Though the Greeks secured a great part of the trade of the Aegean by their colonies, and, in some instances, only established themselves after severe conflicts with the natives, their relations to the inhabitants of Asia Minor do not seem to have been hostile. We have observed that the Lydians for a long time made no attempt to molest the Greek cities. They probably derived advantages from the Greek traders which they were unable to obtain in any other way; for the "sons of the Lydians" had no ships of their own.[2] The Carians carried on a trade, in rivalry with the Greeks, from their own native ports. The Greeks despised them, but there is no trace of a hatred of races. The Phrygian prince Midas sent gifts to Delphi, and the Greeks borrowed the music of Phrygia. The Lydian Gyges is even said to have gained the throne of Sardis by the help of the Delphic oracle. The alphabets also of the Lycians and Phrygians were mainly derived from the Greek.

[1] *Cf.* Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, §§ 259, 279. Duncker follows a different calculation, and would bring the Asiatic colonies down to 950–850 B.C. The Greek legends of Cretan colonies on the Asiatic coast, and even in Greece (Curetes), are difficult to reconcile with the supposition that Crete first became known to the Hellenes after 1000 B.C. They point to that island as a centre of activity in a very early period. But it is impossible to distinguish the elements—Hellenic and non-Hellenic—which are here combined.

[2] Herod. i. 27. For the Lydian love of trade, *ib.* i. 94.

For the Greek settlers the contact with new forms of civilisation was attended with the happiest results. Whether the epic poetry of Greece arose in Asia is still a matter of discussion. It is, however, certain that elegiac and lyric song, music and philosophy, history and science, passed from the east of Hellas to the west. But we are not to suppose that these magnificent achievements of the Hellenic genius were borrowed from the half-barbarous tribes of Phrygia, Caria, or Lydia. Even ancient Babylon could furnish nothing but the elements of mathematics and astronomy. It is the glory of the Hellenes that they were able to fashion the rough material thus supplied into a literature and science far in advance of the conceptions and powers of the Asiatic nations.

CHAPTER V.

THE HOMERIC POEMS.

I.—NATURE AND HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE POEMS.

1. THE earliest monuments of Hellenic literature which we possess are the poems known as the works of Homer and Hesiod. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, of which Homer was the reputed author, are epics in the more elevated style, relating episodes of the Trojan war. The poems of Hesiod (in addition to some minor works) consist of a *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. The *Theogony* is an attempt to give an account of the origin of the world, of the gods, and of the heroes; in the *Works and Days* we have a poem of humble life, which dwells on the hardships of the Boeotian peasantry, and lays down a number of rules for the arts of agriculture and navigation. It is obvious that we cannot determine the historical value of the pictures which these poems present of social and political life, before we have arrived at some conclusion about the nature and date of the poems themselves. Reserving Hesiod for another chapter, we will speak first of the date of the Homeric poems, and next of their nature and characteristic features, though it is true that the two subjects cannot be entirely separated.

Epic Poetry of Greece.

2. The most satisfactory manner of deciding the date of any literary composition is to connect it with some historical fact or institution of which the date is known. With the Homeric poems this simple plan is impossible. On the one hand there is no contemporary history, on the other we do not know that it was not the poet's design to carry his audience back to a time long

Date of the Homeric Poems.

anterior to that in which he was living, and present before their eyes a picture which was ideal rather than real. It is obvious that if the Homeric poems are compositions similar in character to the *Idylls of the King*, it will be a waste of time to examine them in the hope of finding evidence by which we can ascertain the date of their composition. We may indeed obtain evidence of the kind of civilisation which formed the poet's ideal, but until we have ascertained whether that civilisation existed in the poet's time, we can draw no conclusions whatever from it which will enable us to fix the date of the composition of the poem.

We are not left entirely without external evidence enabling us to fix the downward limit before which the Homeric poems must have been composed. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the two survivors of a large number of epic poems which related the legend of the Trojan war. At some date, which it is impossible to fix, but which appears to have been later than the period of the great Alexandrian scholars Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus, these poems were combined with others into an "epic cycle." The "cycle" formed a history of events from the creation of the world down to the death of Odysseus at the hands of his son Telegonus, and it appears that the poems which were introduced into it were curtailed, or otherwise altered, in order to make the narrative continuous and consistent.[1]

The Cycle.

3. Though the other poems which treated of the Trojan legend are lost, abstracts of their contents, as they existed in this "cycle," have been preserved, and from these, together with the references to the poems which occur in writers of antiquity, we are able to form a tolerably clear conception of the contents of the poems, and their relations to each other. The whole series of the Trojan poems, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is as follows:—

Poems of the Cycle.

[1] For the Cycle see Welcker, *Der Epische Cyclus;* Monro, *Journal of Hellenic Soc.*, vols. iv. v.; Bergk, *Griechische Litteratur-Geschichte*, ii. 27 ff.

1. The *Cypria*, of which the authorship is doubtful. Some considered it the work of Stasinus of Cyprus; others attributed it to Hegesias, or Hegesinus, of Salamis in Cyprus; others, again to Homer.
2. The *Iliad*.
3. The *Aethiopis*, by Arctinus of Miletus.
4. The *Little Iliad*, by Lesches of Mitylene.
5. The *Capture of Ilium*, by Arctinus of Miletus.
6. The *Nosti*, by Agias of Troezen.
7. The *Odyssey*.
8. The *Telegonia*, by Eugammon of Cyrene.

In this series each poem takes up the story where the preceding poem ends. The same incidents are not repeated in any two of them, with some slight exceptions. If, then, it is possible to prove that the Cyclic[1] poems, as they are called, appear to have been composed with reference to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in order to complete or continue the story of the taking of Troy, we have evidence to show that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were in existence before the composition of the other poems. And if we can go further and fix some probable date for the composition of the Cyclic poems, we have at least a period below which the composition of the Homeric poems cannot be brought.

Comparison of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' with the Cyclic Poems.

4. It is a remarkable fact that, while the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* amount to forty-eight "books," the Cyclic poems are comprised in twenty-nine. We do not know whether the books in the different poems were at all equal in length; the books of Apollonius Rhodius are much longer than those of the *Iliad*, and the books of the *Iliad* are longer than those of the *Odyssey;* but unless there was some great disproportion in the division, these two poems surpassed in length all the rest put together. On the other hand, the space of time occupied by the action of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is very short, extend-

[1] I use this term for the poems in the cycle (of Troy) exclusive of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

ing over a few days, or weeks at the most.[1] For these reasons it is highly improbable that the Homeric poems are a supplement to the Cyclic poems. When the leading events of the Trojan war had been related by various authors in comparatively short poems, it is unlikely that two epics, longer than any of the rest, should be composed on the incidents of a very brief period in order to complete the story.

In Length.

The same result follows when we compare the plan and construction of the Cyclic poems, so far as they can be ascertained, with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Aristotle remarks that many tragedies had been constructed out of the *Cypria*, and "more than eight" out of the *Little Iliad*, though the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* supplied material for one or two plays at the most.[2] This observation is fully justified by the analyses of the poems which we possess. They contain a number of incidents which may be gathered "round a single person, or into a definite space of time, or round one action of many parts," as Aristotle tells us, but we cannot trace in them the unity of subject or excellence of plan, which, in spite of all criticism, mark the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is reasonable to suppose that poems so loose in structure, and deficient in unity, were composed with reference to epics already in existence, and generally received. It is not reasonable to imagine that they were the first, and that the more perfect and independent compositions were a later addition or supplement. For it is obvious that the Cyclic poems could, without injury to their structure, have been enlarged to include the incidents of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could not be extended to include the whole Trojan story. It is the peculiar merit of Homer, in the eyes of Aristotle, that he did not choose the entire war for the subject of his poem, but a portion only.

In Unity.

5. The importance of these general arguments will be rendered clearer if we take one of the Cyclic poems and point

[1] *Iliad*, fifty days; *Odyssey*, forty days.

[2] *Poetics*, c. 23, end.

out in greater detail the relation in which it stands to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The abstract of the *Cypria*[1] shows not only that the poem ended where the *Iliad* begins, but that it presupposed and explained many incidents in the *Iliad*. The "purpose of Zeus," which we find mentioned in a vague and indefinite sense at the beginning of the *Iliad*, is twice defined in the *Cypria;* at the beginning of the poem, it is the purpose of Zeus to relieve the earth from the excessive weight of mankind; at the end of it Zeus determines to aid the Trojans by withdrawing Achilles from the battle-field. The explanation of the presence of Chryseis in Thebe (at a distance from her home), which we find in the *Cypria*, must also have been inserted in order to explain the situation in the first book of the *Iliad*. The embassy of the Greeks to Troy to demand Helen and her goods is mentioned in *Il.* iii. 203 ff.; the sack of Lyrnessus, and the capture of Briseis in ii. 690; the sack of Pedasus in xx. 92. In *Il.* xx. 89 ff., Æneas alludes to the capture of his oxen (*cf. Il.* xx. 188 ff.). Troilus is mentioned as dead in *Il.* xxiv. 257. Reference is made to the presence of the gods at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in *Il.* xxiv. 59 ff., and to the judgment of Paris in *Il.* xxiv. 28 ff. All these events were related at greater length in the *Cypria*.

'The Cypria.'

Presupposes the 'Iliad.'

The relation of the *Odyssey* and the *Cypria* is not so clear, but it is worth observing that the alternate life and death of the Spartan twin brothers is known to the *Odyssey* (xi. 301) and the *Cypria;* while in the *Iliad* they are both spoken of as dead and buried, though their death takes place after Helen's departure for Troy (*Il.* iii. 243-4). The legends of Oedipus and of Theseus and Ariadne are mentioned in the *Odyssey*, xi. 271 ff., 321, and formed part of Nestor's narrative in the *Cypria*. The first is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, but there is an allusion to the second in *Il.* xviii. 592.

The 'Cypria' and the 'Odyssey.'

But the *Cypria* also contained incidents unrecorded in

[1] See Monro, *Journal of Hellenic Society*, v. 1 ff.

either the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The circumstances of Helen's abduction are quite differently described in the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. In the former the first union with Paris takes place in Lacedaemon, but in the *Iliad* (iii. 443) on the island of Cranae; nor do we hear anything of the absence of Menelaus at the time in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. A number of heroes who are mentioned in the *Cypria* are not found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, such as Palamedes, Telephus, Protesilaus, Lycomedes. Nothing is said in the Homeric poems of the sack of Teuthrania by mistake for Troy, or of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis as a propitiation of Artemis. Nothing again is known of the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles in Tenedos, or of Cycnus, or of the meeting of Helen and Achilles. All these incidents were related in the *Cypria*.

Discrepancies between the 'Cypria' and the Homeric poems.

6. The abstracts of the other Cyclic poems merely confirm the conclusion for which we are prepared. On the one hand, the Cyclic poems do not enter on the ground covered by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; on the other, they fill up the interstices in the legend. They describe incidents which are mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* in a manner which seems intended to explain or develop the story, and they also contain many incidents which are not mentioned in either of these poems. From the nature and construction of the Cyclic poems we were inclined to draw the inference that they were composed after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and our conclusion is confirmed by what we know of the incidents recorded in them.

Differences between the Homeric and Cyclic poems.

Once more. The Cyclic poems allude to ideas and customs which seem to be later than the Homeric poems. It is unlike the Homeric poet to make Helen the daughter of Nemesis. The personification of abstract nouns is indeed found in Homer, as we may see from the examples of Ate, Eris and the Litai, but the combination of Helen and Nemesis belongs to a later development of ideas. In other Cyclic poems we find instances of purification from murder, and of the worship

of ancestors, customs which are never mentioned in the Homeric poems. The weird magical strain which so widely separates the *Odyssey* from the *Iliad* becomes more strongly marked in the Cyclic poems, and at the same time the high epic tone is lowered till some of the characters (Odysseus, Menelaus) approach the level at which we find them in Greek tragedy.

'Non-Homeric' and 'Post-Homeric.'

Whether the interval which separated the Homeric from the Cyclic poems was long or short depends on the difficult question whether legends and customs which are "non-Homeric" are "post-Homeric." A long time would elapse before such customs as purification from murder and the worship of ancestors could become current in a nation to which they were previously unknown. If, therefore, we could assume that these customs are post-Homeric because they are not mentioned in the Homeric poems, the interval which separates the Cyclic poems, in which they occur, from the Homeric, in which they do not, would be a wide one. But it is impossible to assume this without further inquiry.

Date of the Cyclic poems.

7. Unfortunately we have little trustworthy information about the date of the Cyclic poems. We know, of course, that they were in existence at an early period in Greece, but the first traces of them—the pictures on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia—cannot be placed before 600 B.C. Tradition, however, carries some of the poems much higher. Arctinus of Miletus is placed in the first Olympiad (776 B.C.); Lesches in the thirtieth Olympiad (660 B.C.). For the *Cypria* it does not seem possible to fix any definite date.[1] Our downward limit therefore for the Homeric poems is not very high, but it is high enough to prove that at least they were in existence in their present form long before Pisistratus (560 B.C.). If we wish to state the result favourably for the antiquity

[1] See Bergk, *l.c.* p. 44. He places the *Cypria* between Ol. 15 and 20, but on very slender grounds.

of the Homeric poems, it may be said that the *Iliad* is presupposed by the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, a poet whom tradition places in the first Olympiad.

In a similar manner it may be shown that the *Capture of Ilium* by Arctinus, in which we find the story of the wooden horse, of the sacrilege of Ajax, and the disasters of the return to Greece, forms as it were an introduction to the *Odyssey*, in which these events are incidentally mentioned. And in the *Nosti* of Agias "a large proportion" of the incidents "appears to be taken directly from Homer."[1] The *Odyssey* therefore seems to be older than either of these two poems, and if Arctinus is rightly placed about the first Olympiad, it is probable that the *Odyssey*, no less than the *Iliad*, is anterior to that date.

8. We may assume then, so far as we can proceed on this line of evidence, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were in existence before the Olympic era. This justifies us in speaking of them as the oldest existing poems in the Greek language. But when we attempt to estimate their value as pictures of early Hellenic life and civilisation we are met by difficulties at every step. Are the statements which we find in the Homeric poems facts or fictions? Are they copied from contemporary life, or from a supposed past which was never present? Are the omissions which we find in these poems due to ignorance and negligence, or may we legitimately infer that customs and legends which are not mentioned in the Homeric poems were unknown at the time when those poems were composed?

Homeric poems before the First Olympiad.

9. The *argumentum ex silentio* is at all times of little value, and it is highly probable that in the Homeric poems it is of no value whatever. There are two events in early Greek history which admit of no reasonable doubt: the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, commonly known as the "Return of the Heraclids," and the migration of the Ionians from the mainland of Greece

Omissions in the Homeric poems.

[1] Monro, *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, v. 39.

into Asia Minor. These changes are not merely recorded in legends, but they are presupposed by subsequent history; the arrangement of the population of Greece in historical times arises out of them. In the Homeric poems there is no reference to either of these events; not a single line can be found which betrays any knowledge of them. When confronted with such evidence, our first impulse urges us to assume that the poems were composed before the Return of the Heraclids and the Ionian migration. The events are not mentioned because they had not yet occurred. Such a hypothesis would at once carry back the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to the tenth century B.C. or even earlier. But it is quite needless. The Cyclic poems, which we know to have been composed centuries after the state of Greece had been changed by these great movements, appear to have been no less silent about them than Homer.[1] We need no second instance to warn us that in the epic compositions of Greece silence cannot be accepted as a proof of ignorance. And this is a fact of the highest importance in regard to the historical value of the Homeric poems. If we cannot infer that the return of the Heraclids was unknown to the epic poets, though they never allude to it, what sort of right have we to maintain, on the ground of similar silence, that there was a period in the history of Hellas in which purification from bloodshed and the worship of ancestors were not prevalent customs? These are institutions of the greatest antiquity, and widely spread among the Aryan nations.[2] It is remark-

No reference to the Dorian invasion, etc.

Argumentum ex silentio of no value.

Worship of ancestors; purification.

[1] It is true that we have not these poems before us, but so far as the analyses given by Proclus enable us to judge, this statement is correct. Even in Greek tragedy the epic illusion is maintained.

[2] For the worship of ancestors, *cf.* De Coulange, *La Cité Antique*, bk. i. ch. 2: "On trouve ce culte des morts chez les Hellènes, chez les Latins, chez les Sabins, chez les Etrusques; on le trouve aussi chez les Aryas de l'Inde. Les hymnes de Rig Véda en font mention. Le livre des lois de Manou parle de ce culte comme du plus ancien que les hommes aient eu."

able that they are not mentioned or alluded to in the Homeric poems, and it is not easy to give a reason for the omission. We may perhaps conjecture that in the Homeric poems, which are so greatly occupied with warfare and bloodshed, the customs which are connected with domestic life are disregarded. However this may be, considerations such as these compel us to admit that the Homeric poems are at any rate imperfect, if not fictitious, pictures of civilisation.[1] This must be admitted, and we can also add that we have no means of ascertaining the extent to which omission was carried. The desire to distinguish the past from the present would at least incline a poet to give altered accounts of contemporary events or manners if he introduced them into the picture of an earlier generation.

Unhistorical nature of the poems.

10. On similar grounds we may assume that the geographical knowledge or ignorance displayed in the Homeric poems is not a test for determining the date of their composition, or fixing the geographical limits of the "Homeric" world. If little or nothing is said about the Black Sea, that is no reason for supposing that the poems were composed before the Euxine had been penetrated by Greek mariners. The supposition implies that the Greeks were not only unacquainted with the Euxine themselves, but also that they were unable to obtain information from other sources. Nor can the account of Thrinacria, even if we assume that island to be Sicily, furnish proof that the *Odyssey* is subsequent to the Greek voyages to the west. Phoenician traders could easily have conveyed such a knowledge of Sicily as the *Odyssey* implies to the ports of Asia Minor or Argos. Arguments such as these rest on two hypotheses. They assume that the poet states all that he knew in his poems, and also that what he knows is knowledge at first hand, and not gathered from the accounts of others. Neither of these two hypotheses can be seriously maintained.

Geographical knowledge no test of date.

[1] These customs are mentioned in the Cyclic poems (*supra*, p. 143).

II. The hesitation which we feel in accepting the silence of the Homeric poems as evidence in determining the historical condition of early Greece is confirmed by the vagueness and inaccuracy of the statements which we find in them. From a study of the *Iliad*, and more especially of the part known as the *Catalogue*, which is generally supposed to be of much later origin than the rest, we arrive at the following facts :—

Vagueness of the statements in the poems.

The 'Catalogue.'

(1) That in Homer there is little or no notice of the distinction between the Ionian and Dorian tribes ;

(2) That the Anatolian coast is in the possession of the allies of the Trojans. Miletus is still a Carian city, as Herodotus says that it was before the Greeks conquered it ;

(3) That the islands of Chios, Samos, Paros, Naxos, Ios, are not mentioned in the *Iliad*, though Rhodes and Crete are mentioned (Rhodes in the *Catalogue* only) ;

(4) That a number of common names in Greek geography never occur in Homer. Such are Megara, Eleusis, Pisa, Delphi, Peloponnesus. On the other hand, prominence is given in the *Catalogue* to a number of Boeotian towns of which we hardly hear elsewhere.

(5) A number of heroes are mentioned in the *Catalogue* as leading contingents to Troy of whom we hear nothing in the action of the *Iliad*.

A glance at the map will show that it is almost incredible that the Greeks could have been unacquainted with the islands of Samos and Chios, at a time when they sailed as far as Rhodes and Crete.[1] At any rate, after the examples

[1] Chios is in the track of the Greeks when sailing from Argos to the Troad, as is shown in *Odyssey*, iii. 170.

of omission which have been quoted, it is far less incredible that the authors of the Homeric poems and the *Catalogue* [1] mentioned those islands, and those only, which it was necessary to mention in connection with the heroes who went to Troy. Any place which in the epic or local tradition did not send a contingent to Troy was "out of the story," however well-known its existence might be. This is the reason why we hear nothing of Eleusis or Megara in the poems. In like manner the poetic situation required the presence of a barbarian element in Asia Minor, and therefore the poets represented the country as still in the hands of the barbarians, quite regardless of any contemporary state of affairs. In this respect even the *Catalogue* goes back to a period anterior to the colonisation of Asia.

An untrustworthy sketch.

Again, if the account of early Greece presented in the Homeric poems were at all accurate we should expect it to be consistent. This is by no means the case. The *Catalogue* cannot be made to agree with the Homeric poems, not even with the *Iliad*, of which it is intended to form a part. The Arcadians do not join in the Trojan war, yet in the *Catalogue* Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, brings a contingent of Arcadians large enough to fill sixty ships! As the Arcadians had no seaport, and therefore could not have vessels of their own, the *Catalogue* tells us that Agamemnon supplied them with ships. In like manner Nireus, the most beautiful hero who went to Troy, except Achilles, is represented as bringing a contingent to the aid of Agamemnon from a small island contiguous to

Inconsistency of Homeric poems.

[1] *Cf. Il.* ii. 494 ff. with Monro's notes; Id. *English Hist. Review*, i. 47. Throughout, the *Catalogue* exhibits glaring contradictions to other (probably local) legends. Unless it did so, it could not be in harmony with Homeric poetry. The natural inference is that the empire of Agamemnon never existed in early Greece, but when, by the creation of the *Iliad*, the idea of this empire was formed, contradictions arose between the epic and local legends. The *Catalogue* even goes beyond the poems, and introduces a number of cities and heroes who have no place in the *Iliad*.

Rhodes. Neither Rhodes nor Nireus are mentioned in the rest of the *Iliad*.[1]

It is clear from this that the *Catalogue* cannot be accepted as any authority on Homeric geography or history. It is in fact no more than a fanciful enumeration, in the style of Boeotian poetry, of the contingents which, according to various legends, went to Troy. Those who assert that it is a picture of some early condition of Greece must explain how it can be at one and the same time a trustworthy account of an age preceding the Doric invasion and a late addition to the Homeric poems; or, if they refuse to regard it as a late addition to the poems, they must account for the discrepancies between it and the *Iliad*. They must explain how in the very infancy of Greek navigation, when a three days' voyage precluded all communication between Greece and Troy for ten years, Agamemnon was able to assemble a fleet only surpassed by that of Xerxes.[2]

Nature of the 'Catalogue.'

[1] The reason of these insertions is perhaps the following. In lists of the suitors of Helen, of which we have copies in Apollodorus and Hyginus (*Fab.* 81), names occur which are not found in Homer. The legend asserted that these suitors were bound by their oath to Tyndareus to revenge the wrong to Helen (Thuc. i. 19). Hence the author of the *Catalogue* represented those heroes as joining the host with a contingent. This seems to be the reason why Antiphus, Agapenor, Nireus, Gouneus, Prothous, Thalpius, Polyxenus, Phidippus, names unknown to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, are found in the *Catalogue*. In the action of the *Iliad* they bear no part whatever. Later legend used the story of Agapenor's appearance at Troy as the foundation for the colonisation of Cyprus by Arcadians under his command (Paus. viii. 5, 2; viii. 53, 7). The story of the colonisation is connected with the temples of Athena Alea, and Aphrodite Paphia at Tegea. The Cyprian dialect and the Arcadian present resemblances, and the legend of the colonisation is as old as Herodotus. The similarity of the dialects proves an early connection between the Arcadians and Cyprus; but it does not of course prove the presence of the Arcadians at Troy. The legend was probably invented to explain the connection.

[2] It is, I think, impossible to prove that cities omitted by the *Catalogue* are later than the *Catalogue*, or that cities mentioned in it were necessarily places of prominent importance at any period of history.

12. Once more. Where the poems afford us the means of forming an opinion, as at Ilium or in Ithaca, it does not appear that the descriptions given in them are accurate. Scholars have made battle-fields of both places without coming to any decisive result. And it requires very little reflection to convince us that a decisive result is not to be expected. In describing the journey of Telemachus and Pisistratus from Pylus to Sparta, the poet omits all mention of the mountain ridge of Taygetus, which it could not be an easy matter to cross. Yet he is aware of the existence of the mountain, for he mentions it elsewhere, and he also describes Sparta, quite accurately, as lying in a hollow. He omits the difficulty from indifference; and his audience, equally indifferent, were not at all likely to point out the omission.[1]

An obvious disregard of geography in Homer.

13. Whatever line of investigation we pursue, we cannot fail to recognise the same want of historical truth in the poems. Among the arms employed in Homeric warfare, the most important is the chariot drawn by two horses. Such a war-chariot is unknown in historical Greece with one exception (Cyprus).[2] On the other hand, we know that the war-chariot was commonly used in the great armies of the Assyrians. Is it, then, more credible to suppose that the poets have glorified their heroes by ascribing to them an arm which they did not possess, or that the "Homeric Greeks" appeared with horses and chariots before Troy? If we choose the second alternative we have to show how the

Other instances of want of historical accuracy.

War chariots.

[1] It might be added, that the notion of two young men driving about in a chariot and pair would be ridiculous in historical Greece; and the chariot would be an encumbrance in crossing the mountains, as every Greek would know. The remark of Eratosthenes is still worth quoting: "When we have found the cobbler who stitched the bag of Aeolus we may hope to find the places which Odysseus visited."

[2] It is said that Eretria (Strabo, p. 448) in Euboea, could put sixty chariots in a procession (Bergk, *l. c.* p. 8); but we never hear of these chariots being used in war.

horses and chariots were carried across the sea in the small ships of the timid Grecian mariner.[1]

Shield, etc.

The shield of the Homeric warrior is described in some passages of the *Iliad* as round, in others as extending from the head to the foot. A round shield of a diameter large enough to cover a man's height would be an encumbrance rather than a protection, and cannot have existed at any period. The explanation of the contradiction seems to be that epithets are a part of the epic poet's stock. In the first instance the proper epithets were applied to shields according to their shape. One was small and round, the other, whether oval or oblong, was tall and narrow. But afterwards the epithets were applied indifferently to either form of shield without any thought of the inaccuracy involved in the promiscuous use.[2]

Gold.

The constant mention of gold in the Homeric poems marks another contrast between Homeric and historical Greece. It is true that gold has been found in the prehistoric tombs at Mycenae in quantities which would previously have been thought incredible for such an early date, and the monarchs of Lydia possessed it in abundance. But in historical times gold was almost unknown to the Greeks of the continent till the time of Croesus.[3] To an

[1] On the use of the chariot in Egypt and Asia Minor, see Helbig, *Das Hom. Epos*, 1884, p. 88 ff. He assumes that the practice spread from Asia Minor to the Peloponnesus: "And as war-chariots are depicted on the reliefs of Mycenae, this must have happened before the Dorian migration." It certainly did not happen after! But is it safe to conclude from the picture of a war-chariot on a stone slab that the chariot was in use at Mycenae? The Samians are said to have been the first to build ships for the conveyance of horses (Hullmann, *Handelsgeschichte*, p. 11).

[2] For the shield in Homer see Helbig, *l.c.* p. 218 ff. He assumes, but merely to avoid the difficulty stated above, that two shields were in use in Homeric times, one round, the other oval (p. 222). See Leaf, *Journal of Hellenic Soc.* iv. 281 ff. At Mycenae we find pictures of an oval shield, an oval shield with indentations, and an oblong shield.

[3] It is, however, possible that gold was plentiful in the Aegean when the Phoenicians worked the mines of Thasos.

epic poet this is a matter of indifference. His chieftains, like his gods, have everything handsome about them; and why should they not, when it is but the expense of words which is needed to provide it? In works of art, also, the poet draws upon his imagination. If Hephaestus, the divine craftsman, can fashion statues endowed with life, and depict lifelike scenes on a shield, this proves no more than that statues of some kind, and embossed work, were known to the poet. His imagination is not to be restricted within the limits of what is possible or impossible in art.[1]

Another difficulty is presented by the position of women in Homer. If we look on the picture as a copy of historical facts, we have to explain the long widowhood of Penelope, so contrary to the habits of the later Greeks, the custom of the bath given by women to men, the visit of Nausicaa and her maidens to a solitary part of the sea-coast of Scheria, or of Helen to the walls of Troy, and other scenes implying a similar absence of restraint. We are not justified in regarding these descriptions as historical, because they are not impossible. We have no better evidence for them than we have for the home of Calypso, or the life in the island of Aeolus.

Position of women in Homer not necessarily historical.

14. If there is a place where we might expect the Homeric descriptions of customs and arts to apply, it is Mycenae, the centre of the Achaean dominion, and the home of the Atridae. The epithet "golden" which is assigned to the city, has been more than justified by the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann. But in other respects, the art and civilisation of Mycenae, so far as we can trace them, are by no means the

Homeric description of Mycenae.

[1] Processes of metal-work are pre-supposed in Homer, which were unknown in Greece till a later period: Rhoecus and Theodorus discovered the casting of bronze (Paus. viii. 14, 8); Glaucus of Chios, the welding of iron (Herod. i. 25). Of course arts may be lost and rediscovered, and the Oriental craftsmen may have concealed their knowledge from the Greeks.

art and civilisation which we find described in Homer. There is no trace of iron in any of the tombs; the heads of the arrows are of obsidian, and the other arms of bronze. In Homer, iron and bronze are both in use. There is in Homer no allusion to the custom of covering the face with a mask of gold, which prevailed at Mycenae, or of burying the body without cremation.[1] Nor is any mention made in the Homeric poems of such artistic work in relief as we find upon the slabs of stone at Mycenae. Whatever be the truth concerning the princes who were buried at Mycenae, they cannot be identified with the heroes of Homer.

15. On these considerations the internal evidence which has been collected on the age of the poems appears to be of little value. We cannot, for instance, say that the poems were composed when the power of the monarchs in the cities of Asia Minor began to decrease in favour of the nobility, because we find the nobles asserting themselves against their king in the Homeric poems. Even if this is true, it is obvious that an epic poet must assign power and importance to the heroes whom he celebrates, without any regard to the historical relation of nobles and chief. There is no reason to suppose that his imagination was limited by the facts around him. If we hear of a king, a council and an assembly, we may assume that such institutions were known to the minstrels, without asserting that in every city there was a king, a council and an assembly. If in Ithaca there is neither king nor council, and the assembly has not met for twenty years, this is not evidence that in any period of Greek history a throne might be vacant, or the assembly unsummoned for twenty years. It is equally incredible that the Greeks were ten years at Troy without returning home—a voyage of three

The pictures of civilisation given by Homer not to be trusted.

[1] On the mode of burial at Mycenae, see Helbig, *loc. cit.* p. 39 ff. We may allow that one body, at least, at Mycenae, underwent some process of embalming, and that the word ταρχύειν is used (three times) in Homer of burial. But the common practice in epic poetry was to burn the body and bury the *ashes*.

days. And in regard to the much-discussed question of writing, the silence of Homer is not a decisive proof against the existence of the art. The poet, singing under the inspiration of the muse, was not unlikely to disregard a mechanical contrivance which seemed to rob him of half of his pre-eminence over less favoured men.

"Homer," then, is of little or no value as evidence of the early civilisation of Hellas, because we have no means of ascertaining that his statements are historically true. We do not know that his silence implies ignorance, or that his assertions are not largely coloured by his imagination.[1]

16. The case would not be altered if it could be shown that the Homeric poems were a collection of ballads. Though ballads are popular, and must be in harmony with popular feeling, they need not be in harmony with facts. But this view of the origin of the poems is untenable. For not only are ballads short and the Homeric poems long, but the length is attained by inserting episodes into a definite plan, not by stringing one incident on the other. "Ballads," says Mr. Lang,[2] "are not artistic, while the form of the epic, whether we take the hexameter, or the rougher *laisse* of the French *chansons de geste*, is full of conscious and admirable art." Nor are the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* national poems in the sense in which the *Kalevala* may be called the national poem of Finland.[3] Little or nothing is said in them of the common people, their lives and their superstiHomer not national poetry or a collection of ballads.

[1] It is still convenient to speak of "Homer," but to avoid misconception I may remark that I do not believe that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the work of one author. Nor is it certain that either of the poems is the work of one age. We have, in fact, no certain means of ascertaining from what different periods or different sources the various elements in "Homeric civilisation" may have arisen.

[2] *Custom and Myth*, p. 158.

[3] See especially, Niese, *Die Entwickelung der Hom. Poesie*, 1882, p. 21 ff.: "Bei Homer selbst singt nicht das Volk, sondern ein gelernter Sänger." "Der Sänger bei Homer singt auch nicht für das ganze Volk, sondern für eine auserlesene Gesellschaft der Vornehmsten" (p. 23).

tions.[1] In this respect, the works of Hesiod have a far greater right to the title of national poems. The more they are studied, the more will the Homeric poems be found to be what they truly are, epic in the strictest sense, or poems elevated in style, ideal in matter, elaborate and artistic in construction and language.[2]

Before such poems could be composed, poetry must have been cultivated as an art for many generations. Of this the language and metre are ample proof. We cannot suppose that a metre at once so grand and so plastic as the hexameter was the form in which the early Greeks composed their popular songs. Many stages of growth must have been traversed before the length of six feet was fixed as the proper limit of dactylic metre, and the rules of cæsura and prosody which prevail in the Homeric poems were settled. When we perceive that the rhythm of the hexameter disregards the accent with which Greek words were ordinarily pronounced, we cannot regard it as a simple or spontaneous expression of poetic feeling. Yet this metre, in spite of the opposition of accent and ictus, has moulded the Homeric language. Phrases abound in the poems which were created by the dactylic metre and have been preserved by it.

Artistic nature of the poems.

17. To present in any detail the use of language in the

[1] The *Kalevala* "is emphatically an epic of the people, of that class whose life contains no element of progress, no break in continuity; which from age to age preserves, in solitude and close communion with nature, the earliest beliefs of grey antiquity."—Lang, *loc. cit.* p. 161.

[2] Even the *Niebelungen Lied*, though the story has been altered to suit chivalric manners and the Christian faith, repeats many old superstitions and popular ideas. The world of pagan gods has vanished, but we have not quite got rid of the dwarfs, the cloak of darkness, or the ill luck attending the hoard of the Niebelungen. In language, in clear grasp of the heroic character, and in the embellishment of the poem by similes or epithets, the *Niebelungen Lied*, though composed in an age of Minnesingers, and after the subject had been repeatedly treated in a poetic manner, will bear no comparison with the *Iliad*.

Homeric poems, would require a separate treatise. Only a few particulars can be noticed here. A very little observation will show that the position of words in the Homeric hexameter is determined to a great extent by their quantity. Such words as ἱκέσθαι, ἰδέσθαι are generally found at the end of the line. When they are not placed at the end of a line they form a part of the third foot, as λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα.[1] Other words which seem allotted to certain places in the line receive this position because they are part of an established phrase: thus θυμῷ is generally at the end of a line, owing, doubtless, to its use with verbs and participles. For κούρη, though of the same metrical value, is not limited in the same way. Again, different forms of the same word vary in their position: δῖος, in the *Odyssey*, is always last but one in the line, except ii. 27, but this rule is less strictly observed with δῖα. Δῖαν is invariably placed after its noun; δῖος, with the single exception given, is always placed before it, and so also δῖα, with one exception; while δῖον is placed before or after its noun. The common construction δῖα γυναικῶν, in which δῖα is followed by a genitive, is not allowed with any other part of the word: no hero is δῖος ἀνδρῶν, no woman is δῖαν γυναικῶν. The use of adjectives with nouns is not less remarkable, and, in some respects, though not entirely, it is determined by metre. Thus νῆα μέλαιναν is common, but we never find νῆας μελαίνας or νῆες μέλαιναι.[2] We find νηὶ μελαίνῃ, but νηυσὶ μελαίνῃσι never.[3] On the other hand, νηυσὶν ἐίσῃς occurs once (*Od.*), νῆας ἐίσας is common, but νῆες ἐῖσαι is found twice only (*Od.*). The forms in which words are used are very remark-

Language of the poems.

[1] We may perhaps hazard a conjecture that the hexameter has been made up of two parts, of which the first comprised three beats, and the second an anacrusis and three beats, thus:—

λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα | φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.

Such a metre would soon be found inadequate for long poems, and would be discarded for something more massive and more varied.

[2] The phrase μέλαιναι νῆες ἔποντο occurs twelve times in the *Catalogue*, but nowhere else in the *Iliad* nor in the *Odyssey*.

[3] In the *Od.*; in the *Il.* five times, always with ἐν—πεσεεσθαι.

able: πολύτλας occurs in the nominative only; ταλασίφρονος, with one exception, in the genitive only; πολυμήχανος, with one exception, in the vocative only. These instances, which might be increased to any extent, are enough to prove that the language of Homer is neither a natural nor an inartistic mode of speech. It does not represent a spoken dialect but a metrical language, created under the influence of the dactylic metre, and adapted for use in poems composed in that metre.

Characters not less artificial than the language.

18. If the early Greek poets had attained to such excellence in the use of language, we may reasonably suppose that they had technical and artistic rules about the epic life and character. They wished to put before their audience something ennobling and inspiriting; and, doubtless, they had clear conceptions of what would serve their purpose. There is nothing more characteristic of the *Iliad* than the firm, unhesitating touch with which the characters are drawn. Such certainty implies a clear and definite ideal in the mind of the poet. If they ascribed to their heroes a number of traits which puzzled the historians and shocked the moralists of later times, the reason is that the epic poets were neither historians nor moralists; they sought to give the pleasure which epic poetry can give, and were artists enough to know that the impression produced by incidents in works of art is, and must be (if art is to exist), wholly different from the impression produced by incidents in a history of real life.[1]

The pictures, then, which have been drawn of the Homeric state or family, of Homeric art and civilisation, are not to be accepted as descriptions of what really existed at any definite period. They prove little or nothing for the

[1] It is a confirmation of this view that, in the *Odyssey*, the more weird and magical incidents are removed into distant countries and introduced in episodes. Such "fairy stories" have no place in the epic poem. Of the *Chanson de Roland* we are told, "Elle ne connaît ni les fées, ni les enchanteurs, ni les magiciens, ni les palais de diamant" (Julleville, *l.c.* p. 75).

historical condition of ancient Greece. The minstrels treated facts as they chose, and for their own purposes, and the whole story of the Trojan war fades at the least touch of criticism. There is as little reason to suppose that the picture of Nausicaa, with her maidens, is drawn from the life of Ionian princesses, as that Circe's power of changing men into swine represents a historical fact in ancient Hellas. There were magic arts in those days, which men dreaded, and there were princesses attended by maidens, but the details of the pictures are due to the poet. Nor need we suppose that women came out on the walls of besieged cities, or that old men thought it worth while to ruin their country for the sake of a lovely princess. We may, indeed, delight ourselves with tracing the outlines of the pictures, political, social, or religious, which these poems place before us. For understanding later Greek history such a study is of the first importance, because Homer became the great authority in every department of life. He was the great statesman, general and artist of Hellas. No nation ever owed more to a book than the Greeks owed to Homer. But the influence which these poems exercised on Hellenism is quite a distinct question from the inquiry into the amount of historical truth which they contain.

19. Against this sceptical view it is urged that the epic poets must have been restricted by what was credible or known to their audience. "A picture which did not correspond to a state of things familiar to them, they would have found unintelligible and uninteresting. We cannot ascribe either to them the power of comprehending, or to the poet the ambition of affecting a learned propriety in his descriptions, and still less can it be supposed that he drew from any ideal model. It seems clear that the generation which he saw was not parted from that of which he sang by any wide break in thought, feeling, or social relations."[1] It is true that in the *Niebe-*

Arguments in favour of the historical truth of 'Homer.'

[1] Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 158.

lungen Lied the pagan myths have been changed to suit the Christian audience, for which the poem was composed in its final form, in the twelfth century. That is a clear instance of a poet altering his materials in order to be in harmony with his own time and generation. Nevertheless the argument quoted proves too much. The Athenians of the Periclean age were widely removed in government, society and manners from the heroic age depicted in the Homeric poems. They never used war chariots in their battles; they despised the bow and arrow; they had neither kings nor a governing class of nobles. Yet they delighted in the descriptions of Homer, without ever observing the improbabilities of the poems, or the wide gulf which separated their age from that of the Achaeans. It was the conception of human life and character, it was not any learned propriety, which attracted them. They could appreciate the irresistible force of Achilles, or the wisdom and resources of Odysseus, or the devotion of Penelope, or the charm of Helen's beauty, without asking whether it was possible for a monarch to build his own raft and his own bed, or decorous for a princess to go out with her maidens on the city walls. There is no reason to suppose that the audience, to which these poems were first recited, was less able to appreciate them, or to distinguish between the ideal truth of the characters and the setting of the poet's picture. *They* also desired to see patterns of heroic life, without in the least caring whether the scenes which the poet depicted were true or even whether they were possible. On the contrary, they resigned themselves to the pleasing belief that such noble deeds were no longer possible in their own degenerate days, and the sons were content to remain inferior to the fathers.

Prove too much.

Ideal character of the life described in the poems.

20. This constitutes in truth the real value of the Homeric poems in the history of Greece. They present to us the ideals of character and life which delighted the audience to which they were addressed, and continued to delight gene-

ration after generation till Hellenism became extinct. From this point of view, it is of the first importance to ascertain what conceptions of human life are found in these early poems, the ideas of morality prevailing in them, the form in which the noblest characters are presented to us. And this is the true use of poetry in history. To select doubtful and disconnected facts, and treat them as real incidents in the past, can never be a satisfactory method of writing history. Such a process confuses two entirely different modes of composition: the imaginative and the historical; and the result is what may naturally be expected from such a confusion. Nevertheless the poetry of every age is to a certain extent the expression of the imagination of the age. It gives us a glimpse into the inward life of the time, its aspirations and ideals, and in this respect it is more valuable than any record of facts. But we must always bear in mind that the Homeric poetry is epic poetry, and that the epic conception of life was not that which prevailed in the home of the peasant, or the fold of the shepherd.[1] What the early civilisation of Hellas was we can hardly guess; there were doubtless shepherds and herdmen in the mountains, and tillers of the soil in the plains. It is not improbable that there were feuds between the two, and the peasant may have had to defend the "labour of his hands" against his roving neighbour. There were cities ruled by wealthy princes, who purchased pottery, or metals, or slaves from the isles of the Aegean and the coasts of Asia Minor. Beyond these vague assertions we cannot go, without assuming a knowledge which does not rest upon historical evidence.[2]

The use of Poetry in history.

[1] "Le peuple ne paraît pas dans les anciennes épopées, ou s'il y paraît, c'est, comme le chœur des tragédies antiques, en une troupe indistincte et anonyme. . . C'est l'épopée d'une société très spéciale et même d'une seule classe dans cette société" (Julleville, *l.c.* pp. 74, 77).

[2] This is not the place to enter upon the artistic merit of these great poems. Nor have I ventured to deal with the complicated question of their origin. The chief difficulty is to account for the extraordinary excellence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In this respect, neither the "ballad-theory" nor the "development-theory" is satisfactory.

II.—HOMERIC SOCIETY.

A poet not a historian.

21. Even if we knew that the Homeric poems were the work of a single author, if we could fix the date of his birth, and the place where he lived, we could not expect to find in the poems a complete and accurate account of contemporary political or social institutions. A poet is not a historian. It is not his duty to record what he knows with precision, and carefully to exclude every fact which is not established on satisfactory evidence. On the contrary, he may invert, combine, omit, or alter as he chooses. He may borrow something from the past and blend it with the present, or enrich the description of his country with details gathered from other sources. It is also obvious that a great artist will always shape his materials to suit the object which he has in view. Whatever may have been the early historical condition of Greece—and what we know of it is often at variance with the testimony of Homer—it was necessary for the author of the *Iliad* to assume the existence of a great armament under a supreme chief, to whom the leaders of the various contingents were more or less subordinate. Not less necessary for the composition of the *Odyssey* was it that the throne of Ithaca should remain vacant for twenty years. Only on that condition was the return of Odysseus possible. The insuperable difficulties which underlie the story of the Trojan war—when treated as history—are nothing to the epic poet, and criticism which treats his work as history is of necessity abortive. The brief sketch, then, which is here given of the arrangements, political and social, portrayed in the Homeric poems, is not to be received as the description of an early age in Greek history. It is merely an outline of the picture which the epic poets of Greece present to us.

22. The Homeric State is monarchical. Agamemnon is the king of Argos, and by reason of his pre-eminent power, he is

chief-king of the armament at Troy. Among the leaders of the various contingents, some are the kings of the people whom they have brought to the war, as Idomeneus is king of the Cretans. But the title of king is not distinctive of the monarch. In the island of Scheria there are thirteen kings, of whom Alcinous is the chief. Nor is the tenure of the office secure. If hereditary, it is so only in the sense that the son can succeed the father if found worthy of the throne. But if a king lived to an extreme old age, the sceptre might pass to a vigorous son even in the father's lifetime. Laertes cedes the throne to Odysseus, in whose absence he is entirely disregarded. Achilles fears that Peleus may be driven from his possessions and office when his son is not there to defend him. The king has a domain set apart for him, apparently from the public land. This goes with the office; so also do the palace and various gifts from the people. After a successful raid or battle, a special portion of the spoil is set apart for the king as the leader of the forces. But the wealth which the king has acquired by his own arm, and the help of his retainers, or which he has received by inheritance from his father, is his own, and cannot be taken from him, even though he is no longer king. Such at least is the account we receive of the rights of the monarch of Ithaca.

The Homeric State.

The King.

The King's domain.

The king is the leader of his people in war, and the source of justice. He does not act alone in either capacity. Round him, as immediate councillors, are the chiefs or nobles of the nation, whom he invites to his palace, or meets at some customary place. They form the Council.[1] When the king and his councillors wish to make their decisions known, or to ascertain the will of the people over whom they preside, an Assembly is summoned. In Ithaca Telemachus summons an assembly in order to

The Council.

[1] At Ithaca, in the absence of the king, we hear nothing of the Council. In *Il.* ii. 53, the Council is summoned by Agamemnon at the ship of Nestor.

make a public complaint against the suitors, and enlist sympathy on his side. In this he acts on the advice of Athena, but no result follows.[1] In the camp before Troy an assembly is summoned to hear the wishes of Agamemnon. In order to test the temper of the Achaeans, he proposes that they shall return home, though his real object is to make an assault on Troy, which he has been told in a dream that he will capture. The assembly, on hearing his proposal, at once breaks up, and the people flock to their ships in haste to depart. By the earnestness of Odysseus, who tells the leaders[2] the real wishes of Agamemnon, and drives the common sort back to the place of meeting with the sceptre which he has borrowed from Agamemnon, the assembly meets a second time. Odysseus now urges them to remain and carry on the war, and his speech is greeted with such applause that Agamemnon pretends to give way, and exhorts the Greeks to prepare for battle.

The Assembly.

As a judge, the king gave his sentence in public, with the advice of the *gerontes* or elders. He is the source of justice in his nation; the repository that is of the customary law; and on his decisions rests the law of the future. Hence just judgment is of all virtues the greatest, and receives the peculiar blessing of the gods. There is no greater glory than that of "a blameless king, whose sentences are just, and given in the fear of God; for him the earth is fertile, the flocks teem, the trees bring forth fruit abundantly, and the sea is full of fish."[3] The capacity for pronouncing just judgment seems to be regarded as innate and hereditary. Even the youthful Telemachus, who shrinks from addressing his elders, is spoken of as skilled in justice, and invited to settle the disputes of others.

The King as judge.

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[1] Previous to this convocation, the assembly had not met since the departure of Odysseus.

[2] Agamemnon is represented as having some power to "harass the sons of the Achaeans," *Il.* ii. 195, and the βασιλῆες are half frightened into submission.

[3] *Od.* xix. 109.

On the shield of Achilles we have a poetical description of a trial at law. A man has been slain, and two opponents are contending about the price of blood, one asserting that all has been paid, the other that he has received nothing. The assembled elders are seated in the sacred circle—such as we might suppose the circle within the Lion's Gate at Mycenae to have been—and the litigants appear before them. Around are gathered the spectators, who give eager attention to the case, and express approval or dissent. Each litigant produces witnesses. When the pleading is ended the judges rise, staff in hand, in due order, to give sentence. A remarkable feature in the picture is the sum of two talents of gold to be given to him "who pronounces sentence best." If this does not refer to a reward for the best decision, we must strain the text and assume that it represents the sum which in later times litigants deposited before a trial, as a proof that the case was genuine. For such a purpose the amount on the later reckoning of the value of a talent of gold is enormous, but the talent may not be the same, and Homer is always lavish of the precious metals.[1]

The trial scene on the shield of Achilles.

It is more difficult to decide in what sense the Homeric king is also a priest. The monarchy is not a priesthood; and though monarchs are Zeus-born, and their office enjoys a divine sanction, they are not priests. We have instances of offerings made by kings, as that of Oeneus, King of Calydon, in which he forgot to sacrifice to Athena. Agamemnon also sacrifices on behalf of the host before going to battle.[2] In these instances the king represents the community, as the head of the house represents the household, and it is in this capacity—not because he stands in any closer relation to the divinity—that he offers the public sacrifice.

The King as priest.

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[1] The same sum is given as a *fourth* prize in the horse race, *Il.* xxiii. 269. Ten talents are also mentioned, *Il.* ix. 122, 264; *Od.* iv. 129; seven in *Od.* ix. 202; xxiv. 274.

[2] *Il.* ix. 535; ii. 402.

The only outward symbol of royalty is the sceptre. The king is the bearer of the sceptre. The sceptre of Agamemnon was hereditary in the family of Pelops. Yet even this distinction is not confined to kings. Priests, seers, heralds carry sceptres, and every one while speaking in the assembly bears the sceptre in his hand.

Outward symbol of royalty.

23. Beside the kings and counsellors may be placed the priests as men who enjoyed peculiar honour. The Homeric priests do not form a special caste, nor have they any peculiar power with the king or the army. For the most part they are sacristans, placed in charge of a shrine, and protected by the deity whom they serve. The presence of a priest is not necessary at a sacrifice unless it be offered at the shrine of which he is the custodian. Hymns and incantations, and the power of securing the favour of a deity by special rites known only to a privileged class, are entirely alien to the Homeric world. Nor is the priest a minstrel or singer. Song is sacred, in so far as it is a gift of the Muses, but it is not religious. There is no trace in "Homer" of the existence of a body of religious poetry similar to the Veda of India. It is the "glories of men,"—what they have done or suffered in martial enterprises,—or stories about the personal acts of gods, which supply the bard with a theme, and the newer his song, the greater is the pleasure which he gives.

The Priests.

24. Of divisions of the people in Homer there is little to be said. There were, of course, rich and poor, nobles and commons, the δῆμος and the βασιλῆες. We hear also of tribes (φῦλα) and brotherhoods (φρατρίαι), words which apparently signify larger or smaller aggregates, without any more special meaning. It is obvious that in the field or the camp names of this kind might have a different signification from that which they bore in the community.

Divisions of the people.

Among the poorest of the poor is the *Thes*, a hired labourer, who is only superior to a slave because he retains his freedom. He cannot be injured in his person at the will of a master, but he can be cast aside and left

The Thes.

to starve when there is no longer any need of his services. His lot is selected in a famous passage of the *Odyssey* as an illustration of extreme misery. "I had rather," says Achilles, "be the *thes* of a poor man whose substance is small, than reign supreme over those that are dead."

Slaves are numerous in Homer. They were bought, or captured in war, or bred in the house of their masters. Many touching instances may be found of the faithful and even affectionate relations prevailing between master and slave. When Telemachus returned from Sparta to Ithaca, the handmaids of the house gathered round him in joy; the handmaids of Achilles shared in the grief of their master for the death of Patroclus. Euryclea, the aged nurse, occupied an honourable position in the household of Odysseus, and Eumaeus, the swineherd, who was by birth a king's son, was the trusted friend and counsellor of Odysseus and Penelope. Nevertheless the master has absolute power of life and death over the slave. Penelope, in a moment of just resentment, utters savage threats against Melantho; and Odysseus, without hesitation, hangs all the handmaids who have been faithless to their mistress, and have brought disgrace upon her palace.

Greek slaves.

25. This sympathy of classes was due, in some measure, to association in common labours. In the epic there is no trace of that contempt for manual work which marks the Greek of later times. Chieftains leave the management of their herds and farms to others, but they supervise the operations, and can, when necessary, take a part in them. In the picture of the harvest on the shield of Achilles, the king is present in the reaping field. Odysseus is skilled in the labour of the farm, and even the suitors seem to engage in tasks of this kind. Handicraft is held in especial honour. It is a proof of the versatile genius of Odysseus that he made his own bed, and built himself a raft. Paris assisted in building his own house, which was remarkable for its beauty. Those arts which demanded a skill beyond the reach of men not specially devoted to them—arts which were,

Ideas about work and labour.

in fact, professional even at that time—such as the art of the physician, the seer, the minstrel, were practised by trained persons, who were called Demiurgi, or artisans. If they were not slaves, they generally went from place to place as their assistance was needed, but the greater families had a bard attached to them, who sang for the amusement of the company after the meal. In some cases such arts were hereditary, as that of healing in the race of Asclepius.[1] That mistresses and maids should pursue their tasks of spinning or weaving in common is a practice too widely spread to need any special notice. It is more remarkable to find Nausicaa, a princess, taking a share in the washing of the household linen. This picture of ideal simplicity is reserved for the marvellous island of Scheria.

26. If slaves are merely dependent on the humanity of their masters, aliens and beggars are under the special protection of Zeus. They cannot be ill-treated or slighted without fear of the vengeance of heaven. In what way the peculiar regard expressed for beggars and aliens is to be reconciled with the misery of the Thetes and the existence of slaves, many of whom owe their position to piracy and kidnapping, it is useless to inquire. The sympathy with misfortune, though real and genuine, is very imperfect. The same inconsistency is seen elsewhere. We turn from the tender and respectful affection which encompasses Arete and Nausicaa to the description of the widow who is torn away from her husband's corpse on the battle-field by the blows of her brutal captors, to endure the lot of a slave in a distant country. We hear of the gentle kindness shown by Odysseus to Eurymachus, and by Phoenix to Achilles, in their childhood, but the orphan boy passes from one chief to another, begging for morsels from the table where his father ate. Everywhere he meets with rejection and rebuke. "Away from us,

Aliens.

The Widow.

The Orphan.

[1] The Egyptians, who were remarkable for their knowledge of medicine, were spoken of as the race of Paeon.

thy father is no longer here to share the banquet as of old."[1]

27. The Homeric age is not, however, an age of utter lawlessness, in which every one is at the mercy of a strange neighbour. The Cyclopes, who live as isolated savages, differ from those who are united by customs and laws. There are pirates, it is true, in Homer, and men of alien race, like the Phoenicians, have no hesitation in committing the most horrible crimes. But it is difficult to prove the practice of universal and indiscriminate piracy, such as Thucydides implies; and we have, at least, one instance in which an unprovoked attack on a neighbouring people is deeply resented by the nation of the chief who made it.[2] And if blood is shed freely, as is inevitable in a martial epic, human life has its value. A man who takes the life of another in a time of peace has to fly the country, even though there are few who can avenge the murder. This expatriation is not due to any religious feeling about the pollution which murder brings upon the land—at least it is impossible, on the evidence supplied by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, to attribute it to this feeling. No exiled murderer ever seeks for purification as Adrastus sought for it from Croesus. The custom is due to the feeling that the murderer has broken the law of his land; and, though there is no public administration of justice, the sympathy of the people and customary law are on the side of vengeance. The payment of a sum of money is received in atonement for the murder; and when this has been duly paid, the homicide is again permitted to return home. Under what circumstances the kindred of the dead had a right to refuse the sum offered, we do not know, though instances of refusal are not uncommon.[3]

Political and social order.

Homicide.

[1] *Od.* viii. 523; *Il.* xxii. 490.

[2] *Od.* xvi. 427.

[3] Schömann, *Greek Ant.* i. 47 E. T. He suggests that the blood-price was not accepted when the murderer was a kinsman of the slain person.

There is, of course, no such thing as written law in Homer. The word νόμος does not occur in the poems. Custom and ordinances are the foundation of justice. Nor is there any evidence of written contracts or agreements. In such a state of society everything depends on the truth of spoken evidence.

Perjury.

For this reason, perjury is in Homer one of the worst of crimes. Like wrongs done to parents, it awakes the peculiar vengeance of the Erinys, and is punished by Persephone in the depths of Tartarus. "Hateful to me as the gates of Hades," cries Achilles, "is the man who hides one thing in his heart, and speaks another with his lips."

28. The family is already established on a strong and firm basis. This is a point in which we find a real and vital distinction between the Greek and alien nations. The polygamy of Priam, and the host of his sons and daughters, form a striking contrast to the monogamous relations which prevail among the Greeks. With them it is a rule not to introduce concubines into the houses of their wedded wives. Menelaus is an exception, for Megapenthes, his son by a slave, was brought up in his house at Sparta with Hermione, his daughter by Helen; but this deviation from the respect due to a wife is excused by the fact that Helen had no son.[1] The same strictness is not observed in the camp or on the voyage. Victorious chiefs make concubines of the women whom they capture, and even Odysseus, in spite of his determination to rejoin Penelope, enters into relations with Circe and Calypso. From women, on the other hand, the strictest propriety was demanded.[2] The Homeric virgin and matron always command respectful reverence. They are conscious of their

The Family.

[1] This was not the case with Theano. Yet Antenor had a son by another woman, and Theano tended him (*Il.* v. 70). Laertes, on the other hand, would not approach Euryclea, for he would not vex his wife.

[2] I do not agree with Prof. Mahaffy that the union of women with gods points to a low state of morality. "I doubt the fact" of such unions; they were mere inventions to connect the divine and human.

position, and preserve it with a natural pride.[1] In spite of her defenceless condition, and her long widowhood, no attempt is made to force the wishes of Penelope. Penelope. It is true that we must not ascribe too much importance to the Homeric poems in this respect. Other legends were not equally respectful towards Penelope. But the author of the *Odyssey* perceived that the noblest form of the legend was the only form suitable for a great epic. Whether others were more in accordance with the habits and facts of the earliest times in Greece, was a matter of little importance. It is obvious, also, that the picture of Helen presented in the Homeric epic is the only account which could be given without a disintegration of the poems. Helen. Helen must be beautiful and attractive; she must be a prize worth the winning for Paris, the Trojans and Menelaus. At the cynical touch of Euripides the whole vision is scattered, and moral questions intrude, which have no place in epic poetry. To inquire into the morality of Helen's character, to excuse or justify the description of her on the walls of Troy and in the palace of Menelaus, to point to it as an instance of the low tone which prevailed in antiquity in regard to sexual relations, is a mistaken application of criticism from which we can expect no result. The poet allows no reproaches to fall upon his heroine save those which come from her own lips; but he does not hide or palliate the woe which she has brought upon his heroes.

29. In the harmony of wedded life the poet sees the crowning height of human happiness. Such a union is the delight of friends, the envy of enemies. It forms the centre of a prosperous home where neighbours and kinsfolk are ever welcome to the feast. Social happiness. The Homeric heroes are no strangers to the pleasures of eating and drinking. There is no lack among them of chines of pork and beef, of baskets laden with bread, and goblets brimming with

[1] Very different are the pictures of women in the Teutonic epics, and even in the *Morte d'Arthur*.

wine. But excess is unknown. Drunkenness is rarely alluded to in the epics, and always with contempt. The "crowns" of the feast are the lays of the minstrel, which he accompanies with the tones of his harp. To sit by the hospitable table and listen to the newest song is the goodliest of all the customs of men. Even the unknown stranger is freely admitted to the chieftain's hall, and allowed to take his fill of food before inquiry is made into his name and lineage, or the errand which has brought him from his home.

Amusements.

30. In the epic poetry of Greece we see the beginning of that delight in trials of strength and agility which became so remarkable and distinctive a feature of the Greek nation. The funeral of Patroclus is celebrated by games. Odysseus is entertained in Scheria by an exhibition of the skill of the Phaeacians, "for there is no greater glory than that which a man gains with his hands and his feet." In answer to the taunt of the Phaeacian that he is unskilled in feats of strength Odysseus sends the quoit whizzing far beyond the utmost limit reached by those famous mariners. In days when a strong arm was needed for the protection of house and goods, great value was naturally ascribed to success in such contests. But other games also—even games of mere recreation—were not unknown in Homer. The suitors pass their idle hours in the courtyard of Odysseus's palace in throwing at a mark with spears and javelins, or they play at πεσσοί within the house. Dancing also is a favourite amusement, especially at the festivals of the gods.

The sorrows of life.

31. This life of hospitality and enjoyment has of course its darker side. In the Trojan epic the shadow of the great war hangs over all. The toils and sufferings of the Achaeans on the windy plains of Troy, the long voyages in dangerous and unknown seas, are a never-failing source of sorrow. Sons or brothers, husbands or fathers, have fallen and left sad memories to those who remain. The uncertainty of life, the delusiveness of hope are deeply felt. There are two jars, the poet tells us, standing at the threshold of Zeus; one filled with good things, the other with evil. To

some men Zeus gives unmixed evil, to others mixed good and evil, but unalloyed blessings are the lot of none.[1] Achilles, the greatest of the Homeric Greeks, the son of a goddess, is dishonoured by Agamemnon, and pierced with anguish by the death of Patroclus, whom he cannot avenge without slaying Hector, on whose death his own must closely follow. In the bitterness of their sufferings the Homeric heroes do not hesitate to reproach the deities for the miseries of human life, and the gods echo the lamentations of men: "Father Zeus, thou hast no fellow in doing mischief; from thee above all gods cometh evil." "Of all creatures that live and move upon earth there is none more sorrow-stricken than man." Man's life is fleeting as that of the leaves of spring; for a little time he flourishes in prosperity, and then fades away. Over all his joys there is spread the gloom of death, which comes upon him he knows not when. His best hope is the despair of fatalism. He will not die before his time; and when the day has come he cannot outlive it. Death, if not annihilation, is at least the extinction of the sensible warm motion of life, and the imprisonment of the delighted spirit in a region where strength and pleasure are no more. "Speak not comfortably of death, O noble Odysseus," are the words of Achilles when in the under-world, "I had rather be a serf on the land of the poorest than reign as king over all the dead." But amid these sombre reflections, the Homeric hero is not lost in vain regret or weak complaining. He goes out to do his duty let the cost be what it will. Birds may fly to east or west, but a brave man will fight for home and country, for that is the best of all omens. There is no Stoic attempt to repress natural feeling or underrate the sacrifice which a noble life entails; the price must be paid, and duty must be done. There is no delegation of dangerous enterprises; every man takes his allotted share. With sorrow and lamentation the hero goes forth to achieve the glory which men "shall hear of in days to come."

[1] *Il.* xxiv. 527.

32. It is thus that the Homeric poems gave the key-note to Hellenic literature, and to Hellenism in the highest sense. The dignity and grandeur of human nature have never been more finely conceived or set forth more effectively. The learning which is gathered up in later epics by Virgil or Dante or Milton confuses while it illumines them. Analysis takes the place of sympathy, and criticism dispels the illusion of art. In Homer all is simple, natural, undisguised. In this the Greek epic may be compared to Greek sculpture of the best period. A certain singleness of heart is needed if we would enter into the full meaning of those noble conceptions. We must look on human nature with an eye which can behold it without disguises. We must learn to connect nobility of mind with beauty and strength of body, and see in perfect loveliness and heroic courage, in Helen and Achilles, the ideals which have entranced the imagination of mankind.

Influence of the Homeric poems.

It has been finely said that Greek history begins with Achilles and ends with Alexander. The Greek epics were recited at festivals and taught in schools; they influenced the poetic and pictorial art of Greece. They fixed the myths in forms which later thought was always interpreting anew, but never changed. They shaped the characters of great men. Few nations have received a more splendid legacy from the past, and fewer still have shown a deeper sense of their obligation.

III.—THE HOMERIC DEITIES.

33. In a remarkable passage which has been often quoted Herodotus states his opinion that Homer and Hesiod constructed the "theogony" of the Greeks. It was they who gave to the gods their titles, who distinguished their characteristics and attributes, and established the forms under which they were known. Those poets whom some thought to be earlier than Homer were in the opinion of the historian more recent.[1] It is interesting

The 'Theogony' of the Greeks.

[1] Herod. ii. 53.

to know that even in the time of Herodotus there were no more ancient literary sources in existence from which he could derive information about the deities of Greece than the poems of Homer or Hesiod. And though we cannot follow him in attributing so great a change in the national religion as the creation of a theogony to two poets, however influential, or in joining Hesiod with Homer, there is no reason to doubt that the description of the gods which appears in the Homeric poems is to a very large extent the work of epic poets.

Previous to Homer, Herodotus distinguishes two periods in Greek religion. In the first, which we must suppose to have been quite primeval, the gods were without names, attributes, or forms, though sacrifices were constantly offered to them. The Pelasgians worshipped them merely as *θεοί* or "arrangers," in the belief that those powers which had arranged the scheme of the world, had in their power the distribution of worldly blessings. After the lapse of a long period the names of the gods were brought from Egypt to Greece, and the Pelasgians, on consulting their oracle at Dodona, were bidden to adopt them. This account of the early Greek religion which Herodotus heard at Dodona need not detain us. It is not only a fiction invented in order to connect the deities of Greece with the more ancient deities of Egypt, but a fiction at variance with the view which Herodotus takes of the Pelasgians. If these were a barbarous nation, as he asserts, how can they have given the name "*θεοί*" to their gods? *Theos*, in the sense here given to the word, is connected with the Greek word *tithēmi*, "to arrange."[1]

Gods without names.

Names brought from Egypt.

This account is a fiction.

34. It is not necessary here to discuss the sources from

[1] Herodotus derived his information from Dodona, and what authority had the priests or priestesses of Dodona? Milchhoefer, on the evidence of the curious figures found on the "island-gems," thinks that a period of Polydaemonism preceded Pantheism. *Cf. Anfaenge der Kunst*, p. 114.

which Hellenic deities and forms of worship have, at least in part, been derived. In the earliest period, when the country was inhabited by a number of tribes, dwelling apart in their cantons, there would be many local deities, more or less distinct from each other. Pausanias calls attention to the number of the regions in Greece which claimed to be the scene of the infancy of Zeus.[1] Every tribe, we cannot doubt, was anxious to identify the tutelary god of the land with the supreme deity of Hellenic mythology. When these tribes became united into larger aggregates, either by conquest or by common expeditions, the gods whom they worshipped were brought into contact with each other. It was necessary to establish some mutual relations; they must appear as equal or subordinate, friendly or hostile. This task naturally devolved on those who celebrated the martial enterprises of the time, and sang the "glories of men." Chieftains were not victorious without the aid of the gods, and defeat was more conveniently explained as due to the wrath of an offended deity, than as the result of a want of strength or valour in the hero. Thus from an early age it must have been the task of epic poetry to arrange in some kind of order the assemblage of deities worshipped by various tribes in different localities.

Combination of Local Deities.

Rendered necessary by the union of tribes.

35. If, on the one hand, the task was rendered difficult by the exuberant imagination of the Greeks, which filled the world with deities, it was on the other hand greatly assisted by the Hellenic tendency to represent the gods in human form, with human passions and desires. The relations of the family, the only form under which in early times a close union could be conceived, were transferred to the gods. The supreme deity became the father or the eldest brother of the divine family, pre-eminent in strength and claiming by right of his position the homage of the rest. But this relationship could not be

Family relations attributed to the gods.

[1] Paus. iv. 33, 1.

extended easily to all the divine beings which the Greeks supposed to inhabit earth and sea and sky. There were deities which, owing to their close connection with natural phenomena, were not readily comprehended in human form or brought into the family life of the gods; and others, again, upon whose overthrow the present potentates of heaven had established their dominion. For this reason poets may have found it necessary to speak of more than one class or description of deities. We shall find this to be the case in Homer. Hesiod, on the other hand, as a professed theogonist, ventures on a resolute attempt to bring all deities, whatever their nature and origin, into connection with each other in a comprehensive system.

More or less completely.

36. The Olympic deities, as they are presented to us in the Homeric poems, assembled in the hall of Zeus on the summit of snowy Olympus, are creatures at once divine and human. In endowing them with a divine nature, the poet has not succeeded, and often has not attempted to succeed, in raising them wholly above the limitations of their mortal counterparts, or in adhering consistently to his divine ideal. In bodily form they are of more than human stature.[1] They have also the power to assume what shape they choose, or to be at once visible and invisible. But their bodies are not insensible to wounds and pain. They require sleep and food; and though their food is described as different from that of mortals, and their blood is not such as runs in the veins of men, yet they take part in sacrifices, and delight in the flesh offered to them. They are able to render aid from afar to their favourites when in distress; yet in their absence their help cannot be obtained. Their powers of sight and hearing are almost without limit, yet Helios, the "keen of sight," cannot see what is done to

The Homeric Deities.

Superhuman and Human.

[1] Ares when felled to earth extends over seven plethra, and Hera is able to lay one hand upon the sea and the other upon the earth, on the occasion of a solemn oath.

his oxen, nor can Ares or Aphrodite perceive the net in which they are enfolded.[1]

The same inconsistency prevails in regard to attributes not so closely connected with the body. The divine nature is omniscient and omnipotent. There is nothing hid from the gods, who know the past and the future, and all the things which are done upon earth. Yet the poets represent the gods as hesitating what course to take. Zeus himself holds up a balance to enable him to determine the decree of destiny. He is deceived by Hera, who on her part is unable to penetrate the secret counsels of her consort. Ares is ignorant of the death of his son Ascalaphus,[2] and even Proteus is unable to detect the guile which is practised upon him by Odysseus. In their power also, though omnipotent, the gods differ greatly. Zeus declares that with his single strength he is more than a match for all the other deities of Olympus. Even the happiness of the gods is far from perfect. Not only are there disputes in Olympus which trouble the serenity of the divine life,[3] but their connections with mortal women cause the deities to have sorrows for the death of their children; and their sympathy with human actions brings pain and distress upon them.

Limited in their knowledge and power.

37. More remarkable than these inconsistencies, which are indeed inseparable from any attempt to represent the divine nature in human form, is the want of sanctity, and it may be added of morality, in the Homeric gods. It is natural that in the conception of Aphrodite as the goddess of sexual love there should be no distinction of what is moral or immoral, and that male deities should be altogether free from the restrictions which society had only lightly imposed upon men. In the Greek mind sexual relations were an inseparable part of human nature, and as such they could be attributed without offence to the gods. But the gods of Homer are not sensual only; they

The want of morality in the Homeric deities.

[1] *Od.* iii. 231; xii. 375; viii. 280.

[2] *Il.* xiii. 521.

[3] See the scene in *Il.* xxi. 489 ff. between Hera and Artemis.

are treacherous, envious, and even cowardly. Athena is sent from Olympus to bring about a breach in the truce which has been solemnly concluded between the Trojans and the Greeks; the cowardly act of Pandarus is directly due to her instigation. Odysseus is honoured and beloved by the same goddess for his cunning and falsehood; and Hermes "gladly abetted" Autolycus in all manner of perjury and guile. In their dealings with each other, and with men, the gods made no scruple of employing whatever trick or falsehood was likely to assist them in their object. It is well known that these features of the Homeric mythology were the first to attract attention when the poems fell under criticism. From Xenophanes downwards they met with the severe reprobation of the philosophers of Greece. Happily we have no evidence to prove that mortal men attempted to shape their conduct after the pattern of the Olympian life.[1]

38. The only quality which is consistently attributed to gods and denied to men, and which therefore may be called the true mark of the divine nature, is immortality. The gods are *ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήραοι*, "without death and age." By the gift of immortality Calypso offers to make Odysseus a god. By their immortality the divine beings are freed from the misery of the human lot. For them there is no death in store; that black shadow does not lie across their paths to darken the enjoyment of the present. Hence the gods are happy, "and live at ease," while men are subject to weakness and misery. Nor is the languor of disease, or the helplessness of age, which leaves men exposed to the rapacity of their neighbours, felt in Olympus.

Immortality of the gods.

39. The deities which make up the Olympic circle are these:—Zeus, Apollo, Ares, Hephaestus, Hermes, Hera, Athena, Artemis, Aphrodite, and perhaps Themis and Dione. Poseidon is sometimes an inhabitant of Olympus, but he has also a home in the sea. Like the suitors

Deities of the Olympic circle.

[1] Sir John Lubbock observes that primitive deities are almost always evil beings. *Cf.* Hume, *Nat. Rel.* § 13.

in the hall of Odysseus, or the chieftains who meet in the house of Alcinous, these deities assemble in the hall of Zeus during the day-time; there they feast and converse, or listen to the music of Apollo and the songs of the Muses. When evening comes on they retire to the palaces which Hephaestus has fashioned for them.[1] The gods also meet in session, and Zeus brings subjects of discussion before them, in the same way as an earthly king gathers the elders together for consultation.[2] Besides this session, or council, we hear of a divine assembly[3] to which the gods are summoned, as men were summoned to the *agora* to hear the conclusion at which their superiors had arrived. For Zeus is sovereign among the gods, and though he may from time to time consider it prudent to avoid quarrels, his will is supreme in Olympus. Before Zeus also, as before an earthly king or δικάσπολος ἀνήρ, causes are tried and complaints are made,[4] and like an earthly king he retains his position in virtue of his superior power. On the other hand, in the Olympic form of government family relations are represented as underlying the political arrangements. Zeus, Hera, Poseidon and Hades are related collaterally; the rest of the gods are the children of Zeus. Hence Hera is a πρέσβα θεά, a goddess queen, and Poseidon can claim rights against his brother. For when the kingdom of Cronus was divided, the heaven fell to Zeus, the sea to Poseidon, and the under-world to Hades, while Olympus and the earth were common to all. Nevertheless Poseidon owes a duty to Zeus as to an elder brother. The Olympic monarchy is more patriarchal than the governments upon earth; it combines the authority of a parent with the respect due to greater strength and wisdom.[5]

The life in Olympus a copy of human life.

Zeus a monarch.

Family relations combined with civic in Olympus.

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[1] *Cf. Il.* i. end, of Zeus, with *Od.* i. 421 ff. of the suitors; Zeus and Hera remain in the hall as Menelaus and Helen, *Od.* iv. 304, 305.

[2] *Cf. Od.* v. *init.*, with the conduct of Alcinous, and *Od.* vii. 187 ff.

[3] *Il.* viii. *init.*

[4] *Ibid.* v. 872; vii. 446.

[5] *Ibid.* xv. 187.

Among the children of Zeus, the most prominent are Apollo and Athena. These are his ministers upon earth, for Zeus never allows himself to be visible to the eye of man. They are joined with him in the solemn form of oath: "Father Zeus, Athene, and Apollo." It is remarkable that in the Homeric mythology Apollo by no means occupies the position which was assigned to him at a later period. He is the god of prophecy, but with the exception of the plague, which is caused by his resentment, his part in the action in the *Iliad* is subordinate. In the *Odyssey* he, like Hera, tends to disappear altogether. There is no trace in Homer of his function as a god of purification or of healing; Paeon being quite distinct from Apollo even as late as the time of Solon.[1] Athena, as a goddess favourable to the Hellenes, comes forward prominently in the *Iliad*, and may be called the guiding spirit of the *Odyssey*. In spite of her opposition she is the favourite child of her father, who finds a quarrel with her "more hateful" even than a quarrel with Hera. Of her parentage we are told nothing in Homer; the well-known myth, that she sprang from the head of Zeus, appears for the first time in Hesiod's *Theogony*, and the Homeric hymn to Apollo.

Apollo.

Athena.

40. Though the gods who inhabit Olympus are the prominent figures of the Homeric mythology, a crowd of divine beings is gathered round them, which may be arranged in the following groups:—(*a.*) The Titans; (*b.*) the subordinate or attendant deities in Olympus; (*c.*) the deities which are obviously personifications of natural phenomena; (*d.*) the deities of the sea; (*e.*) the deities of the earth, and the Chthonian deities, whose home is under the earth. The relation of these subordinate deities to the Olympian family is not always clearly defined; but in their various spheres they are able to influence both the processes of the physical world and the prosperity of man.

Subordinate deities.

41. (*a.*) The Titans in the Homeric poems are a dynasty of

[1] Buchholtz, *Homerische Realien*, part iii. 1, p. 198.

gods, Cronus, Iapetus, and others, who have been dethroned and plunged into Tartarus, a deep abyss lying as far below Hades as heaven is above the surface of the earth.[1] It is difficult to suppose that the Titans are the gods of an older religion, or of a conquered population, for neither in Homer nor in Hesiod is there an allusion to any worship of the Titans. They appear to be a link connecting the mere personification of natural objects, with which Greek mythology begins (Oceanus and Gaea) and the human figures in the Olympic world. In this manner the somewhat shadowy forms of Cronus and Rhea form an antecedent stage to the fair humanities of the Olympic family.

The Titans.

42. (*b.*) Among the deities which occupy a subordinate place in Olympus, one of the most interesting is Iris, who in the *Iliad* is the messenger of the gods. The name, which is also the Greek word for "rainbow," is a feminine form of Irus, a title given by the suitors in the *Odyssey* to the beggar at their doors, owing to his willingness to carry messages. That the rainbow should be considered as a connecting link between heaven and earth is not surprising; in the Eddas the rainbow is the bridge which connects earth and heaven. But as no satisfactory etymology of the name has been discovered, it is impossible for us to say whether Iris signified in the first instance a rainbow, and was afterwards used for "messenger," owing to the conception formed of the rainbow, or whether, signifying messenger from the first, it was subsequently applied to the rainbow. It is a remarkable fact that Iris as a goddess is never mentioned in the *Odyssey*, though, as we have seen, the name Irus is there given to a messenger. Hermes is the divine messenger of the *Odyssey*. Of this strange discrepancy no satisfactory account can be given. It forms a considerable weapon in the armoury of those who contend that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the work of different authors.

Iris.

Iris and Hermes.

[1] *Il.* viii. 13, 479.

At the divine banquets the wine is served by Hebe, who also assists to harness the chariot of Hera, and tends Ares when wounded. The poet even represents her as aiding Ares in his bath, as the daughters of chieftains aid the guests in their father's halls.[1] Among the chief delights of the Olympic palace are the responsive songs of the Muses. These deities are the daughters of Zeus, but it is doubtful whether their number was yet fixed. In the *Iliad*, at least, no distinct number is given; at one time the "Muse," at another the "Muses" are mentioned. They are also the teachers of song, from whom poets receive their gifts of memory and speech. The Hours have in their keeping the gates of heaven, and are thus at hand to unyoke the chariot of Hera and Athena when returning from Troy. In a more literal sense they are the goddesses of the seasons, by whose blessing the fruits of the earth flourish. The Graces, or Charites, are the constant attendants of Aphrodite, for whom they prepare the bath, and weave an "ambrosial" robe. It is from them that beauty comes to women. Of the three Graces whom we meet with in later mythology and art, Homer knows nothing.

Hebe.

The Muses.

The Hours.

The Graces.

43. (*c.*) In regard to the deities which more immediately represent the phenomena of nature, Eos, the goddess of morning, Helios, the sun-god, and the gods of the winds, we may observe that there is no complete division between the deities and the phenomena which are supposed to be the result of their operation. In one passage the words "dawn," "sun," "west wind," are used in the same manner in which we use them; in another, epithets or actions are ascribed to the Dawn or the Sun which compel us to regard them as persons. Thus "Eos" is "rosy-fingered," or "clad in saffron robe." Helios is the "unwearied son of Hyperion." When Achilles was burning the body of Patroclus he offered prayers and vows to Boreas

Eos, Helios, the Winds.

[1] *Il.* v. 905.

and Zephyr, that they might blow up the flame of the pyre. Iris is straightway despatched to the palace of Zephyr, where the winds are holding a feast. The two winds hastily gather together a mass of clouds, hurry across the waters and blow upon the pyre till the body is consumed, when they retire to their home beyond the Thracian sea.[1] To what extent the deity and the phenomena were separated in the poet's mind, it would be useless to inquire. The custom of later poets, who speak of fire as Hephaestus, or wine as Bacchus, must not mislead us into supposing that the Homeric personification is merely a poetical mode of speech. Among savages the changes of the natural world are always regarded as the work of persons, and it is the echo of this primitive mode of speech which causes Eos to be spoken of as a goddess, rising up each morning from the couch of Tithonus, and returning at night to rest by his side.

44. (*d.*) The sea, as might be expected, furnished the Homeric poet with a crowd of deities. Poseidon and Amphitrite are the foremost. Though Poseidon is introduced into the Olympic circle as the brother of Zeus, his true home is in the waters. At the bidding of Zeus, Poseidon and Apollo had built walls for Laomedon of Troy, but when the time came for payment, Laomedon refused it. Hence in the *Iliad* Poseidon is the bitter enemy of the Trojans. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, owing to the slaying of his son Polyphemus, he is the relentless enemy of Odysseus, to whom the destruction of Troy was due. Amphitrite may be regarded as the female counterpart of Poseidon.[2] In Homer she is never spoken of as his consort, or in any way connected with him, but later

Deities of the sea.

Poseidon.

Amphitrite.

[1] *Il.* xxiii. 192 ff.

[2] It is common in Semitic mythology to find each deity at once male and female, the double nature being necessary to the completeness of the divine being. In Greece we find Zeus and Dione, Ares and Enyo, Poseidon and Amphitrite. No satisfactory derivation of the word Poseidon has been proposed.

mythologists told how Poseidon saw her when dancing at Naxos, and, overcome by her beauty, carried her away to be his wife. She is the queen of the stormy ocean, to whom the monsters of the deep are subject.

Minor deities.

Minor deities are Nereus and his daughters, the Nereids, among whom Thetis is chief; Proteus and Eidothea, Ino Leucothea, Phorcys, the Sirens and Scylla, with whom we may combine the gods of the rivers. The more fantastic of these deities, Proteus and his daughter, Ino, the Sirens and Scylla, belong to that "outer circle" of the *Odyssey*, to which the poet, with consummate art, has relegated all that is magical and weird in his story. They are creatures such as naturally live in the tales of mariners, and thus belong to another sphere of mythology than the loftier creations of epic poetry. There is no reason to suppose that they were of later origin than the deities of the Olympic circle. On the contrary, they seem to carry us back to the primitive forms of belief which existed in the minds of the common people.

Omniscience of sea deities.

It is remarkable that the deities of the sea are regarded as possessed of superhuman knowledge. Nereus is spoken of as the "truthful," the "unerring;" from Proteus Menelaus receives information about his voyage home, and what he will find there. The Sirens know all that has happened at Troy, and all that is done upon the earth. In these weird creatures may be symbolised the feeling which lures the sailor onward in the hope of discovery, till he meets his death amid the rocks of an unknown sea.[1] The vastness and mystery of the ocean were also reflected in the deities which inhabited it.

Sea deities less anthropomorphic than others.

They cannot so easily be brought within the limits of human life as the gods which dwell on earth or in heaven. There is no common link to combine the deities of the sea in Homer. An exception must, however, be made in favour of the Nereids. Though

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, Canto xxvi., end.

dwelling in the sea, they are humanised in form and feeling. Thetis has the cares of a wife and mother. "Is there a goddess who suffers as I suffer? Me only of the sea-maids Zeus subdued to a mortal husband, and, sore against my will, I came to Peleus' bed." She knows the doom of her son and laments over it; she is filled with sorrow at his humiliation; with her sympathising sisters, she comes to comfort him in his grief for the death of Patroclus; and when he is buried she joins in the death-wail.

Nereids: Thetis.

45. There is no trace in Homer of the well-known myth of the rape of Proserpine. Demeter indeed never appears as an actor or speaker in any Homeric scene. In the *Iliad* she is the goddess of corn, whose gift is the bread of men; and in the *Odyssey* we are told how she lay with Iasion in the thrice-ploughed field, thereby bringing upon him the wrath of Zeus. Dionysus was worshipped in Northern Greece. We read in the *Iliad*[1] that "Lycurgus, the wild son of Dryas, drove the nurses of the maddened Dionysus down divine Nyseion; they scattered their wands and torches on the ground, struck by the ox-goad of Lycurgus, while Dionysus in terror plunged into the sea, and sought shelter in the bosom of Thetis"—a passage of great value, for the evidence which it furnishes that the ecstatic worship of Dionysus was known at that early time. The opposition which Lycurgus here offers to the Dionysiac worship meets us again in the attempt of Pentheus to resist the introduction of such rites at Thebes.[2]

Demeter.

Dionysus.

The nymphs are among the most pleasing of the Homeric divinities. They are the spirits of the mountains (Orestiades), of the woods, and of the springs (Naiads). They are also the daughters of Zeus, and receive worship from men. In Ithaca there was a grotto

The Nymphs.

[1] *Il.* vi. 130

[2] Without attributing historical value to these legends, there is no good reason for doubting that the worship of Dionysus, like that of the Muses, and even of Apollo, was known in the north of Greece before it became established in the south.

sacred to the Naid-nymphs, "where are bowls and jars of stone, and stately looms, whereat the nymphs weave their purple robes, the delight of the eye."[1] The growth of trees, and sometimes the movements of animals, are due to their operation. It was they who planted elms (πτελέαι) round the grave of the father of Andromache, and sent to Odysseus and his companions the goats on which they fed in the island off the land of the Cyclopians. They follow Artemis when hunting; and even the four attendants of Circe "are born of the springs and the groves, and the holy rivers which flow down to the sea." By creations such as these the life of nature became an animated world; the trees, the hills, the waters, were the abode of divinities, whose dwellings were sacred. We admire them as beautiful creatures of the imagination, but in the mind of the Greek they awakened feelings of awe and reverence for the world around him.

Nothing is more striking in the Homeric conception of the deities than the close relation in which they stand towards external nature. There is no idea of any fixed, inevitable law in the world, such as we find, for instance, in the remarkable words of Heraclitus, who tells us that if the "Sun departs from his appointed path the Avengers will mark it and put him back."[2] In the *Odyssey* Helios declares that if he is left without recompence for the loss of his oxen, he will "go down to Hades and shine among the dead." And when Odysseus and Penelope are at length brought together, Athena holds back the night in her course for twice the usual space, that the hero may tell the tale of his wanderings to his wife. The gods are lords of nature, which is in deepest sympathy with them. The sea rejoices when Poseidon goes forth from his palace in the depths, and round him gambol the creatures of the deep, who know their lord. The delighted earth sends up soft fresh grass, dewy lotus, crocus and hyacinth, to form a

The relation of the deities to nature.

[1] *Od.* xiii. 104; *cf.* xiv. 435.

[2] See Hume, *Nat. Rel.* § 2.

couch beneath Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida. Nor are the divine beings insensible to the charms of scenery. Hermes, the messenger of the gods, is entranced with the beauty of Calypso's dwelling, and casts a lingering look on the fair scene before him ere he passes in to deliver the command of Zeus. This characteristic of the Homeric poems requires the greater attention, because in later times, when Greek poetry became lyric and dramatic, descriptions of natural scenery were out of place.

46. The under-ground (Chthonian) deities are by their nature gloomy and awful beings. Hades is the lord of the unseen world, "the god whom none can soften or subdue; abhorred and hated above all gods by mortal men." Persephone is not the beautiful daughter of Demeter, whom Aidoneus snatched away from "that fair field of Enna," but the female counterpart of Hades, and, apparently (*supra*, p. 170), the more terrible deity of the two. In her keeping are the spirits of the dead. Nevertheless, gloomy as the under-world may be, it is not, except in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, the place of punishment which is described in later poems. But the elements of the later conception are already present. In the *Iliad* the Erinyes dwell under the earth, and exact penalties for perjury and ill-treatment of parents.[1] From that dark abode they can be summoned to do their work upon earth. Perhaps there is no more tragic scene in ancient poetry than that in the ninth book of the *Iliad*, where Althaea is described as invoking the Erinys to punish her son for the murder of her brother. "Often did she pray to the gods in her anguish at her brother's death; often with her hands she beat the earth, and cried unto Hades and dread Persephone, falling on her knees, her bosom wet with tears, to send death upon her son. And the Erinys that walks in darkness, the lady of a pitiless heart, heard her in Erebus."[2] Though the Erinyes are in

Hades.

Persephone.

The Erinyes.

[1] *Il.* xix. 258.

[2] *Ibid.* ix. 565.

the first instance the ministers of the wrath of the infernal gods, their action is not restricted to the punishment of perjury or the ill-treatment of parents. They are the guardians of order in the world, and as such they check the voice of the horse of Achilles when he is prophesying his master's doom, which only the gods may reveal. The poor man who begs his bread, and the suppliant in need of help, are also under the protection of the Erinyes. Their vengeance is sometimes shown in the fatal blindness which misleads men into doing actions to their own hurt. It was through the act of the Erinyes that Agamemnon was deluded into his quarrel with Achilles. This doctrine, it will be seen, exercised a deep influence on the thoughts of later poets, especially of Aeschylus.

47. This enumeration gives a very imperfect idea of the multitude of divine personages who appear in the Homeric poems. Sleep and Death, Strife and Fear, are deities; Prayers, like the nymphs, are the daughters of Zeus; with weary feet they follow in the steps of Delusion (Ate), to heal the mischief which she works. On the other hand, there are some remarkable omissions. Eros is not yet a deity, nor is he the son of Aphrodite. Nor is the moon personified as a female counterpart of the sun. Nemesis is not yet a divine power. To us the personification of abstract words has become merely a poetical fancy; but among the Greeks such deified abstractions were often worshipped as beings whose anger could be averted by prayer or sacrifice, from which we may infer that they were regarded as having a real existence.

Personification of abstractions.

48. Though the Homeric deities have certain spheres of action assigned to them, we are not to suppose that their power is rigorously confined within the allotted limits. The same result is attributed to the agency of widely different deities. A fair wind is sent by Zeus in one instance, by Calypso in

Deities not strictly limited to fixed spheres of action.

[1] *Il.* xix. 418.

another, by Circe, Athena, or Apollo. At one time it is Poseidon who summons the clouds, at another Zeus; and Athena stills the wind which Poseidon has raised. It is obvious that without this freedom of action the divine machinery would be a very serious difficulty to the poet. Yet the freedom is not without limits. The gods do not willingly interfere with each other. Athena shrinks from any open dissension with Poseidon, however great her desire to bring Odysseus home; and though all the gods are opposed to Poseidon in his bitter anger against Odysseus, they do not attempt to control his actions by force.

49. It was the universal belief of antiquity that, in very early ages, the gods had sojourned upon earth. But even the epic poets regard this period as long past; it is only among the Phaeacians that the gods deign to sit at the meal, or meet the lonely wayfarer without turning from the path.[1] In the heroic world the gods no longer associate with mortal women. They do not reveal themselves to men except on rare occasions, and to especially favoured individuals. The greatest deity, Zeus, never reveals himself at all, Hera and Poseidon but rarely. It is their ministers, Athena, Apollo and Hermes, who form, as it were, the connecting links between the human and divine world. These appear to men sometimes in their own shape, which is recognised, or in the form of men or animals. They are described by Homer with characteristic features; the eyes of Athena and Hera, the hair of Poseidon, are marked by unchanging epithets. At other times the gods are said to be present, though they are invisible; and it is not till their departure that the traces of their presence are discovered. When they would avoid each other they find it necessary to use some special means of concealment.[2] Athena puts on

Intercourse of gods with men.

[1] The Phaeacians are "very near to the gods," like the Cyclopians and the wild tribes of the giants. This is an indication, among others, that, in the *Odyssey*, the anthropomorphism is less complete than in the *Iliad*.

[2] *Iliad*, xiv. 287.

the cap of Hades, in order to avoid been seen by Ares; and Zeus, when embracing Hera, covers himself with a cloud of impenetrable thickness.

50. More commonly the will of the gods is made manifest by the appearance of signs (*τέρατα*) sent from heaven, such as thunder, or a rainbow, or the flight of birds, their contests and cries. With these signs no special signification is connected; thunder may portend hail or snow or war; the rainbow is the forerunner of war or of a storm. The meaning becomes definite when the sign appears at a critical moment, to those at least who are skilled to discern it. For "all birds are not messengers of fate," so that it is necessary to have recourse to the "watcher of omens," who can decide what appearance is ominous and what is accidental, or make clear the meaning of the portent. In dreams, also, divine intimations are conveyed to men, though these, like other omens, are often obscure, and require interpretation from the dream-seer. Oracles, in the later sense of the word, are almost unknown in Homer; yet if every other source of ascertaining the divine will fails, or gives a doubtful result, a man may repair to Dodona or Pytho, and make inquiry there. The interpreters of dreams and omens appear to form a separate class of men. They do not secure the favour of the gods, or exercise in any way priestly functions. They cannot command the appearance of an omen, good or bad; they can only interpret what is sent without their interference or agency.

Signs.

Dreams.

Oracles.

Seers, etc.

51. Sacrifices and prayers are the accepted means of winning and retaining the favour of the gods. The man who neglects either is in danger of bringing upon himself the divine wrath. Sacrifice is a debt due to the gods, which may not be withheld from them. When Oeneus was sacrificing to the gods of the firstfruits in his vineyard, he failed to sacrifice to Athena: "either he forgot, or he never gave it a thought." Then Athena, in

Sacrifices.

anger, sent the boar which ravaged his land. The wall which the Greeks built to defend their ships was raised without the sacrifice of hecatombs; "built against the will of the gods, it remained unbroken for but a little time." Sacrifice, then, is a necessary portion of the Homeric religion, but all sacrifice is not offered by the same persons; we find that it is sometimes presented by priests, sometimes by kings in their political capacity, and sometimes by a father on behalf of his household. Private sacrifices are frequently mentioned; in fact, every action of life is accompanied with something which has more or less of the nature of a sacrifice.

Priests.

52. The simplest form of sacrifice was the libation, which was poured at meals as a kind of grace, and before going to bed at night, as well as on more solemn occasions. On leaving Ithaca for their journey through the night, Telemachus and his companions poured "a libation to all the gods, and chiefly to the grey-eyed daughter of Zeus." Prayers were, of course, still more frequent than sacrifice. Feeling his dependence on the divine power at every step, the Homeric hero was constantly offering prayer to one or other of the inhabitants of Olympus. The Homeric language distinguishes, though not invariably, the vow (εὐχή) from the prayer; and the prayer for the accomplishment of a wish (ἀρά) from the prayer for pardon (λίτη.) In the last sense prayers are said to be the daughters of Zeus. Lame and wrinkled, with eyes askance, they walk painfully in the footsteps of Ate. "If a man honours the daughters of Zeus, when they draw nigh, they hear his petitions, and bestow great blessings upon him; but if he denies them, saying, 'Depart from me,' they return to Zeus, and entreat that Ate may visit the sinner, so that he may stumble and suffer for his sin."

Libations and Prayers.

53. Such is a brief outline of the religious conceptions contained in the Homeric poems. They are in part the creations of great poets, who sought to give expression to their ideas

about the divine nature, and in part the traditions handed down from very early times. They are obviously inconsistent and imperfect. Religion is not yet combined with morality, for the gods are not moral beings, nor do men ask their favour always for moral ends. It is rather a means of obtaining prosperity and success by the help of higher powers, and in the worship of the gods the outward act is more than the inward spirit. There is no thought of any conflict between good and evil powers, for human nature is not yet divided against itself so far as to allow of the existence of a principle of evil. A few rules of social order are sufficiently fixed to be under the peculiar protection of the deities. Perjury, injuries done to parents, or suppliants, or beggars, are visited by divine wrath, and divine blessings descend on the righteous judge. But the circle within which these limitations are felt is very small, and when we pass beyond it, the right of the stronger prevails among gods and men. "A god gives or withholds as he will," even as "a king hates one man and loves another as he will."

Characteristics of Homeric Religion.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SPARTAN STATE.

THE names of the traditional kings of Sparta down to the first Olympiad are as follows :—

Eurysthenids.	*Proclids.*
Eurysthenes.	Procles.
Agis.	Sous.
Echestratus.	Eurypon.
Labotas.	Prytanis.
Doryssus.	Eunomus.
Agesilaus.	Polydectes.
Archelaus.	Charilaus.
Teleclus.	Nicander.
Alcamenes.	Theopompus.

The first Olympiad fell in the tenth year of Alcamenes and Theopompus, 776 B.C.

Early history of Sparta.

1. Sparta was the city from which the Dorians slowly extended their dominion over a considerable portion of Peloponnesus. Of the progress of her power we have only the most meagre information, especially in the times which immediately followed the return of the Heraclids. We hear indeed that the Spartan king Sous acquired territory from the Clitorians, in the north of Arcadia, and that Eurypon, his son, conquered Mantinea. But these distant expeditions become extremely improbable when we subsequently find the Spartans defeated, and their king Charilaus captured, under the walls of Tegea, which lay between Sparta and Mantinea.[1] There is probably more truth in the legend of the attack of King Echestratus on the Cynurians, which led to the first war between Sparta and Argos.[2]

The internal condition of Sparta at this early period is

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 2; Polyaen. ii. 13; Paus. iii. 7. 3. [2] Paus. iii. 2, 2.

uniformly described as one of strife and bad government, a condition of affairs which was certainly unfavourable to external development and conquest. Herodotus attributes these dissensions, at least in part, to the mutual animosity of the two royal families; the twin sons of Aristodemus quarrelled all their lives, and their descendants after them did the same. Plutarch, on the other hand, speaks of quarrels between the kings and the people. Eurypon was the first to relax the stringency of the monarchical power, and from his time forward anarchy and confusion prevailed—the king and the people contending for the upper hand. This appears to have been the opinion of Aristotle, who mentions the "tyranny of Charilaus," as though that king had attempted to emancipate his prerogative from the restrictions placed upon it. Whatever the cause, it is more certain than any other fact in early Spartan history that the condition of the country was for a long time one of internal strife and dissension. It was the great merit of Lycurgus to have put an end to this disastrous state of affairs.[1]

Dissension and strife.

2. Lycurgus is the foremost name in Spartan history. Tradition is nearly unanimous in describing this lawgiver as the author of the prosperity of Sparta, and the founder of her peculiar institutions, but about the date and the events of his life the greatest uncertainty prevailed.[2] Herodotus, following the Lacedaemonian account, describes him as the guardian of Leobotas, or Labotas, the fourth in the Eurysthenid line of kings,[3] but in the account usually accepted, he appears as the guardian of Charilaus, the seventh king in the Proclid line.[4] Thucydides,

Lycurgus: uncertainty in regard to him.

[1] Herod. vi. 52; Plut. *Lyc.* 2; Arist. *Pol.* v. 12=1316 *a*.

[2] Hellanicus ascribed the foundation of the state to Eurysthenes and Procles, for which he was censured by Ephorus, who pointed out that only Lycurgus had a shrine and yearly offerings, whereas the two kings, though founders of the state, did not even bequeath their names to their descendants. Strabo, p. 366.

[3] Herod. i. 65; Paus. iii. 2, 3.

[4] Ephorus in Strabo, p. 481.

though he does not mention Lycurgus, asserts that the form of the government had continued the same in Sparta for more than four hundred years before the end of the Peloponnesian war.[1] In his opinion, therefore, the reforms of Lycurgus were introduced shortly before 804 B.C. This date is considerably later than that usually given to Lycurgus, on the authority of the ancient chronologers, but it agrees with the position of Charilaus in the list of kings. If Theopompus began to reign in 786 B.C., and we allow twenty-four years for his predecessor, we reach 810 B.C. for the death of Charilaus, in whose reign important changes in the constitution of Sparta, without doubt, took place.[2]

The account of Herodotus.

Herodotus tells us that Lycurgus, when visiting the Delphic shrine, was hailed by the priestess as a being more than human, and some authorities asserted that the Spartan institutions were revealed to him there.[3] The Lacedaemonians, however, regarded Crete as the source of their peculiar arrangements. They were thus enabled to connect them with the great name of Minos, and derive their authority from Zeus himself. Later legends had much more to tell on the subject.[4] Polydectes, the

[1] Thuc. i. 18.

[2] Plutarch, on the authority of Aristotle, supports the view that Iphitus, the reviver of the Olympian games, and Lycurgus were contemporaries. In the *Politics*, v. 12 = 1316 *a*, Aristotle indicates that the reforms of Lycurgus were introduced in the *reign* of Charilaus, which must be later than 884, the usual date of the Olympiad of Iphitus and birth of Charilaus. If, however, we accept the later date of the Olympiad of Iphitus, which Callimachus placed 52 years (13 Olympiads) before 776 B.C. (not 108 years = 27 Olympiads), we get 828 B.C. as a possible date for Iphitus and Lycurgus. This agrees with the statement of Thucydides, and allows us to follow Aristotle in connecting Lycurgus with Iphitus and Charilaus. There was a doubt whether the legislation of Lycurgus fell in the time when he was the guardian of Charilaus, or in the reign of Charilaus. In any case, as no Laconians appear in the list of victors for the first fourteen Olympiads, it is improbable that the Spartans had anything to do with the foundation of the festival, or even shared in it for some time after 776 B.C. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i. 130.

[3] Herod. i. 65.

[4] Plut. *Lyc.* 3; Ephorus, in Strabo, p. 482.

elder brother of Lycurgus, died leaving a widow with child. The widow made overtures to Lycurgus with a view of securing the throne for him, which he rejected. As soon as the child was born—it was a son—Lycurgus placed him in the care of the elders of the city, and not long after left the country to avoid any suspicion of a desire to usurp the royal power. In a series of travels, including visits to Egypt and India—countries which at that time can hardly have been known to the Greeks—he arrived at Crete, where the native institutions had already been borrowed by the Laconian colonists at Lyctus.[1] Meanwhile, Sparta had fallen into a miserable state of disorder, which at length became so intolerable that Lycurgus, on his return, ventured to come forward in the market-place, accompanied by twenty-eight of the leading citizens, with proposals of reform. He had obtained certain *rhetrae* (ordinances) from the Delphian oracle, on which he now proceeded to remodel the constitution. When political order had been restored, he introduced the social institutions and training which he had observed in Crete.[2]

The account of Plutarch.

3. Plutarch confesses that little was known about Lycurgus. The institutions which could be attributed to him, and the sources from which they were derived, the occasion and the manner in which they were introduced, the parentage and death of Lycurgus, were disputed then, and are disputed now. The name Eunomus, which is given to the father of the Lawgiver, is suspicious, when we remember that his son was the author of εὐνομία in Sparta, and a similar doubt hangs over Arthmiades (ἁρθμός, union), who is said to have

Plutarch's doubts about Lycurgus.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10 = 1271 *b*. These were "the original laws of Minos."

[2] If there is much that is similar in the Cretan and Lacedaemonian institutions, there are also great differences. The real point of resemblance is the conservative character of the two nations; the common meals, which are a necessity of military life, remain as a part of the political organisation. This character is due to the isolated position of Crete and Sparta. Cf. Polyb. vi. 45 ff.

aided Lycurgus in introducing his conciliatory reforms.[1] Yet we are not justified in doubting the existence of Lycurgus merely because fictitious names are connected with him.[2]

Silence of Greek Historians.

There is nothing more tantalising in Greek historians than their silence on matters with which they must have been familiar. What should we know of the Athenian constitution if we depended for our information upon Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon? But in the case of Sparta, it is doubtful whether much was known to contemporary historians,[3] for even Thucydides remarks on the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact number of the Spartans who fought at Mantinea. Or a love of anecdote took the place of a more serious interest in history. Herodotus had been in Sparta, and could have told us about the training, the numbers of the Spartans, the ephors and the senate. He prefers to relate the stories of Ariston and his child, of the wives of Anaxandridas, of the death of Cleomenes, and the precocity of Gorgo. Such narratives were history in his day, when no one thought of describing institutions with which he was familiar. In the next century there was a change. But we are unable to make much use of the industry of the historians, who, from the time of Aristotle, collected a number of details about the history of Sparta or Athens. Their works have perished. The meagre extracts which remain are disconnected and unsupported. The points which they touch are often unimportant, and of the earlier history

Later writers have perished.

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 5.

[2] Gelzer considers the Lycurgean constitution to be the work of a society of priests (*supra*, p. 195, n.[2]), of which the president was called Lycurgus (Λυκόοργος, creator of light!) Gilbert regards Lycurgus as a form of Apollo Lyceus; see Busolt, *l.c.* p. 133, and *cf.* Cox, *Statesmen*, i. 12. Such views can hardly be treated seriously. Aristotle speaks of Lycurgus as belonging to the "middle class," *Pol.* iv. 11 = 1296 *a*.

[3] Xenophon's treatise *De Republica Lacedaemoniorum* is rather ideal than historical, and in any case a second-rate work.

of Greece much had passed into legend centuries before they began to write.[1]

4. Plutarch has fortunately transcribed the text of the Rhetrae, or ordinances, which were given to Lycurgus at Delphi. There does not seem to be any reason to doubt that these were the oldest ordinances known at Sparta, or that they formed the basis of their "good government." They were therefore the oldest political ordinances known in Hellas, and, indeed, in the world.

The Rhetrae.

"Found a temple to Zeus Hellanius, and Athena Hellania, arrange the tribes, and the Obes, thirty in number, establish the Gerousia with the Archagetae. Summon the people for meeting from time to time between Babyca and the Cnacion, there bring forward and decide (reject). The people are to have the supreme power." [2]

Thus the first duty of the lawgiver was to found a public sanctuary which should be as it were the centre of the community. Then the people were to be arranged in tribes and

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[1] Plutarch's most trustworthy authority on Lycurgus is Aristotle. From older writers he quotes nothing of importance. Simonides is said to have stated that Lycurgus was the son of Prytanis and brother of Eunomus, contrary to the usual account. Critias praised the excellence of the Lacedaemonian cup, of which the colour concealed the muddiness of water, and the shape prevented impurities from entering the mouth. Hippias, the Sophist, stated that Lycurgus was a great general. To the account given in Herodotus of Spartan customs and of Lycurgus, Plutarch does not refer. Among later authorities are Dieuchidas, who was able to assign different mothers to Polydectes and Lycurgus; Aristocrates, who takes Lycurgus to India; Hermippus, who gives the names of twenty of the twenty-eight Spartans who appeared in the market-place in support of Lycurgus, and Dioscorides, who maintained that Lycurgus did not lose his eye in the fray with Alcander, but was wounded only! On Plutarch's conception of Lycurgus, see *infra*, § 23.

[2] Plut. *Lyc.* 6. Zeus Hellanius was worshipped in Aegina. Athena Hellania is mentioned in Eur. *Hipp.* 1121. The MSS. are in favour of Syllanius, Syllania; see p. 110. There seems no trace of the worship at Sparta.

Obes. The division into tribes was not a new one; from the first the Dorians at Sparta, as elsewhere, when free from the admixture of external elements, were divided into three tribes, Hylleis, Dymānes, Pamphȳli, but it is possible that some changes were now introduced, regulating the internal arrangement of the tribe. In each tribe were ten Obes, of which we know nothing beyond the name. They appear to have been local divisions. As the Gerousia, including the kings, contained thirty members, we may conjecture that each Obe was represented in the Senate, and therefore that the two kings were the representatives of two distinct Obes.[1] The Archagetae are the kings, or leaders of the people. From time to time the community were to be summoned to a meeting which was held between certain fixed limits—the Cnacion, *i.e.* the river Oenus, which falls into the Eurotas, to the north of Sparta, and Babyca, *i.e.* the bridge over the Eurotas at Sparta. Before the assembled people measures were to be introduced that they might decide upon them, for no measure was valid which had not received the sanction of the whole people.

The tribes.

The Obes.

The Kings.

The Apella or Assembly.

The elements with which these ordinances deal—the Kings, the Council and the Assembly—appear in the Homeric poems, and grew naturally out of the patriarchal government of the tribe. The work of Lycurgus did not consist in creating new elements, but in consolidating those which already existed into a harmonious whole. It was impossible henceforth for the kings to increase their power at the expense of the nobles, and both nobles and kings were in the last resort controlled by the will of the assembled people.

Lycurgus rearranged older elements in the constitution.

[1] Busolt regards the Obes as subdivisions of the five local tribes of Sparta: Pitane, Mesoa, Limnae, Conura and Dyme. With regard to ὠβή, Hesychius has ὠβαί, τόποι μεγαλομερεῖς. Busolt, *l.c.* p. 110. Amyclae was an Obe with three ephors; Dittenb. *Syll.* n. 306.

5. Three other ordinances which are ascribed to Lycurgus forbade (1) the use of written laws; (2) the use of any tools but the axe and saw in building a house; (3) frequent wars upon the same enemies. Other rhetrae. He is also said to have forbidden the use of coined money in Sparta. Neither gold nor silver was to be used for purposes of exchange, but bars of iron, which by their small value and great bulk rendered money dealings on any large scale impossible. The iron of these bars was also made unusually brittle in order that it might be useless for ordinary purposes. Such precepts were doubtless observed at Sparta, though they may not have been derived from Lycurgus. The training which every Spartan underwent was intended to diminish the sphere of positive law as much as possible, and to encourage the utmost simplicity and even rudeness of life. But in the time of Lycurgus there were no written laws in existence.[1] Nor was a coinage introduced into Greece till after the time of Phidon (*infra*, chap. vii.). Probably later. If therefore Lycurgus forbade the use of written laws and coined money, the regulations could only have been framed in a prophetic spirit, to meet a future contingency! The violation of the third rule by Agesilaus in his frequent invasions of Boeotia was thought to have contributed largely to the victories of the Thebans over the Spartans; when the king was wounded, Antalcidas remarked that his wounds were a just retribution for teaching the art of war to those who had neither the skill nor the wish to fight.[2]

[1] The iron coins were either "spits" (ὀβελοί) or "cakes" (πέλανορ). They weighed a mina (605 grammes), and were worth 1½d. The *rhetrae* must have been preserved orally, as seems to have been the case with laws in other states; but there is no trace of metre in them.

[2] Plut. *Lyc.* 13. Plutarch looks on Lycurgus as a reformer, who put an end to anarchy among the rich and destitution among the poor. It is possible that the contrast of rich and poor, which he describes, existed in early times at Sparta, but it is also possible that the circumstances of the third century B.C. have been transferred to the eighth or ninth.

6. About a century after Lycurgus, in the reign of Theopompus, two changes of great importance were made in the Spartan constitution. The veto which the earlier rhetra had allowed to the assembled people was cancelled, and a new law was introduced, which gave the ultimate control to the Gerontes and Kings. "If the people decide crookedly, the elders and chiefs shall put it back," *i.e.* shall reverse the popular decision. Under what circumstances this ordinance, which is said to have been obtained from Delphi, was passed, we do not know, nor is it quite clear how it consists with what we find recorded of the constitutional history of Sparta in later times. It would seem to render the assembly altogether useless except for the confirmation of measures upon which the kings and the senate were agreed. Yet we find the assembly convened to decide upon the question of the Peloponnesian war, and Thucydides speaks of it on that occasion as the "customary assembly." Herodotus also, without formally mentioning the assembly, speaks more than once of the "Community" of Sparta, as a body whose authority was decisive in matters of peace and war. Cleomenes was repelled from Aegina by Crius with the taunt that he had come without the authority of the "Community," and the question of a treaty between Sparta and Argos, just before the invasion of Xerxes, was referred to them. In Xenophon the action of the assembly is frequently mentioned.[1] The second innovation was even more important. Though Herodotus ascribes the institution of the Ephoralty to Lycurgus, it seems more correct to follow Aristotle and others in ascribing it to Theopompus.[2] The Ephors, who were five in number, appear in the first instance to have been of no great importance.[3] But as they were intimately connected with the commons, elected

Changes under Theopompus.

The people deprived of the veto.

The Ephors.

[1] Thuc. i. 87, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*; *ib.* 67, *τὸν εἰωθότα ξύλλογον.* **Herod.** vi. 50, *ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ*; vii. 149, *ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας.*

[2] Herod. i. 65; Plut. *Lyc.* 7 (Arist. *Pol.* v. 11 = 1313*a*).

[3] Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1 = 1275 *b*.

from and by them as their representatives, we must assume that the ephoralty was a concession to the people, and it may have been a compensation for the loss of the right of voting in the assembly. In time the ephors grew to be the most important officers in the state, both in war and in peace. They were associated with the council, they presided in the assembly, and even the kings were not exempt from their power. To this result the growing dread of "a tyrannis," like that at Corinth or Sicyon, and the increasing importance of the Spartan training, which the ephors superintended, in a great measure contributed.[1]

Difficulty of a historical account of the Spartan constitution.

It is impossible for us to trace the various steps in the growth of the Spartan constitution. The habitual reserve of the Spartans, and the want of any historical account of the period in which the constitution grew up, compels us in speaking of the Spartan state to treat it as a whole, and give an outline of the constitution as it existed at the time when it is best known to us. We have reason to believe that great changes, besides those already recorded, were introduced at Sparta long after Lycurgus. Chilon (590–560 B.C.), especially, may have introduced many reforms, and greatly developed the elements already in existence. Such at least is the natural inference to be drawn from the respect in which his name was held at Sparta. In the account which follows chronology is disregarded, and the Spartan state is described without reference to the earlier or later origin of the various parts.

I.—THE KINGS.

7. The fullest account of the privileges and duties of the Spartan kings is given in Herodotus.[2] Their functions may be divided into religious, judicial, and military.

[1] Plut. *Cleom.* 10. The aggression is ascribed to Asteropus. The first ephor is said to have been Elatus, Plut. *Lyc.* 7.

[2] Herod. vi. 56-58. *Cf.* Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 15.

The kings were the priests of Zeus Lacedaemon and Zeus Uranius. In time of peace they took the first seats at all public sacrifices, and they received a double portion of food. The libation also began with them, and the skins of the victims were theirs. Every new month, and on the seventh day of each month, a full-grown victim was given to each king for sacrifice to Apollo, a bushel of barley, and a "Laconian quart" of wine. In time of war, when a sacrifice was needed for taking omens, they might use any sheep which they found on the way. Of all that was sacrificed, the skins and chines belonged to them. They also, together with the Pythii, of whom each chose two, had the keeping of all oracles and responses. At public games they sat in the first place; the proxeni (*i.e.* Spartans who entertained foreign ambassadors) were elected by them. It seems probable from the account of Herodotus that in his time the kings might be absent from the public meals, though they lost half their measure of food by absence, one-half only of the quantity allowed them at the table being sent to their houses. In later times, the heir to the throne was excused from the training, but the king was compelled to dine with his fellows.[1]

The Kings as priests.

Offer sacrifice.

Their privileges.

In their judicial capacity the kings decided about the marriage of heiresses who represented a family—*i.e.* when an orphan heiress was claimed by one or more relatives on the score of their kinship, the king decided which of the claimants was to be preferred.[2] All adoptions took place before them. They also decided on cases in which the public roads were concerned.

Kings are judges in cases relating to heiresses, adoptions, public roads.

The kings were the leaders of the army. For a time they always took the field together, but owing to the dissensions

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 12. A king's portion was four choenices of meal, and two cotylae of wine.

[2] Decisions in the case of an *ἐπίκληρος* at Athens came before the Archon.

of Cleomenes and Demaratus, a law was passed that one king only should go out with the army, and it was henceforth the custom for one king only to be absent from Sparta, at a time.[1] The kings had the right of making war on whom they would, and no one could prevent them, on pain of being under a curse, but as they were liable to be brought to trial on their return for failure in an expedition,[2] they usually obtained the consent of the ephors or the assembly before going. They went out first and returned last, and were protected by a body of at least 100 knights. Two ephors in later times, at any rate, accompanied the king into the field.[3]

The kings lead the army.

Can make war on whom they please.

The funeral of a king was the occasion of splendid ceremonies. The death was announced by horsemen throughout Laconia; and in the city by women who went round beating a kettle-drum. At the signal two persons in each household in Sparta, a man and a woman, were compelled under heavy penalties to mourn (*i.e.* to cut their hair, rend their garments, and throw dust on their hair and clothes). From the rest of Laconia a certain fixed number of the Perioeci was required to attend at the city; and when they, with the Helots and Spartans, had assembled in thousands, loud lamentations were raised in which the deceased king was extolled as the best of his race. The bodies of kings who fell in war were almost without exception brought home; if it happened that the body could not be found, an image was made and placed on the bier. For ten days all public business and trade was suspended.[4] On the accession of the new king all debts owing to the royal or public treasury were cancelled.

Funerals of the Spartan Kings.

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[1] *Cf.* the case of Agesipolis and Agesilaus, Xen. *Hell.* v. 3, 10.

[2] Herod. vi. 56; v. 75; vi. 82; Thuc. v. 63.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 36.

[4] Herod. vi. 58. The kings enjoyed the income of a royal domain; Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15.

8. The king was succeeded by his eldest son (unless disqualified by some grave bodily defect), and this rule was observed even when the father had been deposed; but a son born before the accession of his father to the throne, was passed over in favour of the eldest son born after the accession. If an infant, the heir to the throne was placed in the guardianship of the nearest agnate, who also succeeded when the direct line failed. So far as we know, the two lines of kings never intermarried; and they had separate places of sepulture in differents parts of the city, the Agiads being buried in the "plot of Theomelidas," the Eurypontids near the temple of Dictynna.

Origin of the dual monarchy.

The origin of the dual monarchy, which from the first was so distinctive a feature of the Spartan government, is very obscure, and many attempts have been made to explain it. It may have arisen by a fusion of the native and immigrant races, each of which was allowed to retain its own prince in the new community. In support of such a theory it may be said that the Dorians, according to the legend, were invited to Sparta by Philonomus (p. 63), who, however, we must add, persuaded the reigning sovereign to retire before the immigrants. It is also a fact that one at least of the Spartan kings claimed to be of Achaean descent. On the other hand, it may be urged that an Achaean prince would not come to terms with invaders when he could be received among his own people at Amyclae, an important Achaean city to the south of Sparta, which retained its independence till the reign of Teleclus.[1] Another explanation assumes two colonies of Dorians, one planted on the Oenus, the other at Sparta. At first the two settlements were at variance, but after the defeat of Charilaus by the Tegeatae, they agreed to form one city in which each king should retain his authority.[2] Such a double settlement, if it ever existed,

[1] Legend stated that Philonomus received the throne of Amyclae from the Dorians; Ephorus in Strabo, p. 364; Nic. Damasc. *Frag.* 36, Müller, who, however, brings the Minyae into the story.

[2] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, i. 351 ff.

has left no traces, and tradition, which is our only guide, speaks of both monarchs as reigning together from the first at Sparta. It is perhaps more reasonable to assume that the two kings represent two leading families, each of which had a claim to give a chief to the community. That two families holding equal rights should be regarded as descended from the twin sons of the Dorian founder of Sparta is merely one of the fictions which of necessity arose in the period when all political unions and arrangements were expressed in the terms of genealogical connection.[1]

II.—THE GEROUSIA OR SENATE.

9. The Gerontes or Senators were twenty-eight in number, or thirty, with the addition of the two kings. Among other curious explanations of this number given in the *Lycurgus* of

[1] Professor Duncker, *loc. cit.*, regards the double settlement as a demonstrated fact. He appeals to legends which connect Procles closely with the Argives. But if one legend represents Procles (the assumed founder of the colony on the Oenus) as in close connection with Temenus the king of Argos, whose territory lay on his border, another legend represents Echestratus and Labotas, of the Eurysthenid line, as making war upon Cynuria and Argos (Paus. iii. 2, 2), and it is difficult to see how they could have done this if a community friendly to Argos existed on the Oenus. Nor is it credible that a period of disaster such as the capture of Charilaus by the Tegeatae would lead to a union of the two hostile communities, as Duncker assumes. On the contrary, the calamity which overtook the settlement on the Oenus would be the opportunity of Sparta, which could at once advance upon her prostrate rival, and put an end for ever to the dissension. With regard to the difficulties raised by Duncker against the theory that one of the Spartan kings was of Achaean race, the representative of a native dynasty, it may be observed that there is no evidence to show that the relations of Sparta and Amyclae were not in the first instance amicable, as they were between Cresphontes and the chiefs of the Messenians. If this is the case there is nothing improbable in the existence of an Achaean dynasty at Sparta, in spite of the close proximity of Amyclae. It was not till the Spartans found their territory too small for them, that they turned upon their former allies. The relation of the Perioeci to the Spartans is also an indication of the existence of friendly feelings between the previous inhabitants and the Dorian invaders.

Plutarch (c. 5), we are told on the authority of Aristotle that of the thirty adherents who at first supported Lycurgus two failed to appear when summoned to the market-place. As the obes were thirty in number it is probable that each obe furnished a senator, the two kings being the hereditary representatives of two obes.[1]

Number of the Senate.

The office was tenable for life, but no one could be elected who was less than sixty years of age. The election was by acclamation. Whenever a vacancy occurred the people were assembled, and the candidates passed through the assembly in an order determined by lot. The candidate who was received with the loudest applause was elected. The difference in the applause was decided by certain persons sitting in a building adjacent to the place of meeting, who could hear the noise but could not see the candidates.[2]

Election of Senators.

We have no precise information on the duties of the senators. Under the arrangement of Lycurgus they must have prepared matters for the decision of the Apella or General Assembly; but after the time of Theopompus, they, in conjunction with the kings, could pass a final decision. They appear to have formed a supreme court of law, before which even the kings could be tried, and which was alone competent to decide on the more serious offences, and more especially on homicide.[3] In some cases the ephors seem to have been associated with them.[4] Demosthenes speaks of the Gerousia as "controlling the constitution" of Sparta, and election into it as the supreme reward of civic virtue. Yet we do not find the

Their duties.

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[1] The senators were not elected by the obes, but by the whole people, but there is nothing to show that when a vacancy occurred the members of the obe whose representative had died, were not alone qualified to present themselves for election. Aristotle, however, says nothing of this. The constitution of the Gerousia is so far inconsistent that twenty-eight members are elective and two hereditary.

[2] Plut. *Lyc.* 26.

[3] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9=1270 *b*; iii. 1, 10=1275 *b*; Plut. *l.c.*

[4] Cleomenes is brought before the ephors, Herod. vi. 82; Leotychides before the *δικαστήριον*, Herod. vi. 72.

Gerousia exercising much authority in the politics of Sparta, and Aristotle treats the institution with contempt.[1]

III.—THE ASSEMBLY OR APELLA.

10. The Apella was an assembly of all the Spartan citizens who had reached the age of thirty years. It may have met in obedience to the rhetra, every month, between Babyca and the Cnacion, but it could also be summoned on special occasions. In historical times it was presided over by the ephors.[2] No speaking was allowed except by officers of State and persons duly invited, and perhaps the Senators. The votes were given by acclamation. The assembly decided on war and peace, treaties, and foreign politics generally; it elected the ephors and gerontes. Difficulties in the succession of the kings, and questions of the manumission of Helots, were within its competence.

Meetings of the Assembly.

Its powers.

IV.—THE EPHORS.

11. The ephors were five in number, and the office was open to every Spartan of the requisite age, without any further qualification. Aristotle describes the mode of election as "exceedingly childish;" but we do not know precisely how it took place. During the year of office, every ephor was released from the training and the usual severity of the Spartan life, and they had a common hall where they dined together.

Number, etc., of the Ephors.

The power of the ephors was very great, amounting indeed to a sort of democratic tyranny. If they were responsible at all, they were responsible only to their successors in the office, who were not likely to criticise actions done in their interest, and which they might wish to imitate. They had the power to summon the Assembly, and apparently the complaints upon which the gerontes pronounced were laid in the first instance before the ephors,

Their great powers.

[1] Dem. p. 489, *κύριος τῆς πολιτείας.*

[2] Thuc. i. 87.

who could even order the summary arrest of the kings. They were the supreme executive power in the city, in which capacity they seem to have acted, at times, without consulting the Assembly. Ambassadors from foreign states applied to them.[1]

The ephors were also the first police magistrates in the city. Under their control was the education and training of the youth, and the conduct of the men. They could fine whom they chose, and exact the fine at once. They were supreme over all other officers, from whom, at the close of the year of office, they received an account. They could interfere with the private life of the kings to such an extent as to order them to repudiate a wife who bore no children. Every month the kings swore before them to rule according to the constitution, and the ephors undertook on their part to maintain the kings in office.[2] They could also order the expulsion of foreigners from Lacedaemon.[3] Their direct judicial functions were not important, being concerned chiefly with civil suits.[4] In these, as in all their functions, they were not limited by any written laws.[5]

Stability of the Constitution.

The Lacedaemonian constitution continued without change longer than any other in Hellas. This was thought to be due to its mixed nature, the Kings forming an aristocratical element, while the Gerontes were oligarchical, and the Ephors democratic. Polybius remarks that Lycurgus, by thus mixing the forms of constitution, secured for the Lacedaemonians a longer enjoyment of liberty than had fallen to the lot of any other city. But the dissensions

[1] In Thucydides the ephors are spoken of as taking an independent line—*e.g.*, in v. 36, in regard to the peace of Nicias, but in Xenophon we are sometimes told that—(1) the ephors acted alone; sometimes (2) that they acted with the ἔκκλητοι; and sometimes (3) with the ἐκκλησία. (1) In the case of Cyrus, *Hell.* iii. 1, 1; (2) in giving instructions to Pausanias, *Hell.* ii. 4. 38; (3) in regard to Elis, *ib.* iii. 2. 23. But the ἔκκλητοι and ἐκκλησία are the same.

[2] Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15.

[3] Maeandrius, Herod. iii. 148. (But Aristagoras is sent away without the ephors.)

[4] Τὰς τῶν συμβολιμαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας.—Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1. 10 = 1275 *b*.

[5] Αὐτογνώμονες.—Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9 = 1270 *b*

of the kings, the senility of the gerontes, the incompetence and greed of the ephors were serious evils, and as a leading city Sparta was a failure.[1]

EDUCATION OF THE SPARTANS.

12. More important for the development of Sparta than her political constitution was the education and training which her citizens received; the ἀγωγή, as it was called. The Spartan did not exist for himself but for his city; for her service he was trained from birth, and the most intimate relations of his life were brought under her control. In the secluded valley of the Eurotas, where till the time of Epaminondas no invader ever set foot, amid profound peace, he nevertheless led the life of a warrior in the field. His strength and endurance were tested to the utmost; he was not permitted to surrender himself to the charm of family life and domestic affections. Even when allowed to marry, he spent but little time at home; his children, if thought worthy of life, were taken from him at an early age to go through the same training in which he himself had been brought up. Only when he had reached the age of sixty years, at which he could no longer serve his country in the field, was he permitted to enjoy the feeling of personal freedom. Trade and handicraft—in fact any occupation which could be either useful or productive—were absolutely forbidden to him.

The education of the Spartans.

At his birth, a male child was carried before the elders of the tribe, who decided whether the infant was sufficiently strong to be reared. If not, he was at once disposed of on Mount Taygetus; if, on the other hand, the child was vigorous and healthy, he was carried back to the house of his parents, there to remain, in the care of the women, till he reached his seventh year. At this age the child was handed over to the state, and placed under the care of the Paedonomi. The

The boys.

In childhood.

[1] Polyb. vi. 10. 4 ff. Aristotle subjects the whole to a thorough criticism, *Pol.* ii. 9.

children were arranged in companies, each with a chief and leader, selected from the Iranes—*i.e.* from those who were more than twenty years of age. The whole number of boys and youths was divided into three classes: the παῖδες, from the age of seven to eighteen; the μελλίρανες, from eighteen to twenty; and the ἴρανες, from twenty to thirty. After the age of thirty, a Spartan became one of the Peers (ὅμοιοι).

From twelve years of age, or even earlier, the systematic training began. The hair was cut short, the feet were bare, and often the whole body entirely naked. One garment only was allowed in summer and winter; every one made such a bed as he could out of reeds plucked from the banks of the Eurotas.[1] Each year the boys of a certain age underwent a severe whipping before the altar of Artemis Orthia, in which he who endured the longest was adjudged the victor. Plutarch speaks of instances within his own knowledge, in which boys had died under the lash. The food supplied was intentionally stinted in order that the youths might add to it by theft, for which they were only punished when detected in the act. The gymnastic exercises were numerous and competitive, but the mental culture did not go beyond reading and writing, learning the songs of Tyrtaeus, Terpander and others. Music and dancing, especially in chorus, were carefully taught. The youths were held responsible for the conduct and instruction of the younger boys assigned to their care.

The youths.

Mental training.

13. The girls were trained as well as the boys, but with less severity. Like them they were divided into companies, which were under the supervision of older women. They also had their exercises, separate from the boys, in which they appeared with little or no clothing; and at stated times boys and girls appear to have contended openly in the presence of each other. The amount of freedom permitted in the meeting of the sexes is, at all times, a matter

The girls.

[1] Reeds, oleanders, and white poppies still fringe the banks of the Eurotas at Sparta.

of habit, and if the public contests of Spartan girls were by some regarded as a fit subject of ridicule, they were approved by Plato and Plutarch. Aristotle tells us that Lycurgus attempted to bring the women of Sparta under control, but failed. For want of proper restrictions they became disorderly and licentious, and at the same time exercised great influence over the men. About the influence there is no doubt. In Herodotus, Spartan women are represented as the advisers of the men. When Demaratus sent word to Sparta of the intended invasion of Hellas by Xerxes, he wrote the message in a folding tablet on the *wood*, which he then covered with wax. The tablet was opened at Sparta, and presented a blank surface; the authorities were at a loss, till Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and wife of Leonidas, suggested that the writing would be found *underneath* the wax.[1] In the time of Aristotle they had become possessed of two-fifths of the landed property of the country; and the picture which Plutarch has drawn of Sparta in the reigns of Agis and Cleomenes exhibits a condition of affairs so extraordinary as to be almost incredible.[2] The number of Spartans who could afford to pay their contributions to the Phiditia had sunk to seven hundred, of whom a hundred only had any landed property; while the women interfered openly in the management of state affairs. The charge of licentiousness has less support. Aristophanes describes the women of Lacedaemon as coarse and indelicate, yet remarkable for their physical vigour and beauty. But it is a significant fact that Cinadon was bidden to bring from Aulon the woman who "was said to be most beautiful, and seemed to be active in corrupting the Lacedaemonians, young and old, who visited the place."[3]

Spartan women.

14. With the training was connected the festival of the

[1] Herod. vii. 239; Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 9=1269 *b*) tells us that in the days of the Empire of Sparta many things were managed by their women.

[2] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9=1270 *a*; Plut. *Agis.* 5.

[3] Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 80 ff.; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 8.

Gymnopaediae. This was the third great festival of Sparta, the other two being the Carnea and the Hyacinthia. It was celebrated in the hottest season of the year. Men and boys came forward singing and dancing in chorus, and joining in athletic contests. The state for the time put off the severity of Spartan manners. Strangers were allowed to be present. Those who had been successful in the training could now show themselves in their beauty, strength and skill. It was the festival at which Sparta "mewed her mighty youth," and in every Spartan it woke feelings of joy, enthusiasm and hope. For this reason the unmarried were not allowed to be spectators of the Gymnopaediae. Those who for their part left their country solitary and childless forfeited their right to enjoy the fair spectacle of the youthful bloom and promise of the city.[1]

The Gymnopaediae.

15. Every Spartan over twenty years of age was a member of a Phidition or common meal, at which he was compelled to attend, unless absent on a hunting expedition, or offering sacrifice at home. Each Phidition consisted as a rule of fifteen members; if a vacancy occurred it was filled up by the unanimous vote of the body. The expenses were paid by the members, each of whom furnished monthly a bushel (Aeginaean) of barley meal, eight choes of wine, five minae of cheese, two and a half of figs, and a small sum of money.[2]

The Phiditia.

16. Marriage was regarded as the duty of every citizen, the neglect of which was punished in various ways. Unmarried men, as we have seen, were not allowed to be spectators at the Gymnopaediae, nor did they receive from the younger members of the community the marks of respect which were usually given to older men. They were also compelled to go round the market-place in the severity of winter, clad in an under garment only, and singing

Marriage.

[1] Athen. p. 550; Plato, *Laws*, p. 633.

[2] Plut. *Lyc.* 12. This *νόμισμα* was of iron. Dicaearchus, *Frag.* 23 M., puts the amount of money at about 10 Aeginaean obols = 20 Laconian *ὀβελοί* = 25 lb. of iron!

songs to their own discredit. The form of marriage was a simulated abduction, the bridegroom carrying off his bride by force. The hair of the bride was clipped, she was attired in a man's dress and shoes, and in this disguise she came into a darkened room, where she was visited in secret by her husband. This secrecy continued for some time, the husband spending the day with his fellows and returning from these stolen interviews to sleep among them. It sometimes happened that children were born before a man had seen his wife by day. When it came to an end, the husband removed his wife to his own house. In regard to the sanctity of the marriage tie, the Spartans were notoriously indifferent. Their ideas of married life and morality had less reference to domestic virtues than to the requirements of the state and the race. If intrigues were unknown, arrangements were openly made which were quite at variance with tender feeling, in order to secure progeny of a vigorous and healthy strain.[1]

17. How much of this system of training is due to Lycurgus it is impossible to say with certainty. The authorities from whom we receive our accounts ascribe it without hesitation in all its details to him. But as the rules which forbade the use of written laws and coined money can only be ascribed to Lycurgus by assuming that written codes and a coinage were known in the ninth century B.C., we perceive that these statements are not wholly to be trusted. It is obvious that the training of the boys and girls at the public expense could not take place till the state was in a position to provide the means for it; nor could the Spartans furnish their quota to the Phiditia unless they were in possession of land from which to receive it. What the pre-

Was the training due to Lycurgus?

[1] Polybius asserts that polyandry existed at Sparta, several brothers having one wife: *παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ πάτριον ἦν καὶ συνῆθες τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τέτταρας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τέκνα τούτων εἶναι κοινά· καὶ γεννήσαντα παῖδας ἱκανοὺς ἐκδόσθαι γυναῖκά τινι τῶν φίλων καλὸν καὶ συνῆθες.* xii 6 *b*. Was this a 'survival,' or an extreme instance of the extent to which political crushed domestic life at Sparta?

cise amount of territory belonging to Sparta at the time of Lycurgus was, we cannot say, but if the Achaeans were still at Amyclae and the Messenians were independent, it cannot have been very large. Those arrangements, which required a considerable amount of property on which the Spartans could live in idleness, were probably introduced after the Messenian wars.[1] After that time also the management and control of the newly acquired territory demanded the utmost vigour on the part of the conquerors, who were numerically a very small minority, and this vigour it was the object of the training to provide. The institution of the choric songs, which formed the lighter side of the Spartan training, was certainly later than Lycurgus; the accompanying music was due to Terpander, Thaletas, Sacadas, and others. The Gymnopaediae, which were the crown of the system, were established after the First Olympiad.

Much of it was probably later.

18. It is stated by Polybius that the Spartan territory was originally divided into equal portions. Plutarch is more precise, asserting that Lycurgus made nine thousand lots in Sparta for the Spartans, and thirty thousand in Laconia for the Perioeci. Of this arrangement Herodotus in his account of Sparta, and Aristotle in his criticism of the Spartan constitution, say nothing whatever, though each of these authors presupposes that every Spartan had property enough to permit him to devote his whole energies to the state. It is natural to suppose that when the Spartans extended their borders by the conquest of Laconia and Messenia, most of the conquered territory was divided among the conquerors. This is not the same thing as a division of lands by Lycurgus; but as those who might have been contemporaries of Lycurgus possessed plots of land, the least of which was at any rate adequate to maintain a Spartan at the Phiditia, it is not impossible that in an age of great inequality of landed property, and diminution of citizens, men should look back to the more prosperous con-

Division of the land.

[1] *Cf.* Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9=1270 *a*.

dition of affairs, and connect it in a distorted manner with the name of Lycurgus. It was the boast of the Spartans that there had at no time been a redivision of property in their country.[1]

The contribution to the Phiditia was a condition of Spartan citizenship. Any one who failed to pay ceased to be a member of the table, and at the same time lost his right to attend the Apella. Instances of such inability were, no doubt, rare in the earlier times, when conquest had provided ample lands to be shared among the victors, but afterwards, when land tended to fall into the hands of an ever decreasing number of proprietors, the contribution was frequently unpaid. Any Spartan guilty of cowardice in the field of battle was treated with the greatest contumely. He might even be deprived of his civic rights.[2]

The Conditions of citizenship.

DIVISIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

19. Though the government rested wholly in their hands, and they alone were freemen in the true sense of the word, the Spartans were at all times a small minority in the population of Laconia. They

The Spartans.

[1] Polyb. vi. 45 ff.; Plut. *Lyc.* 8; Plato, *Laws*, p. 736; Isoc. xii. 259. This is perhaps as much truth as we can allow to the statements of Polybius and Plutarch. A redivision of property such as Plutarch expressly ascribes to Lycurgus, is highly improbable. Another account, preserved by Plutarch, puts the Spartan lots at 6000, and says nothing of the Perioeci. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i. 100 note 4. That differences in wealth existed in Sparta at an early time is proved by Grote; and a Spartan can hardly have had any other wealth but land, or cattle.

[2] Of the Spartans who had been taken captive in Pylus, we are told (Thuc. v. 34): "Fearing (*i.e.* the Spartans) lest their own citizens who had been taken in the island, and had delivered up their arms, might expect to be slighted in consequence of their misfortune, and if they retained the privileges of citizens, would attempt revolution, they took away the right of citizenship from them, although some of them were holding office at the time. By this disqualification they were ineligible for offices, and lost the legal right to buy and sell. In time, however, their privileges were restored to them."

never rose above 10,000.[1] The population of the territory which they subjugated was divided into two classes—the Perioeci and the Helots. The reason of the division is not clear. The former are said to have numbered 30,000. They were the conquered Ionians or Achaeans,[2] who, perhaps because they offered no great resistance, were able to obtain favourable terms from their conquerors. They lived in towns in the country managing their own affairs, under the superintendence of Spartan governors, renting landed property for which they paid tribute to Sparta, and engaged in trade. They served in the army as heavy-armed soldiers, of which force they constituted the greater part, under the command of Spartan officers.

Perioeci.

The Helots are said to have derived their name from Helos, the last city subdued by the Spartans. They formed the lowest and most numerous class of subjects, especially after the conquest of Messenia, but we have no means of fixing their numbers. They were not so much slaves as serfs, the property of the state rather than of individuals, for their masters could not sell them, and a public act was required for their manumission. They lived on plots of land, paying a certain fixed amount of produce to the owners. In time of war they accompanied their masters to battle (at the battle of Plataea each Spartan was attended by seven Helots), and even served as light-armed soldiers in the army or as sailors in the fleet. On rare occasions they were allowed to serve as heavy-armed soldiers. Though the Helots do not appear to have been in abject poverty,[3] their lot was regarded as a very hard one, and the

Helots.

[1] Herod. (vii. 234) puts the force of Sparta at about 8000, and even this is not higher than that of Naxos. Arist. (*Pol.* ii. 9=1270*a*) reports 10,000 as the highest recorded number of citizens.

[2] It is convenient to speak of the early inhabitants of Laconia and Argolis as Achaeans, but who they really were is doubtful. For Ephorus' account of the Perioeci and Helots, see Strabo, p. 364.

[3] Plutarch, *Cleom.* 23. Κλεομένης τῶν εἱλώτων τοὺς πέντε μνᾶς Ἀττικὰς καταβαλόντας ἐλευθέρους ἐποίει, καὶ τάλαντα πεντηκόσια σύν ελεξε, *i.e.* 30,000 minae, implying that no fewer than 6000 paid.

greatest discontent prevailed among them. We are told that whenever mention was made of the Spartans among them they were ready to eat them raw.[1] The Spartans were in constant terror of a rising, and took severe measures to prevent it. Among these was the Cryptea, a kind of detective service, in which Spartan youths were sent round the country to watch the Helots and remove any who appeared to be plotting against the state. On entering office, the ephors declared war against them. On the other hand, Helots who had shown bravery in the Spartan cause were sometimes allowed their liberty,[2] and the children of Helots were at times brought up as Spartans (Mothakes). Helots who had received their liberty were called Neodamodes.[3]

20. Whatever the origin of the arrangements of Lycurgus, they appear to have greatly contributed to the strength and prosperity of Sparta. From the beginning of the eighth century she entered upon the career of conquest which made her mistress of two-fifths of the entire Peloponnesus. The first success was the capture of Aegys, in Arcadia, near the sources of the Eurotas.[4] This is

Growth and prosperity of Sparta.

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[1] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 6: *ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις* (Helots, Neodamodes, Hypomeiones, Perioeci) *τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἥδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.*

[2] Two thousand who claimed it on this score in the Peloponnesian war disappeared, no one knew how (Thuc. iv. 80).

[3] The Spartans who paid their contribution formed the *Ὅμοιοι*; those who failed to pay apparently fell into the class of Hypomeiones, who are mentioned by Xenophon, with the Helots, Neodamodes, and Perioeci, as hostile to the Spartans (*Hell.* iii. 3. 6). Youths who, though not of Spartan birth, were sent to Sparta for the training were called Trophimi (Xen. *Hell.* v. 3 9); among these were Xenophon's two sons. Famous among the Mothakes were Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, the Heraclid, and Gylippus, the son of Cleandridas (but see Busolt, *loc. cit.* p. 104, note 4). The Neodamodes are first mentioned in the Peloponnesian war: in connection with Helots they were sent, 421 B.C., to occupy Lepreum (Thuc. v. 34). In 413 B.C. Helots and Neodamodes were sent out to Sicily (Thuc. vii. 19; *cf.* 58, *δύνανται δὲ τὸ Νεοδαμώδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι*). After the time of Xenophon we hear no more of them.

[4] Paus. iii. 2. 5.

said to have been the joint achievement of Archelaus and Charilaus. Nicander, the successor of Charilaus, invaded Argos, but without any lasting result (*infra*, ch. vii. § 3). He was assisted in his enterprise by the Dryopians of Asine, a town on the Argolic gulf. More important were the successes of Teleclus. With the aid of Timomachus, a member of the family of Aegidae, who are said to have immigrated from Thebes to Sparta, where they received an honourable position in the state, he conquered Amyclae, and thus opened the way to the lower course of the Eurotas (800 B.C.). With the fall of this important city, all serious resistance on the part of the Achaeans came to an end. Pharis and Geronthrae, towns lying lower down the valley, were captured; and, finally, Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus, reduced Helos, at the mouth of the Eurotas, to dependence on Sparta. The whole series of these conquests probably fell in the interval between 800 and 765 B.C.[1]

Conquest of Amyclae.

Conquest of Helos.

21. The Achaeans of the lower valley of the Eurotas were aided in their resistance to Sparta by some fugitives of the Minyae, who, after their expulsion by the Boeotians from the south of Thessaly and Boeotia, from Attica by the Athenians, and from Lemnos by the Pelasgi, had sought refuge in Peloponnesus. These immigrants refused to submit to the Dorian conquerors. Part sought new homes over sea in the islands of Melos and Thera, others retired to the west of Peloponnesus, and established themselves in Triphylia.[2]

The Minyae at Sparta.

The Spartans, however, gave a different account of these Minyae. They wished to associate closely with themselves a royal race which occupied so eminent a position in early Hellenic legend, and to claim the colonies of Melos and

[1] Arist. *Frag.* 75 M. The good government did not begin, according to Thucydides, till 804 B.C., and by 765 B.C. Alcamenes had been twenty years on the throne.

[2] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, i. 339 ff.

Thera for their own. They said that certain descendants of the Argonauts, who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgi, came to Laconia, and lighted fires on Mount Taygetus. The Lacedaemonians sent to inquire who the strangers were, and whence they came. When they heard that they were Minyae, they sent again and inquired what was their object in coming to the land and lighting a fire. They answered that they had been driven out from Lemnos by the Pelasgi, and had come to their fathers to ask for a home and territory. The Lacedaemonians agreed to receive them, as the Tyndarids had taken part in the voyage of the Argo. Land was allotted to them, and they were embodied in the tribes; they were also allowed to marry Spartan women.[1] In time they assumed a less humble attitude, and made demands with which the Spartans could not comply. It was resolved to put them to death, and they were thrown into prison. Their wives, who were Spartan women, begged to be allowed to visit their husbands, and, when permission was granted, they availed themselves of the opportunity to exchange garments. The women remained in prison, the men escaped, and returned to Taygetus.

At this time Theras, the grandson of Tisamenus, and descendant of Polynices, was taking out a colony from Sparta. He was uncle to the sons of Aristodemus, and had been their guardian. Now that they were grown up, he was anxious to be out of the way, that he might not be subject to those whom he had previously governed. His destination was the island of Thera, then called Calliste ("most beautiful"), which was governed by the descendants of Membliarus, a Phoenician. In order to avoid bloodshed, Theras offered a share in his enterprise to the Minyae. A few availed themselves of the offer, with the consent of the Lacedaemonians, but the greater part of them retired to Triphylia, where, after expelling the

[1] Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 9 = 1270 *a*) speaks of the admission of strangers to the citizenship at Sparta in early times. *Cf.* Ephorus in Strabo, p. 364.

Caucones and Paroreatae, they divided the country into six districts, in each of which they built or occupied a town, Lepreum, Macistum, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium. Theras, on his departure, left his son Oeolycus at Sparta, "as a sheep among wolves." The son of Oeolycus was Aegeus, from whom was descended the tribe of the Aegidae.[1]

22. The conquest of Amyclae, the second great event in Spartan history, was commemorated by the Hyacinthia. The earlier inhabitants of the town had worshipped Apollo and Hyacinthus, the beautiful youth whom Apollo had slain by a cast of his quoit, and from whose blood grew the purple flower which the Greeks called the hyacinth. This festival the Dorian conquerors took over from the Amyclaeans.[2] It was celebrated at the end of the month Hecatombeus (July), and lasted three days. On the first day the offering of the dead was brought to Hyacinthus. His urn was opened, and the ashes drenched with wine and milk.[3] The funeral feast was then eaten in solemn silence. On the next day, which was sacred to Apollo, the rites were more cheerful. The day began with a great procession in which all the Amyclaeans, a large proportion of the Spartans, and many of the neighbouring population, took part. The procession was accompanied by a poem in anapaestic measures, and ended with the presentation to the god of the robe woven by the Spartan women.[4] The remainder of the day was occupied with a sacrifice and feast and various kinds of amusements. The third day was

The Hyacinthia.

[1] Herod. iv. 145-149. This account of the Aegidae is at variance with that which derives the family directly from Thebes. Conon, *Narr.* 36 and 47, connects the fall of Amyclae with the colonisation of Melos. But it is obvious that the Dorians in Peloponnesus would not send out colonies by sea till they had reached the coast. There were Aegidae in Thera (Pind. *Pyth.* v. 101).

[2] Herod. ix. 7 ; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 11 ; Thuc. v. 23.

[3] Paus. iii. 19. 3. See Athenaeus, iv. 139.

[4] Paus. iii. 16. 2.

devoted to games, of which the throwing of quoits formed a large part.[1]

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23. However unhistorical the conception which Plutarch has formed of Lycurgus, it is clear and intelligible. In his mind Lycurgus was, *firstly*—

The Great Reformer, who (*a*) put an end to the contests between the kings and the people by establishing the senate; and (*b*) reduced rich and poor to a level:

(1) By a redivision of lands.
(2) By a common training.
(3) By establishing common meals, at which all ate the same fare.
(4) By destroying luxury and making money useless.

And *secondly*—

The Great Lawgiver, from whom all the institutions of Sparta, so far as they concerned civic life, were derived. Lycurgus did not, as Aristotle thought, fail with the women; he included them in his education—and with success. Plutarch at any rate forms a very different opinion of the Spartan women from Aristotle. The guiding principle of Lycurgus was the rule that virtue is the same in the state and in the individual—legislation is education.

Lastly, Lycurgus was eminently a *man of peace.* Plutarch again differs from Aristotle in ascribing the Cryptea to a period far later than Lycurgus. Nor does he mention the peculiar arrangements of the Spartan army, except so far as

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[1] The worship of Hyacinthus by the Amyclaeans was probably of Oriental (not Aryan) origin. Hyacinthus is a form of the deity which we find elsewhere as Linos, or Adonis (in Phoenicia), or Maneros (in Egypt). The withering of vegetation by a tropical sun is symbolised in the death of a beautiful youth by the discus of the sun-god.

they arise out of the training. Among the institutions of Lycurgus, on the other hand, he includes a large part of such mental training as existed at Sparta, and even states that the way for his reforms was smoothed by the influence of Thaletas, the Cretan poet.

Plutarch's beautiful narrative is written in the belief that a great man may form the character of a nation; and in his eyes there is no higher moral virtue than the sacrifice of the individual and the family to the state.

Not very different were the thoughts which passed through the mind of Plato when he drew the outlines of his ideal state. Among the Spartans "obedience was the bond of rule." Only the infusion of a nobler spirit, the proposal of a loftier aim, were needed to transform such a constitution into an ideal city. At Sparta also the philosopher saw, or thought that he saw, the foundation of a new order of society in which the evils arising from private property and the family were removed or at least mitigated. Was it possible to go a step further in this direction, and reach a height where avarice would be unknown, and sexual passion become a less absorbing motive in the actions and lives of men?

These visions have faded away. Sparta herself perished through the avarice and licentiousness of her citizens, and if we wish to find parallels to her institutions in modern times, we must seek for them not among the governments of civilised men, but in the brutal customs of savages. Yet it is not impossible that a time may come when, owing to the pressure of population or the severe necessities of war, the Spartan constitution may once more be exalted into the position of an ideal polity.

CHAPTER VII.

ARGOS, ELIS, ARCADIA, ACHAEA.

ARGOS.

1. In the earliest times Argos was the greatest of "all the cities in the country which is now called Hellas," and even in the middle of the sixth century her domain extended along the coast as far as Malea, and included Cythera.[1] Of the manner in which she obtained this extent of territory, whether it was part of the kingdom of the old Achaean city or a subsequent conquest, there is no record. Nor can we say how it was governed. The Cynurians are called Perioeci; the Orneatae and Cleonaeans were, at any rate in later times, subject allies of Argos, and we hear of slaves or Gymnetes, who may have been in Argolis what the Helots were in Laconia.[2] But of the relation in which Argos stood after the Dorian invasion to the ancient and famous strongholds of Mycenae and Tiryns, we know nothing. These cities continued to exist, for we find them

Argolis.

[1] Herod. i. 1. 82.

[2] The Cynurians are mentioned in Herod. viii. 73 as Ionians who had become Dorized by the Argives, "and were Orneatae and the Perioeci." [It is often said, on the strength of this passage of Herodotus, that the Perioeci at Argos were called Orneatae, but perhaps without sufficient reason. The inhabitants of Orneae are never called Perioeci, but "subject allies;" and Pausanias (iii. 2. 3) evidently thinks that the Cynurians (who are called Perioeci) were Perioeci of Sparta, before they were conquered by Argos, *infra*, p. 227. The text of Herodotus is faulty, as the article in οἱ περίοικοι cannot be explained, see Stein *ad loc.*] For the slaves, see Herod. vi. 83. The name Gymnetes (or Gymnesii) appears first in Steph. Byz. *sub voc.* Χίος, and Eustathius on Dionysius, 1. 533.

sending contingents to the army of the Greeks at Thermopylae and Plataea,[1] but they existed without a history. Neither poet nor logographer has recorded the decline and fall of the greatest city of legendary Greece, and though Mycenae was spoken of in epic poetry as the "golden city," the Dorians who occupied it were entirely ignorant of the treasures which lay buried in the citadel.

The Argive Amphictyony.

2. We are told by Pausanias that the Messenians, on the outbreak of the first Messenian war, were willing to refer their quarrel with the Lacedaemonians to the "Argive Amphictyony."[2] Of the nature and authority of this association the accounts are very meagre. It is asserted by C. O. Müller and subsequent writers that Argos was the head of a confederacy, the members of which met in the temple of Apollo Pythaeus, on the Larissa of that city; Cleonae, Phlius, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Troezen and Aegina are mentioned as the confederates, all Dorian cities which derived their origin, directly or indirectly, from Argos, and formed portions of the "lot of Temenus." The basis of the union was the worship of the common deity, but with the religious duties certain political obligations were connected. It is even stated that the members of the confederacy were expected to supply forces at the request of Argos.[3] The evidence for these details is very slender. It is probably true that the Dorian cities of north-eastern Peloponnesus were held together by a loose confederation, which, while allowing independence to the cities, operated as a check to prevent them from making war upon each other. But there is no reason to connect this political league—so far as it deserves the name—with the worship of Apollo

[1] Herod. vii. 202; ix. 28. At Thermopylae there were 80 men from Mycenae, none from Tiryns. The two cities sent 400 men to Plataea. At the same date Phlius and Troezen could furnish 1000 men each; Aegina, 500; Epidaurus, 800. See Busolt, *Lakedaemonier*, 72 ff.

[2] Paus. iv. 5. 2; *infra*, p. 261 *n.* 1.

[3] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 16 ff.

Pythaeus, nor is it certain that the temple on the Larissa of Argos was the centre of the religious association.[1]

3. The successors of Temenus on the throne were Cisus, Medon, Thestius, Merops, Aristodamidas, Eratus, Phidon. So far as we know, these kings succeeded each other in an unbroken line, but the power of the monarchy was greatly curtailed under Medon. After his reign nothing but the title remained to the king.[2] In this period (the ninth century B.C.) began the lasting quarrel between Argos and Sparta for the possession of Cynuria, which formed the border-land between the two states. In the reign of their king Echestratus the Spartans, on the pretext that the Cynurians were making raids upon their kinsmen the Argives, expelled a number of them from the

Kings of Argos.

[1] It is clear from Thuc. v. 53 that the Argives had control over a temple of Apollo Pythaeus, to which, as they asserted, the Epidaurians were bound to pay tribute for the use of certain lands. We also know that there was a temple of Apollo Pythaeus on the slope of the Larissa of Argos (Paus. ii. 24. 1). If this temple is meant, why, as Poppo observes, should Thucydides remark that the Argives were κυριώτατοι of the shrine? Such an expression would be more naturally applied to the temple of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine or Hermione. It is true, also, that Argos is said to have imposed a fine on Sicyon and Aegina for supplying ships to Cleomenes (Herod. vi. 92). If she regarded these cities as colonies she might claim to do this, without any special authority as a leading state. Aegina, however, refused to pay; she might reasonably urge that she was not a colony of Argos. Sicyon paid part of the fine; her connection with Argos was well established in legend. (For nearly a century before Cleomenes, Sicyon could not have been in any political or religious dependence on Argos; and at the time the fine was imposed, she was a member of the Lacedaemonian confederacy.) The claim advanced against Epidaurus by Argos is treated by Thucydides as a mere pretext. "Alcibiades and the Argives had determined to attach Epidaurus to their league," and therefore raised the question of the tribute. In the Persian war not one of the cities mentioned joined in the neutrality of Argos except Cleonae, which was a subject ally, like Orneae; *cf.* Thuc. v. 67. The passages quoted by Duncker in support of the view that the cities furnished contingents to Argos, are quite inadequate (Paus. ii. 30. 10; i. 29. 7; Thuc. v. 67; Diod. xi. 65; Strabo, p. 377). [The question is discussed at length by Busolt, *l.c.* p. 83 ff.]

[2] Paus. ii. 19. 2.

country. In the next reign they accused the Argives of appropriating Cynuria, and alienating the inhabitants, who were now Perioeci of Sparta. It was decided to attack Argos, and the war, thus begun, was renewed under Charilaus, who invaded Argolis.[1] In the time of Aristodamidas of Argos, who was a contemporary of Nicander of Sparta (*circa* 800 B.C.), the Argives aided the Heleans in resisting the Lacedaemonians; in revenge Nicander invaded Argolis, and the Dryopians of Asine rose to assist him. Though the invasion was severe, it resulted in no lasting gain for Sparta. Not long afterwards the Argives, under their king Eratus, expelled the Asinaeans, who found refuge among the Spartans, and, in the next generation, aided them in the first Messenian war.[2]

4. In Phidon, though little is known of his history, we recognise a prince of great vigour and sagacity. He extended the power of Argos on every side, and "united the lot of Temenus which had become divided."[3] To the later Greeks he was known for his attack on Elis, and celebration of the eighth Olympiad, an act which, in the eyes of Herodotus, marked him out as the most violent of all Hellenic tyrants, and for the weights, measures and coinage which sometimes bore his name, and were sometimes known as Aeginaean.

King Phidon.

We can give no account of the way in which he attained his power. One of the earliest acts of his reign was an attempt to make himself master of Corinth. In the story told by Plutarch,[4] which is incredible enough, he demanded and received one thousand youths from the Corinthians. These he secretly intended

His relations with Corinth.

[1] Paus. iii. 2. 2; 7. 2.

[2] Paus. ii. 36. 4; *ib.* iii. 7. 4; iv. 8. 2. From this it appears that Eratus should be included among the kings who preceded Phidon. In Ephorus, Phidon is the *tenth* from Temenus; in Theopompus he is the *sixth*, which proves that the list was very uncertain.

[3] Strabo, p. 358: τὴν λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη (Ephorus).

[4] Plut. *Am. Narr.* 2.

to put to death, and by this means to reduce Corinth to subjection. Phidon mentioned this scheme to his friend Abron. Abron revealed it to Dexander, who was in charge of the youths. Phidon's design was frustrated, and the Corinthians escaped home in safety. It is possible that Phidon may have observed with jealousy that the trade of Argos was diminishing, while that of Corinth was increasing, for it was about this time that the Corinthian mariners began to undertake voyages to the west. Yet if he was sufficiently powerful to compel the Corinthians to send 1000 picked men at his bidding to Argos, it is difficult to see what greater proof of submission he required; if, on the other hand, he was on such friendly terms with Corinth that 1000 men were sent to his assistance, his cruel treachery would only have alienated a valuable ally. Whatever Phidon's connection with Corinth may have been, we can hardly accept the story in the form in which Plutarch relates it.

Much more credible is the assertion that Phidon celebrated the Olympic festival in 748 B.C.[1] The Pisatans, with his help, were able to drive the Eleans away from the sanctuary, which had been wrested from them, and to sacrifice once more at the shrine of Zeus, where their ancestors had long worshipped. The success was transient, for in the next Olympiad the Eleans were again masters of Olympia.[2] It is natural to suppose that Phidon died in the interval (748-744 B.C.). Tradition tells us that he lost his life when rendering aid to a party of the Corin-

Phidon at Olympia.

[1] To alter Ol. 8 (Paus.) to Ol. 28 in order to bring Phidon into the next century, and make it possible for his son to have been among the suitors of Agariste, as Herodotus says that he was (Herod. vi. 127), is a great mistake. The statement of Pausanias is very precise, and it is supported by the fact that the Eleans cancelled the eighth Olympiad, on the ground that it had been improperly celebrated. Besides, even if we place Phidon in 668 B.C., his son would be no suitor for Agariste (570 B.C.).

[2] The act of Phidon was, according to Ephorus, an attempt to establish his claim to preside over the games founded by Heracles (Ephorus, *Frag.* 15 M.).

thians in a faction.[1] This is by no means impossible, for at this time the monarchy had been recently overthrown at Corinth, and the supreme authority transferred to a yearly Prytanis chosen from the family of the Bacchiadae (745 B.C.).

Phidon's Coinage and Measures.

5. Herodotus tells us that Phidon "made measures for the Peloponnesians." Aristotle also speaks of "Phidonian measures." Neither of these authorities, of which one is the earliest, the other the most trustworthy that we have, expressly mentions a coinage in connection with Phidon. Ephorus, however, states precisely that silver was first coined at Aegina by Phidon, who "also invented the measures called Phidonian, and weights." In the Parian Marble we are informed that Phidon "cancelled and re-issued the measures (?), and made silver money in Aegina." On the other hand, Herodotus distinctly ascribes the invention of coined money to the Lydians. The oldest known Aeginaean coins, the so-called "tortoises," are not older than 700 B.C., *i.e.* they are half a century later than Phidon. If it cannot be proved, it is at least extremely probable, that the Lydians coined money before the Greeks, and that the Greeks borrowed the idea of a coinage in the stricter sense of the word from the Asiatics.[2]

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 41 M.: *κατὰ φιλίαν στασιάζουσι Κορινθίοις βοηθῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων γενομένης ἀπέθανεν.* If he had previously attempted to destroy the Corinthian youths in the interests of the monarchy at Corinth, any one of them would now be ready to attack him on his appearance in the city. But see Ephorus, *Frag.* 15, who asserts that the Eleans and Lacedaemonians overthrew him.

[2] Herod. vi. 127; Arist. *Frag.* 99, Müller; Ephorus in Strabo, p. 376, *cf.* 358; Marmor Par. *Ep.* 30; Herod. i. 94. Holm, *Griech. Gesch.* i. p. 256, remarks that a good deal depends on what is meant by a coin. The Lydians may have been the first to stamp a bar of metal, and thereby guarantee the weight, the Greeks may have been the first to print a device on the "coin." At Curium, in Cyprus, gold rings have been found stamped with the name of Eteander (beginning of seventh century B.C.). Similar rings may have been current as coins long before this date.—Two standards of coinage were current in Greece: the Aeginaean (stater = 194 grns.) which is apparently Phoenician; and the Euboean (stater = 130 grns.) which is Babylonian. The Euboean standard was adopted by Athens in the time of Solon. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. xxxix.

The case is different in regard to weights and measures. As king of Argos, which in his day was probably the greatest emporium in Peloponnesus, Phidon may have issued a new and improved standard of weights and measures. That some system had been in use before his time is obvious, and it is probable that his standard did not greatly differ from the old one. The Olympic stadium, which was said to have been fixed by Heracles, was never changed, so far as we know, from the time that the victories were first recorded in the foot race in 776 B.C., a fact which seems to show that in this case the length of the foot was already determined. But as Phidon is distinctly said by the best authorities to have "made" measures, and as certain measures were called Phidonian, it is clear that he introduced some change. He may have regulated the subdivisions of the system so as to make them more convenient, or slightly altered the standard. The system became known as Aeginaean perhaps because the coins subsequently issued on Phidon's standard were first struck in the temple of Aphrodite in Aegina. It was current in Peloponnese, "in most of the island states, such as Ceos, Naxos, Siphnos and Crete;" in Thessaly, Phocis and Boeotia, but not at Corinth, Athens, or in Euboea. By the terms of the alliance concluded between Athens, Elis, Argos and Mantinea in the Peloponnesian war, the soldiers were to receive their pay in Aeginaean drachmas and obols.[1]

Weights and Measures.

6. No satisfactory account can be given of the kings who

[1] Thuc. v. 47. 6. The Argives may have derived their acquaintance with the Phoenician standards of weight from their colonies in Crete, but we do not know that they did so. Tombs have been discovered at Melos, which can be measured precisely by the Phoenician cubit, *i.e.* they are constructed on that measure. It is very improbable that Phidon altered the length of the stadium at Olympia (Duncker). Why should the Eleans accept a new standard from him, when they struck out the Olympiad at which he presided? Hultsch is of opinion that there were two Aeginaean standards of weight, an older and a later, of which the older was slightly the heavier (*Metrol.* p. 191; *cf.* p. 521 ff.). *Cf.* Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i. p. 144, note.

succeeded Phidon on the throne of Argos.[1] In the first Messenian war the Argives gave a languid and ineffectual support to the Messenians. In the next century the Argive king, Damocratidas, expelled the Nauplians, who were also received by the Spartans, and settled after the second Messenian war at Methone. King Lacedas, who is said by Plutarch to have been weak and unworthy of his position, may be the Leocedes whom Herodotus mentions among the suitors of Agariste of Sicyon. Upon this hypothesis Meltas, the son of Lacedas, whom Pausanias states to have been the last of the monarchs of Argos, would be the contemporary of Clisthenes of Athens.[2] It is possible, though not very probable, that he survived till the Persian war of 480 B.C., at which date the monarchy was still in existence at Argos.[3]

Successors of Phidon, Damocratidas, etc.

It is certain that the power of Argos declined after the reign of Phidon. Towards the end of the eighth century, while the Spartan king Theopompus was still alive, she lost the border land of Thyreatis.[4] About fifty years later she retrieved her position by the severe defeat of the Spartans at Hysiae (669 B.C.). She was now able to aid the Messenians in their revolt, and, during this period, she may have regained to some extent her former possessions. But after 600 B.C. the power of her formidable neighbours Periander of Corinth and Clisthenes of Sicyon put an end to her claims of political hegemony in

Decline of the power of Argos.

[1] Busolt, *Laked.* p. 98, puts Lacedas immediately after Phidon; Duncker, Eratus, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 29. See *supra*, § 3.

[2] Damocratidas, Paus. iv. 35. 2; Lacedas, *ib.* ii. 19, 2; Herod. vi. 127; Meltas, Paus. ii. 19. 2. The story that a new dynasty was elevated to the throne after the removal of the Heraclids is not mentioned till Plutarch, *De Alex. s. virt. s. fort.* viii. pp. 416, 417, Didot. *Cf.* Busolt, *l.c.* p. 99.

[3] Herod. vii. 149, καὶ δὴ λέγειν (the Spartans) σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας Ἀργείοισι δ' ἕνα.

[4] Paus. iii. 7. 5. He seems to identify this conflict with that described in ii. 38. 5, which Herodotus, i. 82, puts more than a century later. The time at which Sparta gained the Thyreatid is very uncertain. Busolt, *loc. cit.* p. 99.

north-eastern Peloponnesus, and on the west Sparta rose to an overwhelming superiority. About the middle of the century, after the extinction of tyranny in Corinth and Sicyon, she seems to have made an attempt to recover the Thyreatis. The attempt failed, and the power of Argos steadily declined through the century until the final blow was given by the invasion of Cleomenes, who, though he did not succeed in taking the city, slew 6000 Argives, and reduced the state to a condition of helpless insignificance.[1]

Of the political constitution of Argos down to the Persian war, we know almost nothing. The monarchy continued in name, but the real power resided in the Senate.[2] From the time of her defeat by Cleomenes the politics of the city were determined by the desire to recover her lost position. She assisted the Aeginetans against the Athenians, who interfered with her trade; in the Persian war she stood aloof, even from the other cities of Argolis, nursing her broken strength in sullen selfishness; and, finally, she availed herself of the discredit which fell upon the Spartan power, in consequence of the conduct of Pausanias, to repeople her walls at the expense of the neighbouring cities, and, by a rigorous centralisation, to form a compact state which might resist the aggression of her neighbour.[3]

The policy of Argos.

7. Was this political decline compensated by success in other fields? To a certain degree it was. It is true that the position of Argos in the Homeric epic precluded the treatment of her past glories by later poets, and plastic art, in which the city subsequently attained to great eminence, was little cultivated before the beginning of

Musical skill at Argos.

[1] See *infra*, ch. xiv.

[2] Herod. vii. 148, 149.

[3] This policy is well expressed in the oracle given to Argos at Delphi, Herod. vii. 148, in which the city is warned to remain on the defensive:

> Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
> εἵσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο
> καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

the sixth century. And no Argive is found in the lists of Olympian victors till 472 B.C. But in music the city soon acquired a world-wide fame, and by the middle of the sixth century the Argives were considered the best musicians in Hellas.[1] The greatest master of the art was Sacadas. In the temple of the Muses on Helicon his statue stood beside those of Thamyris, Arion, Hesiod and Orpheus. Pindar composed a proem in his honour When the contest in flute-music was added to the Pythian games in the 48th Olympiad, Sacadas was victorious—a position which he maintained in the next two Pythiads. More than two hundred years afterwards, at the building of the walls of Messene, the tunes of Sacadas and Pronomus (of Thebes) were played each against the other. "That was the day of the great match between them." His tomb could be seen at Argos in the time of Pausanias, more than seven hundred years after his death.

Sacadas.

Sacadas was not a mere flute-player. He composed odes and elegies with musical accompaniments, which were sung and played at the Gymnopaediae at Sparta, in Arcadia, and at Argos. Like Polymnestus of Colophon, he divided musical modes into three types, and he illustrated the difference by composing the "triple nome," consisting of three strophes, the first sung in the Dorian measure, the second in the Phrygian, the third in the Lydian. He is also spoken of as the founder of a school of elegists at Argos, to which, in the second half of the sixth century, the famous Telesilla, the poetess and warrior, may have belonged.[2]

8. In the cities of Argolis, owing perhaps to changes in the population, there was a great variety of festivals and religious rites. At Neměa, near Cleonae, games were held in honour of the Nemēan Zeus; at Argos the presiding deity was

[1] Herod. iii. 131.

[2] Paus. ix. 30. 2; *ib.* x. 7. 4; iv. 27. 7; ii. 22. 8. Plutarch, *De musica*, chaps. 8, 9.

Apollo Lycēus. Between Argos and Mycenae lay the great temple of Hera. Epidaurus enjoyed the peculiar favour of Asclepius, whose shrine was the resort of the invalids of Greece, and at Hermione the Dryopians paid especial honour to Chthonian Demeter. Though the accounts which we can give of these festivals are derived from later authors, the rites and ceremonies were ancient; and a brief description of them will convey some idea of divine worship and holiday life in Argolis in early times.

Variety of religious rites in Argolis.

(*a.*) Between Phlius and Cleonae, on the upper waters of the stream which separated the territory of Corinth and Sicyon, lay the valley of Nemea, the scene of the conflict between Heracles and the lion. Here, amid a grove of cypresses, the Nemean games were held in honour of Zeus Nemeus. Tradition ascribed the first establishment of the games to the Seven who left Argos with Adrastus for the attack on Thebes. When passing through the valley, the heroes were oppressed with thirst. A spring was pointed out to them by Hypsipyle, who placed the child she was tending on a grass-grown spot, while she led the way thither. On returning to the child, the heroes found that he had been bitten by a snake and was dead. In his honour funeral games were instituted by Adrastus, which were the first Nemea.[1]

The Nemea: Mythological.

The historical "renewal" of the games is placed by Eusebius in the last year of the 51st Olympiad (=573 B.C.). For a time the right to preside at these games formed a subject of contention between the Argives and the Cleonaeans, but eventually Argos secured

Historical.

[1] The child was Opheltes, whom the Seven named Archemŏrus (*quasi*, Tristram) as his doom portended their own. Of this child left alone amid the flowers by his nurse, Euripides wrote the beautiful lines—

[εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα καθίσας ἕδρεπεν]
ἕτερον ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ αἱρόμενος
ἄγρευμ' ἀνθέων ἡδομένᾳ ψυχᾷ
τὸ νήπιον ἄπληστον ἔχων.

the prize. The festival was celebrated every other year. The summer games took place soon after the beginning of the fourth Olympic year, on the 12th of the month Panemus, just before the full moon, and after the entrance of the sun into the constellation of the Lion; the winter festival was celebrated in the middle of the second year of the Olympiad. The contests at the Nemea were nearly the same as those at Olympia, with this exception, that at the Nemea (as at the Pythia and Isthmia) there were contests in musical skill in addition to those in athletics and horse-racing. It is highly improbable that so many "events" can have been crowded into a single day, but we have no precise information about the time occupied by the festival.[1]

(*b.*) It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that the worship of Zeus at Nemea at the time when the sun entered the sign of Leo, standing as it did in close connection with the fabled conflict between Heracles and the lion, represented some ancient worship of the sun-god. From a similar origin may have been derived the worship of Apollo Lyceus at Argos, but here the animal which represented the god (or his opponent?) was a wolf. The temple was said to have been founded by Danaus himself. At a later time, when the genius of sculptors and architects had embellished the city, it was the most splendid of all the buildings in Argos. Before the eastern front of it, in full view of all who came into the market-place from that direction, was depicted in stone the famous contest of the wolf and the bull, which conferred on Danaus the sovereignty of Argos.[2]

Apollo Lyceus.

[1] Eusebius, Schöne, ii. p. 94; Krause, *Die Pythien*, etc., 1841, pp. 127 ff.

[2] Paus. ii. 19. 3; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 355. Compare the worship of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia. As in the case of Apollo Smintheus, so here; we *may* have a relic of totemism in the wolf. Danaus may be the wolf-man (the alien, as Pausanias explains the story) who overcame Gelanor, the bull-man, who inhabited Argos. But we must allow that in mythology the wolf is usually the symbol of *darkness* (and in Argos Apollo is called the wolf-slayer, by Sophocles). *Cf.* Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 341, and what is there quoted. We shall never

(*c.*) About two miles from Mycenae and five from Argos, at the foot of the south-western slope of Mount Euboea, lay the temple of Argive Hera, the national shrine of the Argives who dwelt in the plain of the Inachus. A vague tradition connected the origin of the temple with Tiryns, whence, it was said, Piras brought the seated figure, fashioned from wood of the wild pear-tree, which represented the goddess of the older temple. The festival was called the Heraea or the Hecatombaea, a hundred oxen being slain on the great occasion. It was a time of universal rejoicing for the Argives. A sacred procession passed along the road from Argos to the temple; the priestess was drawn thither in a car by oxen; the young men marched out in full armour; the maidens, clad in holiday attire, and decked with ornaments of gold, with garlands of asterion (*quasi*, Star-wort) on their heads, were formed into choruses, which chanted the lays of their land. Athletic contests were also held, at which the victors received a bronze shield and a crown of myrtle. With these outward and visible forms of worship were connected others of a more mysterious nature. Part of the rites would seem to have resembled the Attic Plynteria. The statue of the goddess was disrobed and bathed in the waters of the neighbouring stream Eleutherius, even as Hera herself was supposed to have renewed her virginity year by year by bathing in the spring of Carathus, near Nauplia. It was then clad in bridal garments, crowned with asterion, which grew around the temple, and mystically wedded to Zeus. As a marriage-feast, we may suppose, the great sacrifice was offered, and the Argives made merry on the flesh of the slaughtered victims.[1]

Hera, and the Heraea.

clearly decide between symbolism and totemism in regard to these god-animals.—A wolf was stamped on the coins of Argos; the device on the Argive shield was an eagle; legend connected Polynices with a lion, Tydeus with a boar, on their arrival at Argos.

[1] Strabo, p. 372; Paus. ii. 17. 1-2; Herod. i. 31; Pind. Schol. on *Olymp.* vii. 83 (152); Eur. *El.* 173 ff.; Hesych. Λεχέρνα. Ἡρεσίδες; Plut. *De mus.* 9. The time at which the festival was held is unknown, but it was doubtless in the summer.

(*d.*) The temple of Asclepius lay in a beautiful and secluded valley about five miles from Epidaurus. In this instance it was not the festival of the deity—celebrated with games every fourth year, nine days after the Isthmia—which gave the place a special sanctity and reputation; it was rather the constant presence of the healing god. To what natural causes this supposed presence was due it is difficult to say. There was no medicinal spring in the Sacred Valley, such as the Anigrus in Elis; no warm baths, as at Methana. Pure air and water, rest and seclusion, some medicinal herbs, and a good deal of faith were the chief agents in the cure of those who visited the place. The popularity of the shrine was great, and it continued down to the time of the Antonines. From every side patients trooped to secure the advice of the priests and the blessing of the god. It is exceedingly probable that many secrets of herbal medicine (such as Dioscorides afterwards collected) were known to the Asclepiadae, who were also aware of the advantages to be derived from change and amusement. The theatre attached to the shrine became one of the largest and finest in Greece. Gardens and groves afforded shady and pleasant retreats. Cool baths were provided in abundance. Everything that could disturb or disgust was kept beyond the precincts of the sacred valley, while hope was flattered by the abundant testimony to the power of the god seen on every hand in the offerings of those who had here found relief from their sufferings.

The temple of Asclepius.

(*e.*) The worship of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione was due to local peculiarities. Hard by the city was a cleft in the earth—an opening of the infernal regions—which were, it was thought, reached more quickly by this route than by any other. Here, therefore, the goddess whose daughter was queen of the under-world might fitly take up her abode.

The Chthonia at Hermione.

The festival of the Chthonia was held every year in the summer. Pausanias thus describes it:—The priests and the magistrates of the year walk in procession to the temple;

after them come the men and women, and even the children, who take a part in the festival, clad in white garments, and wearing crowns woven from the flower which the Hermioneans call Cosmosandalon (*quasi*, Ladies' Slipper). The procession is followed by men leading a full-grown heifer, newly taken from the herd and still struggling, by ropes attached to either side of her head. When they come to the temple-doors the heifer is allowed to run loose into the temple, and as soon as she is in the doors are closed. Four aged priestesses who are left in the temple slay the heifer, the first who can cutting her throat with a hook. Then the doors are opened, and a second heifer is brought, and a third, and yet a fourth. All are slaughtered in the same manner, and, marvellous to relate, on whichever side the first heifer sinks when dying, the rest fall on the same.—As Hermione was the chief of the Dryopian cities in Argolis, the rites celebrated there became common to all the other Dryopians. Even when expelled from their home and settled in Messenia, the Asinaeans sent sacrifices to Demeter, and desired to renew in this manner the connection with their ancient home.[1]

For the *coinage* of Argolis, see Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 366. In regard to *dialect*, the Argives resembled the Laconians in changing σ between vowels into *h*, and the Cretans in using an accusative plural in *-νς*, *e.g.* *τὰνς=τάς*. In their *alphabet* they differed from the rest of the Peloponnesians thus:—

	Ch	*x*	*l*	*d*	*s*
Argive,	X	⊢⊣	⊢	D	M
Peloponnesian,	Ψ	X	Λ Λ	Δ	≶ Σ

But the inhabitants of Hermione used the ordinary Peloponnesian forms of the letters.

ELIS.

9. The ever-increasing importance of the Olympic festival naturally caused the possession of the shrine of Zeus at Olympia to become an object of contention. The sanctuary

[1] Paus. ii. 35. 3-8; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 389=C.I.G. 1193.

formed part of the district of Pisatis, which had been conquered at an early time by the Eleans. In order to retain their prize the Eleans seem to have found it necessary to strengthen their position by entering into close relations with the Spartans, while the Pisatans on their part appealed to Phidon of Argos to assist them in recovering their rights. Thus it came to pass that in the Eighth Olympiad (748 B.C.) the Argive monarch drove away the Eleans and celebrated the festival himself. At the next festival, the old order was re-established, and the celebration thus irregularly conducted was struck out of the list of Olympiads. At this time the Pisatid was under the rule of princes, who acknowledged the control of Elis. Four names of these monarchs[1] have been preserved in the following order of succession :—

The Contest for Olympia.

Kings of Pisa.

(1) Omphalion.
|
(2) Pantaleon (Ol. 34=644 B.C.).
|
(3) Damophon (Ol. 48=588 B.C.). (4) Pyrrhus (572 B.C.).

In the 28th Olympiad (668 B.C.) the Eleans, being then engaged in a war with Dyme in Achaea, "allowed the Pisatans to celebrate the festival in their behalf"—a fact which, whether the permission was forced from them or not, is evidence of the weakness of the Eleans at the time. Eight years afterwards (Ol. 30=660 B.C.) the Pisatans were able to throw off the yoke of the Eleans and recover Olympia. They remained in possession of the shrine for some time.[2]

[1] A still earlier king of Pisa is Cleosthenes, the son of Cleonicus (Phlegon, *Frag.* 1, Müller). He is said to have aided Iphitus and Lycurgus in the rearrangement of the games. The name is suspicious, and the Pisatans might very well invent a hero to range with the Elean and Spartan founders of the games. But *cf.* Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 242; Busolt, *Lak.* p. 163.

[2] For Pantaleon, *cf.* Paus. vi. 21. 1 : Πανταλέοντι τῷ Ὀμφαλίωνος τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν βουλεύοντι ἀπὸ Ἠλείων (*ibid.* 22. 3). The exact nature of the relations prevailing between the Eleans and

10. In the second Messenian war the Pisatans, who had reason to resent and fear the growing power of Sparta, took the part of the rebels. The fall of Eira had a disastrous effect upon their fortunes, for Sparta and Elis, both hostile nations, were now free to unite their forces. By 588 B.C. the Pisatans are again in a position of dependence. Under the pretext of a suspected rebellion the Eleans then invaded the Pisatid, but Damophon, the son of Pantaleon, induced them to retire. In 580 B.C. (=Ol. 50) they had lost all share in the management of the Olympic festival, and were reduced to the condition of Perioeci.[1] The Eleans were now able to invade Triphylia, where they added Macistus to the list of dependent cities. But the spirit of the Pisatans was not broken. In 572 B.C. Pyrrhus, the brother of Damophon, assisted by the Dyspontians, Scilluntians and Macistians, rose against the Eleans. The Spartans were summoned to the rescue, and the rising was quelled. The cities of the Pisatans were now

Conquest of Pisatis

and Triphylia.

Pisatans during this period is uncertain. Pausanias (vi. 22) tells us that the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleon celebrated, was not reckoned by the Eleans among the Olympiads (Anolympias). On the other hand, the list in Africanus tells us that the Pisatans, revolting from the Eleans, celebrated the 30th and 22 following Olympiads (Jul. Africanus, Rutgers, Ol. 30), a statement which is again contradicted by Paus. v. 9. 4, where the Eleans are said to be in possession in Ol. 50. Accuracy is not to be expected in such statements, which would naturally differ with the party which made them. The Pisatans and Eleans may have exercised a joint control for some time (the number of the Hellenodicae being doubled), and the attack of Pantaleon in Olympiad 34 may have been an act of aggression on the part of the Pisatans, Busolt, *loc. cit.* p. 168. The Pisatans numbered eight communities, of which Strabo mentions five: Salmone, Heraclea, Arpina, Cicysium, which was the largest, and Dyspontium, pp. 356, 357. From these and eight Elean cities were doubtless chosen the sixteen women who wove the robe for Hera, and superintended the contests of the maidens held in her honour.

[1] Paus. v. 9. 4; vi. 22. 4. In Ol. 2 an "Elean of Dyspontium" was victor, a record which, unless it is a forgery, implies that even then Dyspontium was subject to Elis; but the Elean records are not to be trusted. The inhabitants of Lepreum were proclaimed as "Eleans" (Paus. v. 5. 3).

utterly destroyed; nothing remained but villages inhabited by serfs. The conquered territory was divided among the demes of Elis.[1]

Elis.

II. Thus were the Eleans rendered secure in the possession of the coveted sanctuary. Though it is a mistake to speak of their territory as inviolate, except in the sacred month of the festival, they enjoyed for a long time an extraordinary immunity from invasion, owing no doubt to the firm friendship of the Lacedaemonians. The soil of Elis was fertile, and the festival attracted large numbers of merchants. Elis was the garden of Peloponnese, even in the time of Strabo; and so attached were the inhabitants to a country life of peace and prosperity that for generations some families never visited the city. They were probably the wealthiest community in Greece, but they remained without renown in arms or distinction in literature. Their claim to honour rested solely on the justice with which they administered the Olympic festival.[2]

Worship of Hera at Olympia.

In Elis, as at Sparta, women seem to have enjoyed a degree of freedom and influence which was unusual in Greece. The worship of Hera at Olympia was superintended by a college or conclave of sixteen women, chosen at first from eight towns in Pisatis, and an equal number in Elis, but afterwards, of course, from towns in Elis only. Every fifth year the women wove a robe for the goddess in a house set apart for the purpose in the market-place of Elis. At the presentation of the robe, which took place in the Heraeum at Olympia, sacrifices were offered and games were held, at which the maidens of Elis contended in the foot-race. The course was the Olympic stadium, but the length was shortened by one-sixth (*i.e.* reduced from 625 to 520 feet). The girls were divided into three troops, according to age, and each troop

[1] The Dyspontians emigrated to Apollonia and Epidamnus (Paus. vi. 22. 4; v. 6. 4; Strabo, 356, 357).

[2] Strabo, p. 343; Polyb. iv. 73 (in the time of Polybius there were even local courts for the administration of justice); Herod. ii. 160.

raced separately. When running, the competitors were clad in a short *chiton* which did not reach to the knee; the right shoulder was bare to the breast; the hair fell loose upon the neck. The victorious maidens were crowned with olive, their portraits were painted, and they also received a portion of the heifer which had been sacrificed to the goddess. Legend ascribed the institution of the games to Hippodamea, who, when she wished to return thanks to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, called the sixteen women together, and with them founded the festival. Notwithstanding these athletic exercises, women were forbidden, on pain of death, to be spectators at the great Olympic games; they might not even cross the river Alpheus within certain interdicted days.[1]

Strabo tells us that in his time Elis was filled with temples of Artemis, Aphrodite and the nymphs. Shrines of Hermes were to be seen by the wayside, shrines of Poseidon on the sea-shore.[2] Especial honour was paid to Dionysus, as seems to have been almost universally the case in a rural population. His festival was known as the Thyia, and was remarkable for a miraculous creation of wine.[3] Hades also was worshipped by the Eleans, who with the Triphylians seem to have been peculiar in paying honour to this deity. His temple at Elis was opened once a year only, and none but the priest might enter it.[4] Another striking feature in the religious customs of the country was the worship of heroes. Augeas, of the old Epean dynasty, and Aetolus, the son of Oxylus, received offerings as heroes; and Pausanias remarks that the Eleans pour libations to heroes, "whether they are heroes of Elis, or

Worship of Dionysus, Hades, and heroes.

[1] Paus. v. 16; *ib.* v. 6, 7. Pausanias gives an instance of a violation of the rule by Callipatira, who, in the disguise of a trainer, witnessed her son's triumph. Her life was spared, but henceforth the trainers, as well as the athletes, were compelled to appear naked.

[2] Strabo, p. 343.

[3] Paus. vi. 26.

[4] Paus. vi. 25. 2. When he states that the Eleans were alone in worshipping Hades, it must be remembered that he includes Triphylia in Elis.

those who are worshipped among the Aetolians." And not the heroes only, but their wives also were thus honoured.[1]

Triphylia.

We have seen that a remnant of the Minyae settled in Triphylia, where they established a number of towns: Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium.[2] With the exception of Lepreum, these cities were finally destroyed by the Lacedaemonians and Eleans, and their territory added to Elis. The Lepreatae appear to have owed their exemption from destruction to the assistance which they rendered to the Spartans in the second Messenian war. They maintained their independence—doubtless under the protection of Sparta—and in the Persian war were able to send 200 men to Plataea.[3]

The Deities worshipped in Triphylia.

In Triphylia also we meet with interesting and ancient forms of worship. On the shore was a temple of the Samian Poseidon, at a place where, as some authorities wished to prove, Telemachus found Nestor sacrificing to the god of the sea. This appears to have been the national sanctuary of the Triphylians. In the neighbourhood of Macistus there was a precinct of Hades and a grove of Demeter, deities which received especial honour from the Triphylians because their country, though fertile, was afflicted with blight to such a degree of severity that the crops often failed.[4]

12. The glory of Elis was the Olympic games, which also became the glory of Greece. Of the origin of this famous festival, which went on without interruption every fifth year for more

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[1] Paus. v. 15. 12.

[2] Herod. iv. 148.

[3] Paus. iv. 15. 7; Herod. ix. 28. The Lepreatae are said to have taken the part of Sparta *κατ' ἔχθος τῶν Ἠλείων*, *i.e.* to save themselves from the Eleans. For the destruction of Pisatis and Triphylia by the Lacedaemonians and Eleans, *cf.* Herodotus, iv. 148; Strabo, p. 356: *Πισατῶν δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Καυκόνων μηδ' ὄνομα λειφθῆναι.* Herodotus says that the destruction of most of the towns in Triphylia took place in his day.

[4] Strabo, p. 344. Strabo, as is well known, identifies the Triphylian and Homeric Pylus.

than a thousand years (776 B.C. to 394 A.D.), Pausanias, who visited Olympia in the second century A.D., heard the following account, the result of the researches of the greatest archaeologists of the time! In the reign of Cronos men of the golden race sacrificed to him at Olympia, but when Zeus was born Rhea intrusted the keeping of the child to the Idaean Dactyli, who came from Crete to Olympia. These were five in number, Heracles and his four brothers, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Jasus and Idas. By way of amusement, Heracles, who was the eldest, set his brothers to race against each other, and crowned the winner with wild olive, which, though transplanted by Heracles from the Hyperboreans, grew luxuriantly at Olympia. These were the first Olympic games. They occurred every fifth year, because there were five brothers, of whom four only contended.

The Olympic Games; mythical history.

Heracles, etc.

About fifty years after the flood which happened in the days of Deucalion, Clymenus, a descendant of the Idaean Heracles, came from Crete to Olympia, and celebrated games there. He was deposed by Endymion, who decided the succession among his sons by a foot-race (*supra*, p. 91). Then Pelops appeared upon the scene, and caused the games to become more famous than ever before. The Pelopids were soon dispersed over Peloponnesus, and Amythaon, a cousin of Endymion, celebrated the Olympia. After him Pelias and Neleus joined in the celebration; then followed Augeas, and Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, who held games in honour of his conquest of Elis. When Oxylus came into Elis he celebrated the games, but from his time down to Iphitus they were discontinued. In the days of Iphitus, who was a descendant of Oxylus, Greece was in a calamitous state of disturbance and strife. Tribe was at war with tribe, and domestic sedition was frequent. With a view to the improvement of the country Iphitus consulted the oracle at Delphi. The answer was that the Olympic games must be renewed. Iphitus proceeded to carry out the divine

Pelops, etc.

Iphitus.

command; he celebrated the games, and arranged that henceforth the celebration should take place every fifth year. By degrees the remembrance of the past was recovered, and as the facts came back into the memory of men, additions were made to the contests at the games. Iphitus also bade the Eleans sacrifice to Heracles, whom they had hitherto regarded as an enemy. But his chief service was the establishment of the Ekecheiria, or sacred truce. The month of the festival was made a sacred month, during which all war was to cease throughout Hellas. It was the duty of the Eleans to proclaim the truce, and disobedience to its terms was sacrilege. In this good work Lycurgus of Sparta is said to have been associated with Iphitus.[1]

The Olympic lists, in which the victors were recorded, do not begin till 776 B.C. On this occasion Coroebus of Elis was victor in the stadium or foot-race. From that time onward till 221 A.D., we can read in the list compiled by Julius Africanus, and preserved to us by Eusebius, the names of the victors in the contests, and the various changes which were made in the games.

Gradual extension of the games.

The games may have originated in the worship of Zeus and Hera by the Pisatans in a sacred place near the junction of the Cladeus and Alpheus, at the foot of the hill of Cronos. With the invasion of the Aetolians the possession of the sanctuary passed from the Pisatans to the Eleans; and when the Heraclids of Sparta became the allies of the Eleans, Heracles was associated with Zeus and Hera in the sacrifices. But it was long before the festival attracted attention. Down to 720 B.C. the competitors were drawn from a limited area in the Peloponnesus: in the next sixty years the fame of the festival spread throughout Greece; after 620 B.C. the colonies

[1] Paus. v. 7. 8. Pausanias saw the quoit of Iphitus, the original symbol of the ἐκεχειρία, in the Heraeum at Olympia (v. 20, 1). The "truce" is probably the origin of the "war and sedition" to which Iphitus put an end.

began to take part in it. As its fame spread the festival was enlarged. At the time of Coroebus there was one contest only, the foot-race or stadium (625 feet), and from the victor in this race the Olympiad was always named. In the 14th Olympiad the double course was added; in the 18th, the Pentathlon and the wrestling; in the 23rd, the boxing; in the 25th, the chariot-race; in the 33rd, the Pancratium and horse-race; in the 37th, the running and wrestling for boys; in the 41st the boxing for boys; in the 65th, the foot-race in heavy armour. These were the contests which made up the games at the time of Pindar, from whose poems we learn that the festival lasted at least five days. Of the order in which the contests took place nothing seems to be known.

The history of the Olympia is without a parallel in the records of civilisation. That athletic games should have continued uninterrupted for a thousand years; that a nation of petty states always at war with each other should have agreed to suspend their enmities in order to attend at a foot-race; that the winner on a course of about 200 yards should be the foremost man in Hellas, the proudest ornament of his home; that the name of such a victor should be handed down to posterity when poets who had delighted and statesmen who had benefited mankind were forgotten, would be incredible if it were not true. But it is true, and in attempting to conceive the nature of the Hellenic genius we must always bear the fact in mind. The Olympic games and the Spartan training are the characteristic creations of the Greeks. Science and art, plays and philosophy, have reappeared in later ages, but these unique achievements passed away with the nation which gave them birth.

Unique character of the Olympic games.

13. At the time of the invasion the immigrants into Elis coalesced on friendly terms with the Epeans. The reigning king Eleus (or Dius) did not, it is true, give up his dominions without a struggle; a single combat was arranged between Pyraechmes, the Aetolian

The government in Elis.

slinger, and Degmenus, the Epean archer, but on the victory of Pyraechmes the throne was ceded to Oxylus. The union was greatly facilitated by the connection of race which existed between the Aetolians and Epeans.[1]

Oxylus was succeeded by his son Laias, with whom the monarchy appears to have come to an end; at least Pausanias could not discover the names of any later kings of the race of Oxylus.[2] The monarchy was followed by an aristocracy, under which we may suppose that the leading families kept the control of the state, and the possession of the best land, in their own hands. Though these aristocrats lived on their estates in the country, some of their number must have acted as the executive of the state of the Eleans. In the oldest inscriptions the sovereign power seems to have been vested in the community as a whole (*οἱ Fαλεῖοι, δᾶμος*). We also hear of *ἀ ζαμιωργία*, of an officer *ὄρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχει*, of *βασιλᾶες*, and *πρόξενοι*. The *ζαμιωργία* is apparently the title of the executive board which managed the affairs of the nation; it was composed of officers (*ζαμιωργοί*) from the various demes, and was subject to a scrutiny (*μάστρα*). In what relation it stood to the *βωλά* (senate), which is also mentioned, we cannot determine. The phrase *ὄρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχει* is a description of the head of the deme, whatever his special title may have been. The *βασιλᾶες* and *πρόξενοι* were perhaps officers connected with religious rites and ceremonies. To be eligible as a proxenus and demiurgus was equivalent to possessing full civic rights. The general name for the citizens was *Féται* and for the magistrates *τελεσταί*.[3] For a long time the inhabitants of Elis continued to dwell in villages, but after the Persian war, a great central city,

Monarchy.

Aristocracy.

[1] Strabo, p. 354.

[2] Paus. v. 4. 3.

[3] *Cf.* Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii. 100 ff. The inscriptions will be found in Roehl, A. G. I. No. 109 ff.; and in Collitz, *Sammlung*. No. 1149 ff. From No. 1153 we find that the Elean deme of Cheladra had power to grant a portion of land in Pisa.

called Elis, was established by the union of a number of villages. Aristotle describes a senate at Elis consisting of ninety members, probably ten from each of nine tribes. These members held office for life, and all the power lay in their hands. The government was thus an oligarchy within an oligarchy, and exposed to danger for that reason. Even the choice of the senators was in the hands of the great families. At a later time we hear of a democracy, a form of government due no doubt to the opposition between the population of the city and the landed proprietors.[1]

The Elean *dialect* is marked by (1) the use of *ρ* for *s* at the end of words (as in Laconian and Latin), and of the soft breathing for the hard, *e.g.* *ὄρ=ὅς*; (2) the use of the digamma, written with *β* in later inscriptions (as in Laconian); (3) the use of *ζ* for *δ*; (4) the use of *-αις*, *-οις* in the acc. plur. for *-ας*, *-ους*; (5) the change of *σ* into *h* between vowels (as in Laconian). See Daniel, *De Dialecto Eliaca.* "The beautiful silver *coins* of Elis, of the Aeginetic standard, form a series, which for the variety of treatment and the high artistic ability which it evinces, is excelled by no other class of coins in European Greece." The series extends from about 480 B.C. to 322 B.C. From 480 to 421 B.C. the symbols of Zeus, "the thunderbolt, the eagle with a serpent, a hare, or other animal in his claws," form the types of the coins.—Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 353.

ARCADIA.

14. The legends of Arcadia tell us that in early times the country was united in the hands of a single monarch, Arcas, from whom the name Arcadia was derived. Arcas divided the country among his three sons —Azan, the eponym of the Azanians; Apheidas from whom the district of Tegea received the name of the Apheidantian plain; and Elatus, who received Cyllene. The son of Azan

Kings of Arcadia.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* v. 6. 11=1306*a*: Καταλύονται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἑτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐμποιῶσι. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν, ὅταν, τοῦ παντὸς πολιτεύματος ὀλίγου ὄντος, τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν μὴ μετέχωσιν οἱ ὀλίγοι πάντες. Ὅπερ ἐν Ἠλιδι ξυνέβη ποτέ. Τῆς πολιτείας γὰρ δι' ὀλίγων οὔσης, τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο, διὰ τὸ ἀϊδίους εἶναι ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας, τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν δυναστευτικὴν εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίαν τῇ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων. Under the democracy the Elean senate consisted of 600 members. For further details consult Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii. 95 ff.

was Clitor, who gave his name to the town in the north of Arcadia. He settled at Lycosura, and was the most powerful of the Arcadian kings. From Aleus, the son of Apheidas, was derived the name of Athena Alea, the tutelary goddess of Tegea, whose shrine formed a common place of meeting for the Arcadians. The sons of Elatus were Cyllen, from whom Mount Cyllene derived its name; Stymphalus, the eponym of the town of Stymphalus, and Aepytus. As Clitor died without sons, the throne of Lycosura descended to Aepytus, and on his death to Aleus. Thus Tegea becomes the seat of the monarchy. Here, at the time of Hyllus, we find Echemus on the throne. By him Hyllus was slain, and the tide of invasion thrown back for a hundred years. Echemus was succeeded by Agapenor, who led the Arcadians to Troy. On his return Agapenor was carried to Cyprus, where he founded Paphos and the temple of Aphrodite, from whence his daughter Laodice sent a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea. A subsequent king, Hippothous, is said to have transferred the seat of government from Tegea to Trapezus, where we find Cypselus reigning at the time of the Dorian migration. From the union of Cresphontes with the daughter of Cypselus the Messenian kings were descended. Some generations after Cypselus we hear of Pompus, in whose reign the Aeginetans brought their wares to Cyllene, the port of Elis, and carried them thence on mules to Arcadia. Then followed Polymestor, the contemporary of the Spartan king Charilaus; Aechmis, in whose reign the first Messenian war broke out; and Aristocrates I., who was stoned to death for violating a virgin in the temple of Artemis, near Orchomenus. His grandson was Aristocrates II., who met with a like fate for his treachery to the Messenians. After this there were no more kings in Arcadia.[1]

[1] Paus. viii. cc. 4, 5. With the division of Arcadia among the sons of Arcas compare the division of Attica among the sons of Pandion. Azanians go to Phrygia as Lycus in Athenian story migrates to Lycia (Paus. viii. 4. 3). Elatus leaves Arcadia for Phocis, where he founds Elatea. Compare the migrations of Paeon and Aetolus in Elean story.

15. There is no reason for supposing that Arcadia was ever united under the authority of a single king. The nature of the country prohibited centralisation. In the north and east Arcadia is a mass of rugged mountains, traversed by few and difficult passes. Towards the south the only inlet is the valley of the Eurotas. On the west the mountains are less abrupt, and the valleys of the Ladon and Alpheus render communication comparatively easy. The political development of the inhabitants was determined by these external conditions. In the isolated valleys of the east and north we find a number of independent towns—Psophis, Clitor, Pheneus, Stymphalus, Orchomenus, Mantinea, Tegea—of which Mantinea was a combination of five villages, Tegea of nine. In the west the towns are few—Trapezus, Basilis and Lycosura being the chief. The inhabitants of these districts dwelt in scattered hamlets along the rivers. Round the sources of the Alpheus lay the Maenalians and Eutresians. The Parrhasians and Cynurians dwelt a little lower down the river. Lower still were the Heraeans. The Azanes dwelt on the Ladon. But disunited as the Arcadians were, connecting links were not wanting among them. They had common temples, at which they met to worship the national deities. Such was the temple of Lycaean Zeus, on the summit of Mount Lycaeus, near Lycosura, where the Lycaea were celebrated, a festival which, though at first confined to the Parrhasians, became the common festival of all the Arcadian tribes. Almost equally sacred and equally national was the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, where also was the "common hearth" of the Arcadians.[1] A third deity, held in universal honour by all the Arcadians, was Artemis Hymnia,

Arcadia: its Inhabitants.

Eastern Arcadia.

Western Arcadia.

Links of Union.

[1] Paus. viii. 2. 1; viii. 53. 9. The Lycaea were celebrated by Arcadians even when on service in foreign lands (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 10). These shrines were still honoured even after the devastation which overtook Arcadia between the time of Polybius and Strabo (Strabo, p. 388).

whose chief shrine was situated in the territory of Orchomenus.[1]

Arcadia and Sparta.

16. We have seen reason to doubt the truth of the legends which speak of contests between the Spartans and Arcadians at Clitor and Mantinea in the years immediately following the Dorian immigration. But at a later time, when the Spartan power increased, it was inevitable that border conflicts should go on. Charilaus is said to have conquered the district of Aegys between the sources of the Eurotas and the Alpheus, and to have made an attempt, which failed, on Tegea. After the first Messenian war the Spartans made an attack on Phigalea, a distant Arcadian hamlet, on the borders of Messenia, which is now famous for the ruins of a beautiful temple. The Phigaleans were expelled from their territory, but recovered it by the devoted help of the Oresthasians (Olymp., 30.2 = 659 B.C.). At a later time the districts of Caryae and Sciritis, on the upper Oenus, were added to Sparta, but Tegea remained independent till the middle of the sixth century.[2]

Character and civilisation of the Arcadians.

17. The Arcadians were a nation of peasants, chiefly occupied in breeding sheep, cattle and horses. If they preserved the simple virtues of a rural life, they remained untouched by the civilisation of the more advanced and accessible districts of Greece. In the hope of counteracting the effects of the harsh climate of their country and their rustic occupations, music was almost universally cultivated among them. Their apologist Polybius tells us that the Arcadian boys were trained from infancy to sing hymns and paeans, in honour of their native heroes and gods; and the education was continued in after life. It was from neglect of this salutary institution that the Cynaethians fell below the standard of Arcadian morality, and disgraced themselves by acts of savage

[1] Paus. viii. 5. 11.

[2] For Aegys, *cf.* Paus. iii. 2. 5; Tegea, *ib.* viii. 48. 4; Phigalea, viii. 39. 3.

and treacherous cruelty.[1] When the population of the country increased, large numbers of Arcadians readily entered service as mercenary soldiers. Trade was impossible for them, and as in Arcadia the isolation and intensity of civic life which made enemies of neighbouring cities were to a great degree wanting, the Arcadians were not needed for arms at home. They are often compared to the Swiss of modern times, but we have no means of judging whether the resemblance extends beyond a mountainous home and the love of a military life.[2]

The statements which have come down to us about the forms of political constitution existing among the Arcadians, scanty and imperfect though they are, present much that is full of interest. They illustrate various stages in the change which transformed the tribe (or ἔθνος) into the city (or πόλις). In the West the political unit was the tribe, and this continued to be the case till the foundation of Megalopolis in 369 B.C. Of course the members of the tribes resided in hamlets or villages, which differed in extent and importance, and Thucydides even speaks of the "cities" of the Parrhasians, but the word is used vaguely, and does not mean a city in the ordinary sense of the word, *i.e.* an autonomous and local centre of political life. Some of these villages were the meeting-places of the tribe, or the residence of ancient kings, and consecrated by the worship of common deities. Lycosura, Trapezus and Basilis were towns within the territory of the Parrhasians, which so late as 369 B.C. claimed a superior position on these grounds. Yet even Lycosura, the most

The Tribes in the West of Arcadia.

No independent towns.

[1] Polyb. iv. 20 ff. Whether this account is applicable to ancient Arcadia is perhaps doubtful; but *cf.* Plut. *De Mus.* 9, who tells us that the music of Sacadas, Polymnestus, etc., was played at the ἀποδείξεις in Arcadia.

[2] Strabo, p. 388, speaks of the excellent pastures which in his time existed on the site of Megalopolis: βοσκήμασι δ' εἰσὶ νομαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὄνοις τοῖς ἱπποβάταις, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἵππων ἄριστον τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν. The legend of the horse-headed Demeter shows that horse-breeding was an occupation of the Arcadians in very early times.

ancient of all Arcadian towns, never claimed a political existence apart from the Parrhasian tribe to which it belonged. It was only when a tribe was broken up, or sank into decay, that the towns within it became independent. With the disappearance of the ancient tribe of the Azanians, Clitor, Psophis and Heraea became separate political centres. Of these Heraea retained the old cantonal form of constitution, even down to the middle of the fourth century, when the nine demes, of which the community was composed, were united into a city under Lacedaemonian influence, in order to form a counterpoise to Megalopolis. Of the mode in which the affairs of the tribe were managed we have little information. In the more advanced forms of constitution, as at Mantinea, we find each of the demes of which the city was composed represented by a "demiurgus." This may have been the case with the tribe. Each of the villages may have sent a representative to the common assembly, by which the common affairs were managed.

Constitution of the tribes.

18. In the east of Arcadia the tribe gave way at an early time to the city. Mantinea, Orchomenus and Tegea were the chief centres. The nature of the country, mutual animosities, and external relations conduced to this result. Mantinea and Tegea were constantly at variance. The former was a democracy formed under the influence of Argos; the latter, after ineffectual struggles to maintain its independence, became an oligarchy under the influence of Sparta. Orchomenus, at the time of the second Messenian war, was the abode of Aristocrates II., the last king of Arcadia. After the fall of the monarchy and the dissolution of the tribal association upon which the monarchy rested, it was left the head of a few villages. Its power was quickly surpassed by that of its rivals Mantinea and Tegea.

Cities in Eastern Arcadia.

Even in the middle of the sixth century Mantinea attracted attention by the excellence of her political arrangements. By the advice of the Delphic oracle the Cyrenaeans requested the Mantineans to send one of their citizens to re-arrange the constitution at Cyrene. Demonax

Democracy of Mantinea.

was sent, and the arrangements which he introduced were thoroughly democratic. He reserved for the king the sacred domain and offices which belonged to him as the priest of the community, but the rest of his powers were divided among the people.[1] The hatred of Sparta on the one hand, and on the other the friendly relations which united Mantinea with Argos and Athens, are a proof that the constitution of Mantinea continued to be democratic.—We hear of Demiurgi in all the Arcadian states; of Theori in Mantinea and Tegea; of Polemarchi or Strategi in Mantinea, Tegea, Phigalea, and among the Cynaethians.[2] But we cannot enter into details. We know the titles of the public officers in Arcadian towns, and we know no more about them.

Public officers in Arcadian towns.

From the earliest times down to the end of the second Messenian war there were kings in Arcadia. Lycosura was the abode of the ancient king Lycaon. When the Heraclids first attempted the invasion of Peloponnesus, Echemus was king of Tegea, and leader of the Arcadians; at the time of the invasion, Cypselus of Trapezus was the king of the Arcadians. In the Messenian wars Orchomenus was the seat of the monarchy. If we look at the list of ancient Arcadian kings preserved by Pausanias we shall find that the succession is sometimes broken by the substitution of the female line for the male. The sons of Lycaon perish, the line being continued through Callisto to Arcas. Clitor, the son of Azan, dies without children, and his throne passes to Aepytus. These interruptions, combined with the change of the seat of the monarchy, point to the prominence of successive tribes whose leaders or generals were the kings of Arcadia at the period. The Azanians were perhaps the most powerful tribe in the earliest times, but they were subsequently surpassed by the Trapezuntians, whose kings, the Cypselidae, continued to occupy the throne till the treachery of Aristocrates II. brought the king into direct collision with the

The Kings of Arcadia.

[1] Herod. iv. 161

[2] Busolt, *Lak.* p. 144.

people, and caused the final overthrow of the monarchy. It is quite clear from the accounts of the Messenian war that the kings were the leaders of the Arcadians on their warlike expeditions. The office was hereditary, but with the privileges of the kings in times of peace we are not acquainted.

If in one sense the Arcadians were a disunited people, in another they present an instance of a union which was rare in Greece. There was little or no distinction of classes among them. No order rose above the rest, as the conqueror over the conquered, the rich over the poor. Town life and country life were not dissociated, for there was no manufacturing population. Every one drew his wealth from the same sources, and was occupied in the same pursuits —agricultural and pastoral. Unfortunately we know nothing of the tenure of land in Arcadia. The absence of slaves shows that here, as in Phocis, the owner of the soil worked on his land, but what differences of wealth prevailed in the country, and how the difficulties which elsewhere led to the oppression of the poorer by their richer citizens were avoided, we have no evidence to show.[1]

No distinction of classes in Arcadia,

or of town and country.

The resemblance between the Arcadian inscriptions and the Cyprian, to which allusion has already been made (p. 125), is shown in the common use of *ἰν* for *ἐν*, of a genitive in *-αυ* from nominatives in *-ας*, in *ἀπύ* for *ἀπό*, etc. In spite of the occurrence of Arcadian names in Crete, and legends of colonisation, there is no resemblance between the dialects of Arcadia and Crete. The *coins* of Arcadia imply a kind of religious union of the country notwithstanding the enmities of the various tribes and cities. It is supposed that coins were struck at the periodic meetings at the festival of Zeus Lycaeus which were current through the whole of Arcadia. See Head, *l.c.* p. 372.

ACHAEA.

19. The history of Achaea, from the time that it became a place of refuge for the exiles, whom the Dorians expelled

[1] Busolt, *Lakedaemonier*, pp. 111-145, from whom what is stated in the text is mainly taken.

from their homes in Laconia and Argolis, is almost unknown. Polybius informs us that the nation was ruled by kings, of whom Tisamenus was the first, and Ogyges the last. As we know nothing more of Ogyges, and Tisamenus is said in another form of the legend to have perished before reaching Achaea, this statement is of little value. It is more important to know that the Achaeans, following as we are told the example of the Ionians, who preceded them in the country, formed themselves into a Dodecapolis, of which the common meeting-place was the temple of Zeus Amarius at Aegium (*supra*, p. 106). At a later time the Achaeans were famous for the excellence of their political constitution, which Strabo calls a democracy. The cities of Magna Graecia, some of which were colonies from Achaea, at least in part, are said to have applied to them for aid in the management of their affairs after the troubles arising from the expulsion of the Pythagorean societies. At Croton, Sybaris and Caulonia the Achaean constitution was adopted. These cities combined and selected a site for the altar of Zeus Amarius, at which they met for the discussion of political matters. They even adopted the customs and laws of the Achaeans, till Croton and Caulonia were compelled by Dionysius of Syracuse to abandon them.[1] In the history of Greece Proper, Achaea is of little importance. The secluded nature of the country, which lay between almost impassable mountains and a harbourless coast, and was far removed from the great roads which connected Peloponnesus and Northern Greece, enabled the inhabitants to preserve a neutrality amid the conflicts which harassed

The Kings of Achaea.

The Cities of Achaea.

Excellence of the Achaean Constitution.

[1] Polyb. ii. 38-41. For the twelve cities, see Herod. i. 145—he calls them *μέρεα*; Strabo, p. 385. For Patrae, Paus. vii. 6. 1 substitutes Cerynea. The name Ogyges is as uncertain in form as it is suspicious; see Strabo, p. 384. Pausanias speaks of the sons of Tisamenus as "dynasts" (*l.c.*). The Achaean towns are called *πόλεις*, in opposition to the *κῶμαι* of the Ionians, and each had seven or eight demes (Strabo, 386). For the common council at Aegium, *cf. ib.* 387. For the Colonies, see *infra*, ch. xi.

their neighbours on the east. In some of the towns we hear of flourishing manufactures; Patrae was famous for byssus, Pellene for cloaks, which were even given as prizes in the athletic games held in the city. But the bulk of the Achaeans were shepherds, who fed their flocks and cattle on the slopes of the mountains, or husbandmen, who tilled the rich lands between the mountains and the sea. The ancient name of Patrae was Aroa (ploughland); and the names of Aegae, Aegira, Aegium have, at any rate, a fanciful resemblance to αἴξ, a goat.[1]

The *alphabet* in use among the Achaean colonies exhibits peculiar forms, which were probably brought from the parent state. Of *dialectical* peculiarities we may notice the shortening of ο before ρ—*e.g.*, δαμιοργός—and the use of ἰν for ἐν.—Cauer, *Del.* No. 277.

The coins of Achaea belong to a later date, with the exception of some silver triobols of Aegae. These bear the fore-parts of a goat, and a head of Dionysus (Head, *l.c.*, p. 347). Like all the coins of Peloponnesus, they are of the Aeginetan standard.

[1] Such was the view taken by the Achaeans, but the words may also be connected with Aegeus, Aegaeon. Aegae is the home of Poseidon.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MESSENIAN WARS: 743–631 B.C.

CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF SPARTA.

	B.C.		B.C.
Teleclus,	825.	Nicander,	824.
Alcamenes,	785.	Theopompus,	785.
Polydorus,	758.		
Eurycrates,	*c.* 700 (?)	Zeuxidamus,[1]	*c.* 700 (?)
Anaxander,	*c.* 650.	Anaxidamus,	*c.* 650.

1. The legislation of Lycurgus removed the internal difficulties of the Spartan state, and the fifty years which followed were a period of vigorous expansion. Nevertheless, the position of Sparta still remained one of comparative insignificance. On the east her territory was bounded by Argos, which, after the accession of Phidon, appeared not unlikely to be again the leading state of the peninsula. On the north Tegea was still independent, and on the west lay the extensive kingdom of Messenia, spreading over a far larger and more fertile area than the valley of the Eurotas.

Limits of the Spartan territory.

We have already seen that three distinct seats of government were distinguished in the legendary history of Messenia. The first was established at Andania, where Polycaon is said to have settled with his bride Messene. To this place Caucon brought the knowledge of the mysteries of Demeter from Eleusis in Attica. Six generations afterwards Aphareus built a city which he called Arene,

Kingdom of Messenia.

[1] Archidamus, the son of Theopompus and father of Zeuxidamus, died before his father.

after his wife. This prince gave shelter to Neleus, a descendant from Aeolus, like himself, when flying from Pelias, and allowed him to establish a city at Pylus. Finally, when Idas and Lynceus, the sons of Aphareus, were slain, Nestor, the son of Neleus, became king of Messenia, and removed the throne to Pylus (*supra*, p. 94).

2. At the Dorian immigration the Pylians were expelled, and their kingdom became the spoil of the invaders. Legends told how Cresphontes and the sons of Aristodemus cast lots for the possession of Messenia, and how Cresphontes gained the kingdom by fraudulent collusion with Temenus. The centre of government was now removed from the sea-coast to Stenyclarus. The ancient inhabitants were not driven out, but half their land was taken from them and distributed among the conquerors. Ephorus, indeed, tells us that the country was divided by Cresphontes into five cities: Stenyclarus, Rhium, Pylus, Mesola and Hyamea, of which Stenyclarus was the capital. For a time the Messenians and Dorians were on an equal footing in all the five cities, but afterwards the Dorians were collected into Stenyclarus, and the other cities were degraded into an inferior position. This account,[1] whatever the authority on which it rests, is merely a variation of the arrangements which the same historian describes as following upon the Dorian conquest of Laconia (p. 97). It seems to be certain that the Messenians did not submit to the rule of the Dorians without a struggle. The Messenian kings are named after Aepytus, not after Cresphontes,[2] and it was with the help of the Arcadians that Aepytus regained his land.

Messenia at the time of the Dorian migration.

3. His successors on the throne, of whom little is recorded beyond the establishment of certain religious rites, were Glaucus, who revived the old Messenian sacrifice to Zeus on

[1] Strabo, p. 312.

[2] Compare the names, Agiads, Eurypontids at Sparta. Ephorus, *Frag.* 20; Nic. Damasc., *Frag.* 39 M.; Paus. iv. 3. 8; viii. 5. 6, *supra*, p. 95.

Mount Ithome, Isthmius, Dotadas, Sybotas and Phintas. In the reign of Phintas the Messenians for the first time sent a sacred embassy to the Ionian festival at Delos. The hymn which was sung on this occasion was composed for them by Eumelus of Corinth, and remained in existence in the days of Pausanias, being, in fact, the only genuine relic of Eumelus then extant.[1] It was in this reign, which falls about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., that the first quarrel broke out between the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians. Various accounts were given of the matter. Near the sources of the Nedon, on the borders of Messenia, was a temple of Artemis Limnatis, at which Lacedaemonians and Messenians worshipped in common.[2] The Lacedaemonians alleged that some maidens who were attending a festival at this temple, had been seized and outraged by Messenians, and, in the attempt to rescue them, their king Teleclus had been slain. The Messenians, on the other hand, declared that Teleclus had attacked their envoys when coming to the temple, with the help of young men disguised as women. The Messenians, on discovering the treachery, slew both the men and their king. In support of the truth of their story they appealed to the fact that the Lacedaemonians never demanded reparation for the death of their king (death of Teleclus, 785 B.C.).[3]

Successors of Cresphontes.

Teleclus and the Messenians.

4. For the present the quarrel went no further, probably because the Spartans were occupied with Phidon. In the next generation, when Antiochus had succeeded his father Phintas, and Alcamenes and Theopompus were kings of Sparta, hostilities broke out afresh. The cause was a dispute between Polychares, a Messenian, who was victor in the fourth Olympiad, and a Spartan called Euaephnus. Not content with stealing the cattle of Polychares,

Fresh hostilities.

[1] Paus. iv. 4. 1.

[2] Strabo, p. 362.

[3] Strabo, p. 257; Paus. iv. 4. 3. Strabo tells us, p. 360, that Teleclus founded certain places in the neighbourhood of the Nedon. He may have fallen in a border raid.

Euaephnus, when pressed for payment, slew his son. Polychares appealed to Sparta for redress, but in vain. Driven to desperation, he took the matter into his own hands, and wildly slew every Spartan whom he could get into his power. The Lacedaemonians sent to Stenyclarus to demand that Polychares should be surrendered. The matter was hotly debated in the ecclesia; Antiochus, the king, opposed the request, but Androcles, his younger brother, who appears to have been of almost equal authority, supported it. The dispute grew into a quarrel, not without bloodshed, in which the party of Androcles as the smaller were defeated. The Messenians were willing to put the case for decision into the hands of the Amphictyony of Argos or the Athenian Council on the Areopagus; but the Spartans made no answer to this proposal.[1]

Polychares and Euaephnus.

A *casus belli* was now established, though war had not been openly declared. The Lacedaemonians resolved upon full vengeance; no length of time, no severity of suffering, was to prevent them from achieving the conquest of Messenia. Without any previous announcement they sent a band of men by night under Alcamenes to seize Amphea, a Messenian fortress on the borders of Laconia, strongly placed and abundantly supplied with water, intending to make it the base of their operations during the war. Being undefended, the place was easily taken; and the Messenians, who occupied it, were either slain in their beds or dragged from the shrine at which they had taken refuge. Only a few escaped.[2]

Outbreak of the war.

5. Such was the outbreak of the first Messenian war. Our information of this struggle is derived mainly from Pausanias, who tells us that he obtained it from two sources

[1] Diod. viii. 5; Paus. iv. 5. 2. According to Strabo (p. 257), the party which supported Sparta retired to Macistus in Triphylia, and thence to Rhegium. Cf. *infra*, § 9. Pausanias' words are, Ἐθέλειν μέντοι παρὰ Ἀργείοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας.

[2] Paus. iv. 5. 9; Diod. viii. 6.

—the epic poem of Rhianus of Bene, and the prose work of Myron of Priene. Neither of these compositions could lay any claim to historical accuracy. Not only did the authors live centuries after the events which they recorded, but the accounts which they gave were in part contradictory and in part manifestly false. It is obvious that the Spartans with their habits of secrecy would not have permitted any records to survive of their own defeats and difficulties in these wars. What information existed about them, would be gathered from the mouths of the Messenian people, or from popular songs, which celebrated the achievements of Aristodemus and Aristomenes. After the restoration of Messenia by Epaminondas and the building of Messene (369 B.C.), these stories or songs may have been collected and formed into some kind of legendary history.[1]

Authorities for the war.

6. When the Messenians heard of the seizure of Amphea, they came together from all their cities to Stenyclarus. They were kept under arms to resist the incursions of the Lacedaemonians, who began by attacking the cities, but, finding their efforts vain, desisted from this mode of war-

[1] Rhianus of Bene, in Crete, who was a contemporary of Eratosthenes (third century B.C.), was a voluminous author. He is said to have written five epics, besides other poems, and to have been a commentator on Homer. Of the date of Myron nothing certain seems to be known. His work (*Messeniaca*) is quoted by Athenaeus, p. 271 and p. 657. It appears from the first passage that Theopompus, the pupil of Isocrates, had given some account of the Messenian wars.

Neither Rhianus nor Myron wrote an account of the whole conflict. Myron narrated the capture of Amphea and what followed, down to the death of Aristodemus. Rhianus, on the other hand, passed over the earlier war in silence, and in his account of the second began with the Battle of the Trench. Aristomenes, the great Messenian hero, was mentioned by Myron in his history, but not much importance was attached to him. In the poem of Rhianus he was what Achilles is in the *Iliad*. Moreover, Myron was guilty of the gross error of saying that Aristomenes slew Theopompus, the Spartan king, shortly before the death of Aristodemus, whereas it is clear from the verses of Tyrtaeus that Theopompus outlived the war. In the opinion of Pausanias, Aristomenes was the hero of the second war, when Aristodemus was already dead; and Rhianus was a better authority than Myron (Paus. iv. 6. 1-5).

fare, and plundered the country. The Messenians retorted by laying waste the sea-coast of Laconia and the farms on Taygetus. This went on for three years (743-740 B.C., Pausanias);[1] in the fourth year (739), Euphaes, who had succeeded Antiochus on the throne of Messenia, resolved to fight a pitched battle with the enemy. The result was indecisive (the Battle of the Ravine). In the next year (738 B.C.) the Lacedaemonians, roused by the taunts of those whom they had left behind as too old for service, took the field under both their kings, Theopompus and Polydorus who had succeeded Alcamenes. A long and obstinate battle was fought, but again without decisive result. From this time the fortunes of the Messenians declined. Their slaves deserted, and they felt the pressure of the expense of keeping up the garrisons in the towns. Disease also broke out among them. They resolved to abandon the fortresses in the country and retire to Ithome, where they enlarged the ancient stronghold to receive them. At the same time an embassy was despatched to Delphi, which brought back the answer that a maiden of the race of Aepytus must be sacrificed. Lots were cast, and in the first instance the lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus. When she was rejected by the seer Epebolus as a supposititious child, Lyciscus took advantage of the delay to carry her away with him to Sparta. Aristodemus then offered his own daughter for the sacrifice. But a Messenian to whom she was betrothed attempted to save her, first by urging that her father's right in her had been given over to him, and when this contention failed of success, by declaring that the girl was no longer a maid. Aristodemus in a frenzy

Progress of the war.

The Messenians retire to Ithome.

Their distress.

Aristodemus and his daughter.

[1] That the war lasted twenty years is clear from Tyrtaeus, *Fr.* 5. Theopompus outlived it (Paus. iv. 6. 4). The last Messenian victor at Olympia falls in 736 B.C. See the elaborate notes of Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i. p. 151; Duncker, *Greek History*, ii. 69. Deimling, *Chronologische Studien*, puts the war, with Duncker, in 730-710. I see no reason for altering the traditional date.

of indignation slew his daughter, and laid open her bosom to prove the falsehood of the accusation. Epebolus demanded yet another victim, but Euphaes the king declared that this sacrifice would suffice.[1]

7. For a time we hear no more of hostilities between the two nations. But five years after the retirement to Ithome another great battle was fought, and again without any decisive result. In this Euphaes was slain, after a reign of thirteen years. As he left no children, the choice of a successor was left to the people. Besides Aristodemus, the two commanders, Damis and Cleonis, had won popular favour. The soothsayers strongly opposed Aristodemus, as guilty of his daughter's blood, but he was nevertheless elected king. He pursued a popular policy, and at the same time paid the utmost respect to the leading citizens, more especially to Damis and Cleonis. He also attempted to strengthen the Messenian cause by alliances with Arcadia, Argos and Sicyon. Under Aristodemus the war went on for four years (730-726 B.C.) in the same desultory fashion as before. Each nation ravaged the territory of the other. In the fifth year (725 B.C.) a great battle was fought, the Corinthians aiding the Lacedaemonians; the Arcadians in full force, together with some Sicyonians and Argives, joining the Messenians. The battle was fought near Ithome, and after a long and violent contest the Messenians won the day.

Aristodemus elected king.

The next two years passed away without any decisive action. Each side consulted the Delphic oracle, but with little success. At length, in the twentieth year of the war, it was announced from Delphi to Aristodemus that those would win who first placed one hundred tripods round the altar of Zeus on Ithome. This filled the Messenians with hope; they never expected that any Spartan would be able to bring tripods into their strong-

The wooden tripods.

[1] The retirement to Ithome took place five years before the accession of Aristodemus, *i.e.* twelve years before the end of the war —*i.e.* in 735 B.C.

hold. A hundred wooden tripods were immediately prepared. In the meantime the oracle had been announced at Sparta, and Oebalus, a man of the middle class, determined to fulfil the condition demanded by the oracle. He prepared a hundred tripods of clay, put them in a wallet, and succeeded in entering Ithome, where he placed them in the night round the altar. In the morning the Messenians, to their great dismay, found the altar surrounded by tripods.

End of the war.

The end quickly came. Portents of various kinds distressed the Messenians. The bronze statue of Artemis dropped her shield; and when Aristodemus was about to sacrifice to Zeus, the rams leapt on the altar and butted each other to death. Dogs gathered in packs, and, after howling through the night, ran away to the Lacedaemonians. The unfortunate Aristodemus was visited by a dream of evil omen. He was armed for battle, and the sacrificial meat lay before him on the table, when suddenly his daughter appeared clad in black, her bosom open and wounded. She threw down all that was on the table and carried away his arms, leaving in their place a garland and a shroud—the emblems of death. Aristodemus slew himself in despair at his daughter's tomb.[1]

On the death of Aristodemus the Messenians lost heart. They chose no king to succeed him, but Damis was elected general. He associated Cleonis and Phyleus with him in the command. Another battle was fought, for famine was beginning to be felt in Ithome. In spite of their bravery the Messenians were defeated: the three commanders fell in the contest. Ithome was evacuated and razed to the ground.

Criticism of the account of the war.

8. Such is the account which Pausanias gives of the first Messenian war. That it lasted twenty years is clear from the lines of Tyrtaeus, in which he tells us that the Messenians left Ithome in the twentieth year. Such a statement proves that the struggle was severe and exhausting, but the events of the war, even

[1] Paus. iv. 12 ff.

if we put aside all the more mythical details, the oracles, omens, and sacrifices, are vague and unintelligible, and many of the details which Pausanias gives are more than doubtful. Though the Messenians are never worsted in any battle but the last, their cause is always growing more hopeless. The movements in the battles are given with precision and the commanders are named, but, with the exception of the last two, which take place near Ithome, no locality is assigned to them. It is clear that we have here a Messenian account, which, while admitting what it was impossible to deny, that the Messenians were conquered in the war, will not admit their defeat in open battle.

The proceedings of the Messenian ecclesia resemble the arrangements of the fourth century B.C. more than those of the seventh. The choice of a king is left to the populace, who assemble in the ecclesia from the neighbouring cities, as they doubtless did after the restoration of Messenia by Epaminondas. They have it in their power to leave the throne vacant, and elect a "general," an officer of a distinctly democratic type. We know nothing of the condition of Messenia in early times, and it is possible that the Dorian rulers were anxious to conciliate the old population of the country in every way. But the circumstances in which the history of the Messenian war may have been written down make it necessary to draw attention to these apparently later traits in the account of an ancient struggle. The inability of the Lacedaemonians to capture walled cities is a commonplace; the "desertion of the slaves," the "pressure of the expense," and "the plague," which distressed the Messenians, bear a great resemblance to incidents of the Peloponnesian war.

9. Of the defeated Messenians, those who had friendly relations with Sicyon, Argos or Arcadia retired to those countries, and subsequently took part in the colonisation of Rhegium (B.C. 715). The priests of the mysteries of Demeter at Andania found a home at Eleusis, in Attica. The great bulk of the population was spread over the country which was once their own.

The defeated Messenians.

They were compelled to swear an oath that they would never revolt from the Lacedaemonians, or form any plans against them, and, though their lands were not taken away from them, they had to pay half the produce to their Spartan masters. "Like asses bowed down with heavy burdens, giving to their masters of necessity half of everything that the earth produces," are the words in which Tyrtaeus describes their condition.[1] They had also to appear with their wives at Sparta to take part in the funeral obsequies when a king died.[2] To the Messenian family of the Androclidae, who had joined the Spartans in the war, Hyamea, a district in the lower plain of Messenia, was allotted. A home was also assigned on the sea-coast to the Dryopians, who had been recently expelled from Asine by the Argives.

Sparta after the war.

10. Soon after the close of the first Messenian war the safety of the Spartan State was imperilled by a domestic sedition—the rebellion of the so-called Partheniae. Even in antiquity nothing was certainly known about this rising beyond the fact that it led to the founding of the colony of Tarentum. According to the account of Antiochus[3] the Lacedaemonians who took no part in the Messenian war were regarded as slaves, and insulted by the name of Helots. Those whose wives bore sons during the war called the children Partheniae, and excluded them from the rights of citizens. Such degradation was intolerable to those affected by it. They determined to revolt. The festival of the Hyacinthia at Amyclae was fixed upon as the occasion of the outbreak; the concerted signal was the raising of his cap by Phalanthus, who was the leader of the conspiracy. The plot was discovered, and when the assembly was gathered together at the festival an order was issued that Phalanthus was not to raise his cap. The opposing parties came to terms, and

Revolt of the Partheniae.

[1] Tyrtaeus, *Frag.* 6 and 7.

[2] Paus. iv. 14. 4.

[3] Strabo, p. 278. Antiochus of Syracuse was a younger contemporary of Herodotus.

Phalanthus was despatched to Delphi to consult the deity. He was commanded to colonise Tarentum.[1]

Ephorus dwells more on the name Partheniae. The Spartans, he tells us, had bound themselves by an oath not to return home till the war with Messenia was ended. But in the tenth year the women sent to their husbands, pointing out that while the Messenians were raising up children during the war, a generation was passing away at Sparta without a new one to take its place. The husbands, being bound by their oaths, could not return to Sparta. They therefore sent the younger men, who being children when they left home were not included in the vow, and bade them unite with the maidens. The offspring of these unions were known as Partheniae. After the war the Partheniae, as born out of wedlock, were disfranchised. Hence arose the revolt. Ephorus does not fix the time or place of the outbreak, nor mention the appeal to Delphi. According to his account the young men were persuaded by their fathers to go out to a colony on the condition that if the colony were a failure they should receive a fifth part of the land of Messenia.[2]

Neither of these accounts deserves credit. There is no reason given in Ephorus why the young men returning from the army should not have married the maidens. Nor is it at all probable that the Spartans, who remained at home during the war, were reduced to the condition of slaves by those who had taken the field, as Antiochus asserts. Both accounts assume that the Spartans were absent from home for twenty years, when carrying on a war upon the borders of their own country!

Lastly, Aristotle tells us that the Partheniae belonged to the Spartan peers or Homoei, that they revolted because they did not share in certain privileges, and that they were sent to Tarentum.[3]

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[1] Strabo, *l.c.*: Σατύριόν τοι δῶκα Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον Οἰκῆσαι καὶ πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.

[2] Strabo, *l.c.*

[3] Arist. *Pol.* v. 7. 2 = 1306 *b*.

The result which we can deduce from these accounts is: (1) That after the end of the first Messenian war some constitutional changes took place at Sparta to the detriment of the so-called Partheniae; (2) that these Partheniae belonged to the Spartan peers; (3) that they entered into a conspiracy which was discovered; (4) that they founded the colony of Tarentum. It is not impossible that in the division of the conquered territory of Messenia severer regulations were introduced in regard to citizenship, which excluded many of those who were previously considered to be Spartans; but we have no historical grounds for this assumption.[1]

II. In spite of the exhaustion of the war and the danger of internal insurrection, the Spartans were able towards the end of the eighth century to wrest from the Argives the district of Thyreatis, which formed the border land between the two kingdoms.[2] Thus they were secure on the east and west, and at the same time a large amount of territory had been won for division among the citizens. The good-will of the Eleans had also been gained by the assistance rendered in resisting the aggression of Phidon.

Development of Sparta.

The Thyreatis.

The first half of the seventh century appears to have been a period of rapid internal development at Sparta. We hear of three great lyric poets who visited the city during this period, and by their skill in poetry and music contributed largely to the education of the youth, and the splendour of the festivals; Terpander, Thaletas and Alcman.—Terpander of Lesbos was the first victor in the musical contest which in 676 B.C. was added to the Carnea, the great national festival of Apollo, held at Sparta in the month of August. Hymns (*νόμοι*) had been in

Music at Sparta in the eighth century.

[1] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 79.

[2] Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 157; Euseb. Arm. Ol. 15. 3 = 718 B.C.: "In Thyrea Argivorum Lacedaemoniorumque pugna." Paus. iii. 7. 5, puts the contest in the lifetime of Theopompus. At the time alluded to in Herod. i. 82 (middle of sixth century) the Thyreatis is in the possession of the Lacedaemonians. See *infra*, ch. xiv.

existence in Greece from the earliest times, as a part of religious worship; but Terpander developed the old tunes to a pitch of excellence beyond anything previously known, and for a long time the musicians of this school had precedence of all others at Sparta. Thaletas or Thales was a native of Gortyn in Crete. He is said to have been brought to Sparta at the command of the Delphic oracle, to purify the city after the visitation of a pestilence.[1] He introduced at Sparta (perhaps from Crete) the martial dances and orchestral music which formed part of the entertainment at the festival of the Gymnopaediae (665 B.C.).[2] Alcman was a native of Sardis in Lydia, who had become domiciled at Sparta. He composed paeans and choric songs, but his fame chiefly rested on his Parthenia, or songs sung by the maidens of Sparta to the accompaniment of the flute and cithara—poems remarkable for the combination of religious and secular elements and for the variety of the metres in which they were composed. These Parthenia became among the most popular poems in Greece.[3]

Terpander.

Thaletas.

Alcman.

12. In 669 B.C. the Lacedaemonians suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Argives at Hysiae, on the road from Tegea to Argos. From the situation of the battle-field we may infer that the Spartans had in some way obtained possession of Tegea, though the town was certainly independent nearly a century later.[4] However this may be, the defeat was so

Defeat of the Spartans at Hysiae.

[1] Paus. i. 14. 4. Terpander was also summoned to Sparta at the command of Delphi (Heracl. *Frag.* 2, M). There is a resemblance between Thaletas at Sparta and Epimenides at Athens. (Plutarch makes Thales, as he calls him, a contemporary of Lycurgus.)

[2] Euseb. Arm. Ol. 20. 4. *Cf.* Strabo, pp. 480, 482; Plut. *Lyc.* 4.

[3] An imitation will be found at the end of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes. The date of Alcman is uncertain; the statements vary between 671 (Suidas) and 611 (Jerome).

[4] An obscure story speaks of Tegea as recovered from the Spartans by the Tegeatae, by the advice of Acues (Polyaen. i. 11). We know nothing certain of Acues; Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 88, 89, calls him a king of Argos.

severe that the nations which had suffered during the last fifty years from the aggression of the Spartans—the Arcadians, Argives, Pisatans, and even the Messenians—took heart once more and resolved to attack their oppressor. In 668 B.C. we find the Pisatans again celebrating the Olympic festival (*supra*, p. 240), and in 659 B.C. the Spartans were compelled to relinquish Phigalea, an outlying village in the south-west of Arcadia. These successes were followed by the rebellion of the Messenians. So long as those survived who had felt the weight of the Spartan arm, the conditions imposed upon the Messenians were observed, but with the growth of a new generation a different feeling arose. The spirit of rebellion became strong in them, for there seemed no hope of milder treatment from their conquerors. At this crisis a leader arose who became the hero of Messenia for all time to come—Aristomenes, the son of Nicomedes and Nicotelea. He is the Achilles of the poem of Rhianus, the life and soul of the rebellion, whose memory and exploits were no doubt revived when Messenia was once more freed from the yoke of her conqueror.

Rebellion of the Messenians.

After some secret preparations (thirty-eight years after the capture of Ithome, *i.e.* 688 B.C., according to Pausanias,[1] but in all probability more than a generation later, about 645 B.C.), the Messenians revolted, with the aid of the Argives,

[1] This date cannot be correct. (1) It does not agree with the archonship at Athens, which Pausanias mentions as an equivalent date, Lydias or Tlesias being archon in 681 B.C. (2) It does not agree with the line in Tyrtaeus, quoted by Pausanias : Αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες, which allows two generations between the wars. Pausanias himself follows the lead of Tyrtaeus in fixing the kings who reigned at Lacedaemon in the second Messenian war, about whom the lists were discreetly silent. He regards Anaxander, the grandson of Polydorus, and Anaxidamus, the great grandson of Theopompus (Archidamus, the son of Theopompus, had died before his father), as the reigning kings when the second war was fought. It should therefore be placed seventy years or more after the first—*i.e.* it began between 650 and 640 B.C. (Paus. iv. 15 ; iii. 6. 6). Rhianus put the war in the reign of Leotychides (480 B.C !)

Arcadians and Pisatans. The Arcadians were led by Aristocrates of Orchomenus; the Pisatans by Pantaleon.[1]

13. In the first year a battle was fought at Derae. Though the result was indecisive, Aristomenes distinguished himself so greatly in the conflict that he was at once chosen to be king, an honour which he declined in favour of the more popular title of general with full powers. After the battle, resolving to achieve some act which would impress the Spartans yet more with the terror of his name, he proceeded by night to Sparta, and suspended his shield in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, as an offering "by Aristomenes from the Spartans." The Spartans, at the bidding of the oracle, now applied to Athens for some one to lead them in the contest. The Athenians, who neither wished to see Sparta mistress of Messenia, nor to incur the blame of disobedience to Delphi, sent Tyrtaeus thither, a schoolmaster whom they held in very little estimation, and who was moreover lame in one foot. Tyrtaeus, on his first arrival, encouraged the Spartans by his poems, and he continued throughout the war to be their support and stay. Another great battle was now fought at the "Boar's Monument," in the neighbourhood of Stenyclarus, in which the allies on either side took part (643 B.C.). The Messenians were aided by the Eleans, Arcadians, Argives and Sicyonians, and by the descendants of Androcles, who had been settled at Hyamea after the first war; the Spartans by the Corinthians. The Lepreatae also joined the Spartans from hatred of the Eleans.[2] The Lacedaemonians were severely beaten, and were only restrained by the entreaties of Tyrtaeus from offering terms to the Messenians. This success allowed Aristomenes to roam freely through the country. At Pharis he carried off a quantity of spoil; at Caryae he seized a number

Progress of the rebellion.

Aristomenes.

Tyrtaeus.

[1] Strabo, p. 362.

[2] Paus. iv. 15; who adds that the Asinaeans remained neutral. It is difficult to derive any definite result from the statement of Herodotus (iii. 47), that the Samians aided the Lacedaemonians by sea.

of maidens during the festival of Artemis, for whom he obtained a large ransom. A similar attempt on the priestesses of Demeter at Aegila was defeated, the women defending themselves with the spits and sacrificial knives. Aristomenes was even taken prisoner, but he was released on the same night by the priestess Archedamea, who had long cherished an affection for him. In the following year a third battle was fought, in which, owing to the treachery of the Arcadians who had received money from the Lacedaemonians, the Messenians were defeated.[1] This was the battle of the Ditch or Trench. Aristomenes after this disaster determined to abandon Andania, together with all the fortresses in the plain, and retire to Eira, in the extreme north of Messenia, on the borders of Arcadia.[2] Here he was able to maintain himself for eleven years longer, making constant raids upon the nearest parts of the Spartan territory, until the Spartans passed a decree not to cultivate Messenia or the part of Laconia adjacent to Messenia.[3]

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[1] Pausanias (iv. 16) comments on this as the first instance of bribery. In this battle also (he says) fell Phanas, who had obtained a victory in the long course at Olympia.

[2] Paus. iv. 17. According to Paus. viii. 5. 13, the family of Aristocrates were deposed in consequence of his treachery. In Plutarch (*De Sera Num. Vind.* 2) the treachery is said to have remained undiscovered for twenty years. Pausanias gives the following account of the death of Aristocrates (iv. 22). When the Arcadians heard of the fall of Eira, they were eager to march to the aid of the Messenians, but Aristocrates refused to lead them. The Arcadians then prepared to receive the survivors on Mount Lycaeus, and proposed to divide them among their cities. Aristomenes, however, organised a band of 500 Messenians and 300 Arcadians to attack Sparta in the absence of the Spartans. This plan was betrayed by Aristocrates to the Spartans, but his treachery was discovered owing to the arrest of his envoys by some Arcadians, who suspected him. Aristocrates was stoned to death, his body cast out without burial, and the record of his treachery engraved upon a pillar of stone.

[3] The Spartans suffered so much from their incursions that those who possessed land in Messenia demanded reparation from those whose territory did not suffer equally. A new division of land, or a faction, which might have ended in the destruction of Sparta, seemed the only alternatives. But Tyrtaeus healed the breach by his elegiac poem *Eunomia* (Arist. *Pol.* v. 7. 4 = 1307 *a*; Paus. iv. 18. 1, 2), of which a few fragments remain.

On one of these occasions Aristomenes was captured by the Spartans, together with fifty others. The prisoners were thrown into the abyss known as Caiadas, a punishment inflicted on the worst malefactors. All the rest were killed by the fall, but Aristomenes reached the bottom unhurt. He crawled to the end of the pit and there drew his robe round him, in expectation of certain death. On the third day, being disturbed by a sound which caused him to remove his garment from his face, he saw a fox gnawing one of the dead bodies. He at once perceived that the fox must have some means of entrance into the pit. Waiting therefore till it approached him, he seized the animal's tail with one hand, and with the other held out his robe to defend himself from its teeth. In this way he followed it for a considerable distance until the light appeared through a small aperture, large enough to admit the fox. Leaving it to escape, Aristomenes proceeded to enlarge the hole till he could himself pass through it. In this way he escaped, and returned to Eira.

Aristomenes in the Caiadas.

14. The desultory warfare still went on. Aristomenes slew many of the enemy; indeed he is said to have offered the Hecatomphonia, or thanksgiving for the slaughter of one hundred men, three times in the war, and the Lacedaemonians were at one time driven to make a truce for forty days. During this cessation of arms Aristomenes was taken captive by some Cretan archers in the service of the Spartans. When he was about to be conveyed to Sparta, he was released by a maiden, to whom he afterwards gave his son Gorgus in marriage. But neither valour nor fortune could avert the impending doom; portents foretold the destruction of the Messenians; and Aristomenes proceeded to bury on Ithome some sacred relics with which the future prosperity of Messenia was connected, that they might not fall into the hands of the Spartans. The final capture of Eira was due to the treachery of a Spartan deserter, who, having formed an intrigue with the wife of a Messenian soldier, was sur-

Distress of the Messenians.

The fall of Eira due to treachery.

prised one stormy night by the sudden return of the husband to his home from the fortifications. From his concealment he heard the Messenian tell his wife that owing to the violence of the storm, which made it improbable that the Spartans would attempt an attack, the garrison had left the walls. The deserter slipped out undetected, and carried the information to the Spartans, who at once gave orders for an attack. After an obstinate struggle Aristomenes, finding that resistance was useless, requested permission for the remaining Messenians to leave Eira, a request to which the Spartans, who did not wish to waste lives in contending with desperate men, thought it right to accede. The war was now at an end (*c.* 630 B.C.); for though, against the commands of their king, the Arcadians received some of the Messenians on Mount Lycaeus, Aristomenes was no longer able to organise any resistance to Sparta.

15. Part of the Messenians were conveyed from Eira to Cyllene in Elis, where they were joined after a time by those who had taken refuge in Arcadia. In the spring following the end of the war, these homeless exiles resolved to found a colony in the west; some suggested an establishment at Zacynthus, from which they could damage the Laconian sea-board, others wished to sail to Sardinia, which was at that time the largest of all known islands.[1]

Messenians at Zancle.

Meanwhile Anaxilaus, the tyrant of Rhegium, the great-grandson of Alcidamas, who had led the Messenians to Rhegium after the first war, requested them to join him in an attack on Zancle, on condition that they should receive the rich territory of the city. To this they assented. They sailed to Sicily, and defeated the Zanclaeans on land, while Anaxilaus defeated them by sea. Anaxilaus urged the Messenians to cut down the Zanclaeans even at the altars, to

[1] The attraction which Sardinia had for the Greeks is remarkable. Bias urges the Ionians to sail to the island (Herod. i. 170); Histiaeus promises to win it for Darius (*ib.* v. 106); Aristagoras contemplates taking the Milesians there (*ib.* v. 124).

which they had fled for refuge,[1] but they refused to listen to this cruel advice. They received the suppliants into their protection, and came to terms with them, the name of the city being changed from Zancle to Messene. Those Messenians who remained at home were reduced to the condition of Helots. Aristomenes retired to Rhodes, where he became, through his daughter, the ancestor of the Diagoridae.

16. In addition to the difficulties which attend the account of the first Messenian war, we have in the second the mythical traits in the history of the hero Aristomenes. He indulges in the most daring exploits; is captured again and again by the enemy, but released; is miraculously saved when thrown into Caiadas, and finally, when resistance is no longer possible, he retires unscathed to Rhodes to end his days in peace. The details of the battles are given as before with minute accuracy; but the intrigue between the Spartan and the wife of the Messenian, and the story of the fox in Caiadas, are related with equal precision, and we cannot determine the truth of events by their intrinsic probability. The outline of the facts remains true. After a contest extending over some fourteen or fifteen years, the Messenians, who had been driven into Eira, as they had previously been driven into Ithome, were compelled to submit. A number of them settled at Zancle, with the assistance of Anaxilaus. Others who remained at home were compelled to accept the position of Helots. The district of Methone was given to the Nauplians, who had been recently expelled by Damocratidas, king of Argos.

Difficulties in the account of the Messenian war.

The most remarkable feature in the second war, next to the mythical figure of Aristomenes, is the part assigned to the poet Tyrtaeus. There is no doubt that his songs were sung by the Spartans, and they may have helped in bringing

[1] This story of Pausanias is only a repetition of that told of the Samians in Herod. vi. 23. The Samians attacked Zancle at the instigation of a later Anaxilaus, and were urged by Hippocrates to put three hundred leading citizens to death, which they refused to do.

about a peaceful feeling among the dissentients at Sparta, or rousing the whole nation to a sense of their danger. A similar effect is ascribed to the elegies of Solon at Athens. The attempt to explain this influence by supposing that Tyrtaeus, as a native of Aphidnae in Attica, where Helen and the Dioscuri were worshipped, was sent to Sparta to propitiate those deities by his skill as a minstrel is without historical foundation.[1] So far as the influence ascribed to Tyrtaeus is not a fiction, it was due to the extraordinary hold which music and song had now obtained over the Spartans, and the military genius of the poet.[2]

Remarkable part assigned to Tyrtaeus.

[1] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 439 ff. The Messenians, not the Spartans, were under the ban of the Dioscuri. Pausanias (iv. 27. 1) relates a legend to account for this. Two young Messenians, Gonippus and Panormus, personated the Dioscuri at a festival held in their honour, and in this disguise slew many of the Spartans.

[2] Whether Tyrtaeus was an Athenian is doubtful. In a fragment of his *Eunomia* he appears to speak of himself as a Lacedaemonian. Had Herodotus been aware that an Athenian had been adopted at Sparta he would not have spoken of Tisamenus and Hegias as the only foreigners who ever received the Spartan franchise (Herod. ix. 35).

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY ATTICA.

1. There is little doubt that the tradition which represents Attica as originally divided into a number of independent communities, each governed by its own chief, is to be preferred to that which speaks of the whole country as united under one ruler.[1] Even in historical times traces of the old separation remained. Between the demes of Pallene and Agnûs there was no *Epigamia*, or right of intermarriage,[2] a restriction which implies the existence of two independent communities, each jealous of the intrusion of the other. But from the first these communities were probably united into larger or smaller groups, either for purposes of common worship, or owing to some supposed descent from a common ancestor. In the north of Attica a tetrapolis was formed by the combination of the four towns, Marathon, Oenoe, Trikorythus and Probalinthus, where Apollo Pythius, Heracles and Dionysus were worshipped in common. The four demes of Piraeus, Phalerum, Xypete and Thymoetidae were known as the Tetrakomi; they combined for the worship of Heracles. Similar associations existed in other parts of the country; they were, in fact, common throughout Hellas—an almost inseparable stage in the history of the growth of the city-state; and, therefore, when Philochorus asserts that Cecrops arranged Attica in twelve communities, it may be true that even in

Attica originally divided into a number of communities.

[1] Thuc. ii. 15. The statement of Thucydides is supported by the remains of fortifications found in the neighbourhood of the ridge of Aegialos, which were intended to protect the Eleusinian plain from the incursions of the Athenians.

[2] Plut. *Thes.* 13.

very early times there were at least twelve townships which formed centres of union such as those described.

The plain of the Cephisus is the largest and most fertile in Attica. It is also protected by the strongest natural fortress—the Acropolis of Athens—and where it touches the sea possesses the best and most convenient harbour. Hence Athens, or Cecropia, as it is called in the list of Philochorus, was the abode of the most important and powerful community in Attica. Next in importance was Eleusis, the capital of the Thriasian plain, the seat of the worship of Demeter, and after Eleusis came the Tetrapolis of the north. The remaining settlements enumerated by Philochorus are Epacria, Decelea, Aphidnae, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia and perhaps Phalerus. The statement that there were precisely twelve towns is of course of no value, but the names probably denote the places which were of most importance in the earliest Attic legends.[1]

Names of the communities.

2. The Athenians were proud of the autochthony of their race, though, as we have seen, they also maintained that Attica was the common refuge of all who had been expelled by conquest from other parts of Greece. That the inhabitants had never been reduced to subjection by foreign conquerors is tolerably certain. We have no trace in Athenian history or legend of a subordinate class like the Helots, or Penestae. Nor were the inhabitants ever driven from their homes to seek refuge elsewhere. On the other hand, the immigrants, whatever their nationality, seem to have readily coalesced with the native population. The settlement at Tetrapolis is said to have been of Dorian origin, and Eumolpus, the king of Eleusis, is represented as a Thracian; but this did not prevent the inhabitants of Marathon from uniting with their Ionian neighbours, or the Eumolpidae from ranking as a distinguished Athenian family. By what means the inhabitants of Attica succeeded in solving a problem which else-

'Autochthony' of the Athenians.

[1] Philochorus, ap. Strab. p. 397. The last name is lost.

where presented insuperable difficulties, and combining in a union which extended over the whole country, we do not know. Before history begins, Athens had achieved a result which Thebes under Epaminondas was unable to attain. That the change did not take place without long and severe contests, is highly probable. The legendary conflicts of Erechtheus and Eumolpus, of Theseus and the Pallantidae, are echoes of these struggles.

3. Theseus, to whom the union of Attica is ascribed, is said to have induced the chiefs of the rural townships, partly by force and partly by persuasion, to abandon their separate council chambers, and accept Athens as the political centre for the whole of the country. The home of Theseus is Troezen, on the eastern coast of Argolis, which appears to have been inhabited by the Ionian race, and he is the son of Aegeus, who may be regarded as identical with Poseidon, the deity worshipped by the Ionians. There is, therefore, reason to think that the union of Attica was due to an incursion of Ionians from the south. These immigrants, who were rather mariners than husbandmen, joined with the old population of the plain of the Cephisus, who worshipped Athena as a goddess of fertility on the Acropolis in connection with Erechtheus or Hephaestus. The combined forces achieved the union of Attica, and when thus united the Athenians were able to expel the foreign settlers who had established themselves at Marathon or in the neighbourhood of Athens. The union of the country was commemorated by the institution of the festival of the Synoecia.[1]

Union of Attica perhaps due to Ionian immigration.

[1] It is a confirmation of this view of early Attic history, that Poseidon and Athena continued to be worshipped side by side on the citadel of Athens. Poseidon is also represented as contending with Athena for Troezen, where both deities were worshipped as at Athens (Paus. ii. 30. 6); with Helius for Corinth (*ib.* ii. 1. 6); with Hera for Mycenae (*ib.* ii. 15. 5). For the union of villages to form towns, see Strabo, p. 337, who gives instances from Arcadia and Achaea. Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* i. 386) observes that Thucydides' view of the union of Attica may have been influenced by the union of Elis in 472 B.C.

4. To Theseus is also ascribed the division of the people into Eupatridae, or nobles; Geomori, or husbandmen; and Demiurgi, or artisans. The precise meaning of this division is very obscure. The concentration of the nobles at Athens, who must have left their estates in the hands of tenants or retainers, would bring out more strongly the distinction between the owner and the tiller of the soil. The necessities of a town life and the growth of trade would largely increase the numbers of artisans, who, while flocking to the city, naturally collected in a particular place distinct from the quarter occupied by the nobles. In this sense the union of Attica may be said to have given prominence to distinctions which in a greater or less degree are present in any form of society which has emerged from nomadism. But whether the Eupatridae included all the wealthy nobility; whether the classes were rigidly separated from each other, or the poorer members of the noble families fell into the ranks of the Geomori; whether those who tilled land which they did not own were classed as Geomori or Demiurgi are questions which it is impossible to answer. Another distinction which arose at this time, from similar causes, was that between the inhabitants of the city and those of the country—the ἀστοί and ἄγροικοι.[1]

Division into classes.

5. More important is the arrangement of the Athenians in four tribes: Geleontes, Hopletes, Argadeis and Aegicoreis. The origin and nature of these tribes, which continued to exist till the time of Clisthenes, when they were replaced by the new ten tribes, are very imperfectly understood. At first sight the names appear to denote occupations: Aegicoreis, at any rate, may mean goatherds, Hopletes, armed warriors. On this ground it was imagined in antiquity that Ion, who was the traditional author of this division into tribes, had arranged the Athenians in four βίοι, or modes of life,[2] and that in fact a system of caste

Division into tribes.

[1] See Busolt, *l.c.* pp. 387-389. How these distinctions are compatible with the local divisions mentioned on p. 290 we have not the means of ascertaining. They are little more than names to us.

[2] Strabo, p. 383.

prevailed in ancient Attica, not unlike that of Egypt.[1] Yet even in antiquity the interpretation of the names was doubtful. Strabo tells us that the four "lives" instituted by Ion were the husbandmen, the artisans, the priests and the guardians, corresponding apparently to the Aegicoreis, the Argadeis, the Geleontes and the Hopletes. Plutarch gives a different explanation. In his view the Hopletes are the soldiers, the Argadeis are the artisans, the Aegicoreis the shepherds, and the Geleontes the field-labourers. It is clear from this that the true signification of the name Geleontes was quite unknown to Strabo and Plutarch.

Whatever the meaning of the names may have been, it is improbable that the tribes denoted local divisions of Attica, or distinct occupations in life. In the first place they are not peculiar to Attica. Tradition is so far right in ascribing them to Ion, that they are Ionian rather than Attic, the fourfold division being as characteristic of the Ionian race as the threefold is of the Dorian.[2] Moreover, such a division is inconsistent with the existence of a number of independent communities in various parts of Attica. In the combinations which grew up among the villages, before the country was united round Athens, we hear nothing whatever of any fourfold division of the whole. In legendary history Pandion divided the country (excluding Megara) into three, not into four sections; the factions of the time of Pisistratus, which represent distinct sections of the country, are three, not four

The Tribes not local, nor do they denote professions.

[1] Plato (*Tim.* 24) compares the arrangements in ancient Athens with those in Egypt. "There is the caste of priests, which is separated from all others; there are the artificers, who exercise their usual crafts by themselves, and without admixture of any others; and also there is the clan of shepherds, and that of hunters, as well as that of husbandmen, etc."

[2] Clisthenes removes the tribes because they are Ionian (Herod. v. 69). We find evidence of the existence of the tribes in Teos, Miletus, Cyzicus, Tomi and Perinthus (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* p. 393, note 6). The variant Teleontes (which might mean *priests*) for Geleontes appears to be a mistake.

in number; and there is no hint in them of any opposition between the tribes. The distinction of occupations is even more improbable. In the Solonian senate one hundred members are taken equally from each tribe, which presumes equality among them. In what sense could they be equal, if one were the tribe of the soldiers, another the tribe of the herdmen? Would not the whole country be at the mercy of the Hopletes if they formed an order distinct from the rest?

Tribes are not races.

It is, of course, true that many of the families which composed the tribes gave their names to the villages in which they dwelt. We may compare these with similar settlements in England—Semachidae, Titacadae, Cropidae, with Notting-ham, Bucking-ham, Walling-ford, etc.; and we may infer that Attica was at some time occupied by tribes, which included a variety of *gentes* or families. When the country was settled, each family resided on the plot which it had secured. But we have no evidence to show what was the real connection between the members of the family. Was it one of blood only, or was the tie of blood already extended by some fiction or another so that men not connected by race with a family were nevertheless included in it, just as whole families, though of alien blood, were admitted to the community? We have no means whatever of answering this question: but two reflections are obvious: (1) the inhabitants of Attica had settled elsewhere before they settled in Attica, and when thus settled they had undergone whatever relaxing influence a fixed abode exercises on a tribe (by the substitution of local connection for blood-relationship—the parish for the family); (2) Emigrants, unless they are purely nomadic tribes, are usually adventurers, who have broken with the institutions of their kindred, or are for some reason excluded from them. If this were the case with the smaller aggregates, much more so with the larger. The relationship of the members of a tribe was a mere fiction. In practice the families never went higher than the phratry

(of which there were three in each tribe) in assuming consanguinity. Even as a union of gentes, the tribe is without historical value. We must not suppose that there were four tribes of different descent or race in early Attica (*infra*, § 18).[1]

Upon this evidence it is most reasonable to suppose that the tribes were simply names for the largest political aggregates. They had nothing to do with the residence, nothing to do with the occupations, nothing to do with the descent of the men included in them. They are not restricted to Attica, but represent some ancient division of the Ionians. In the first instance the name may have arisen from the occupation of the members, and they may have been guilds rather than tribes; but the meaning of the names was lost or disregarded when the division was applied to the Athenians.

6. After the expulsion of Theseus, Menestheus, a descendant of Pandion, became king of the country. When he fell before Troy, the throne reverted to Demophon, the son of Theseus. Then followed, of the same family, Apheidas, Oxyntas, Thymoetas, the two last being brothers. In the reign of Thymoetas, the Pylians came to Attica, flying before the Dorians, with Melanthus at their head. At this time the Boeotians attacked Attica from the north, and Xanthus, their chief, challenged Thymoetas to single combat. Thymoetas declined, being old, but Melanthus engaged with the Boeotian chief, and slew him. After his victory he became king, and the devotion of his son Codrus, who succeeded him, secured the throne to the Pylian family (*supra*, p. 118).

Refugees in Attica.

Pylians.

There is no reason to doubt that attacks were made upon Attica from the north and south in the times which followed the Dorian movement; and it is certainly true that by some means or another a family tracing descent from Neleus, the king of Pylus, came to the throne at Athens. We also find families claiming to be descendants from

Lapithae.

[1] I have discussed this subject more at length in Herod. v. vi. p. 142 f.

the Lapithae and Cadmeans among the Attic tribes, which were possibly enlarged about this time to admit the strangers who flocked to Attica. But the same generosity was not extended to all immigrants. The Pelasgi of Boeotia were never admitted to the tribes. A portion of land was, it is said, assigned to them at the foot of Hymettus, in return for their services in building the so-called "Pelasgic wall" on the Acropolis; but they did not long remain in the country. Different legends were told about their expulsion—some more, some less creditable to the Athenians; but expelled they were. They took refuge partly in Lemnos and Imbros, and partly in the peninsula of Athos, where they continued to live in the time of Thucydides.[1]

The Pelasgi.

7. Legend tells us that the Athenians, out of gratitude to Codrus, would not allow the title of king to be borne by any of the rulers who succeeded him. Though his posterity, known as the Medontidae from his son Medon, remained on the throne for many generations after his death, they were not *βασιλεῖς* or kings, but archons; and though they held office for life, they were in some way responsible to the community.[2] Such evidence as we have contradicts the statement that the title was changed. Long after Medon's time the archons were known as kings, and one of them retained the name even in democratic Athens. But there is no reason to doubt that the powers of the monarchs were greatly diminished—that aristocracy, or the government of the nobles, took the place of the government of the chief or king. This change went on universally in Greece. The nobles, who even under a warlike monarchy were the councillors of the king, became his rivals in the government, when it was engaged with civil rather than with military matters. In Corinth the monarchy was removed about the middle of the eighth century (745 B.C.), though the royal family continued to supply the prytanis, who was chosen annually to

Changes in the monarchy.

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 28 (*n.*[2]), 59.

[2] Pausanias speaks of the office as *ἀρχὴ ὑπεύθυνος*, iv. 5. 10; yet from *ib.* i. 3. 3, it would seem that the archons were called *βασιλεῖς*.

preside over the State. In Athens the life archonships of the family of the Medontidae were about the same time (752 B.C.) reduced to a duration of ten years. Forty years later the office was no longer reserved for the family of Codrus, but became accessible to all the Eupatridae. Finally, in 683 B.C., the single decennial archon was abolished, and his powers were divided among nine archons, who held office for a year only.[1]

Decennial archons.

Nine annual archons.

How these changes were brought about we do not know. Later legends explained them by the weakness or cruelty of the archons in whose time they occurred. They were inevitable under any circumstances. The union of Attica brought a number of nobles from every part of the country to Athens. Great families which had exercised an almost regal authority over their dependants on their country estates—which had been the judges of their townships, or possessed the ritual of important forms of worship—would not be content with a subordinate place in the new city. Many had given their names to the townships from which they had come to Athens. When the pressure which had induced them to migrate was removed or lightened, it was inevitable that every noble should attempt to win authority in the new council chamber, even if he were not attracted thither by the promise of a position at least equal to that which he had previously enjoyed.

Causes which led to these changes.

8. By the change from a decennial to an annual tenure, and the division of the duties of the office among nine members, the last vestige of monarchical government was removed. The nobles were now the governing class. From them and by them only the executive officers of the year were chosen. Any noble who during office pursued a policy of which his order dis-

Rule of the nobility.

[1] For the different account of early Athenian history given in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, see the Appendix at the end of the chapter.

approved would doubtless feel the weight of their displeasure at the end of the year; at the least he would be a "marked" man, and excluded from all hope of again taking a share in the government. The nobles alone were in possession of the law, and the administration of it. They were the priests who possessed the secret of obtaining the blessing of the gods or appeasing their wrath, and though they did not compose the bulk of the army, they formed the officers of it.

Under these circumstances the position of the commons grew more and more dependent and hopeless. In the time of the monarchy there were two elements in the government, the king and the nobles, each of which might be used against the other; even the decennial archons, in their long term of office, occupied a more or less independent position. *Now* the nobles were united, and the duties of office were shared among them in such a manner that a large number had either been archons or hoped to become archons; it was the direct interest of each and all to support the members of their order in their administration. Little hope was there under such a rule for the poor man who had a complaint against the rich, or for the humble peasant who demanded satisfaction from his noble oppressor.

Growing distress of the Commons.

9. A government founded on such principles was of necessity selfish and cruel. Circumstances seem to have made it peculiarly severe in Attica. The soil of the country was thin and unproductive, unable to support more than a moderate population, and any increase in the number of inhabitants led inevitably to an increase of poverty. The evil might have been met by emigration, but at this date the Athenians do not appear to have possessed many ships, or to have sought out new homes beyond the sea. The early Greek colonies, after the migrations, were not planted by Athens, but by Corinth, or Megara, or Chalcis. The Athenians remained in Attica, attempting to make the best of small farms and petty trades. The tract of land which was enough for one generation did not suffice for the

Poverty and debt in Attica.

next; the development of trade required capital, which could only be borrowed at a high rate of interest and under severe conditions. In all early forms of civilisation the laws of debt are very cruel. They are made by the rich for the poor, without any insight into mercantile transactions, or knowledge of the causes of the growth of wealth. So far from aiming at the development or convenience of trade, they seek to make the lender secure and assure him a rich return for his loan. The laws of Attica provided that those who borrowed money without the security of land should become liable in themselves or their families. If the claim could not be met, the father was compelled to sell his children into slavery, or even to become a slave himself, the property of his creditor, to use or sell in or out of the country as he might please. If, on the other hand, a peasant borrowed money on his farm, a stone (ὅρος) was set up on it, stating the amount of the loan granted. The interest, which was more than the land could provide the means of paying except under the most favourable conditions, was added to the principal, not year by year, but month by month, till in a short time it became necessary for the debtor to sell or come to terms with his creditors. If he sold, the purchaser was the creditor, or others of his class, whose interest lay in keeping down the price of land; if he made an arrangement, he found himself a serf on his own property, bound to hand over five-sixths of the produce of his labour to his creditor, and degraded to a position in comparison to which the Helot of Sparta was a happy man.[1]

Laws of debt in early society.

10. Similar conditions had existed beyond Attica, but remedies had been found. In Corinth and Megara, the cities nearest to Athens, the people had made their power felt. A member of the great oligarchical family at Corinth, Cypselus, had thrown in his lot with the commons, and by their help had

The Commons at Corinth and Megara.

[1] Hectemorii. For the causes of the distress, see Lang's *Introduction to Aristotle's Politics*, p. 84 ff.; Maine's *Early Institutions*, p. 167.

risen to supreme power. By his energy and insight Corinth had attained a position second to no city in Greece. Theagenes of Megara had secured for himself the goodwill of the people by an attack on some cattle belonging to the richer classes; they rose to support him, and by their assistance he was enabled to break the authority of the nobles and establish himself on the throne, Both Cypselus and Theagenes had connections in Athens: at any rate the father of Miltiades I. bore the name of the Corinthian tyrant, and Cylon, who in 640 B.C. gained a victory in the double course at Olympia, was the son-in-law of Theagenes. Might not one of these powerful nobles be tempted to follow in the path which had led to such brilliant results at Corinth and Megara? The elements of success were not wanting; for the commons, in their poverty and desperation, were ready to support and foster any signs of discord among the nobles. In that, and that only, lay their hope. Under no form of government could they be worse off than they were. It was indeed far better to have one master than many; above all, a master who would lay on the nobles a large part of the burdens which had hitherto been imposed, directly or indirectly, on the shoulders of the poor.

11. The nobles seem to have taken alarm. Whether they had reason to suspect the intentions of Miltiades or Cylon we do not know, but it is certain that by some means the people made their grievances felt. There were probably divisions in the oligarchic circle. About this time we may place the rise of the parties which, for the next half-century or more, continued to divide Attica: the Pedieis, or men of the plain; the Parali, or men of the shore; the Diacrieis, or men of the mountains. The inhabitants of the plains of Athens and Eleusis were wealthy landowners, who, in their contempt for the classes beneath them, were anxious to maintain the position which they occupied; the men of the shore were traders and merchants, a mixed class, varying in wealth but experienced in business, with minds opened by intercourse with other

Rise of parties in Attica.

The men of the plain.

cities. They had a stake in the welfare of the country, and well knew that their interests would not prosper in the hands of those who desired to keep up an exclusive right to the administration of law and government. In wealth the merchant might surpass the landholder, but his position was still inferior, if he were denied access to the political rights of the nobility. At the same time the Parali had much to lose, and as revolution and domestic anarchy would damage them in their business, they wished above all things to effect a change peaceably; they were the moderate party, and, like all moderate parties, were probably regarded with suspicion by both extremes. The men of the mountain were the rough herdmen and shepherds who pastured their flocks on the high lands between Parnes and Brilessus. To these any change was an advance; whether they looked to the shore or the plain they saw a wealth far beyond anything which it was in their power to win, while they were probably conscious of possessing a sturdy strength which was denied to their more prosperous neighbours.[1]

The men of the shore.

The men of the mountain.

12. The most pressing need was a reform of the laws which bore so hardly on the poor. In their double position as repositories and administrators of the law, the nobles were open to the obvious charge not only of administering the law in their own favour, but of making laws or altering hereditary customs for the benefit of their order. How could the trader or the peasant be persuaded that laws, which seemed so harsh, were the genuine laws of the city, as they existed in the days of his forefathers, or, if they were, that they were not in some way unfairly enforced? "Let me know what the law is," he might reasonably say, "before I am brought under it; let us all see what the penalties are, that we may know that justice according to law, and nothing more, is executed upon us. Above all, let us be satisfied that there is one law for

Need for reform of the system of law.

[1] See Plutarch, *Sol.* c. 13.

rich and poor alike." Such demands must be met, if political society is to exist at all, and the simplest way of meeting them is the publication of a written code of law. To this the nobles found it necessary to consent; Draco was elected archon, and empowered to write down the laws of the State in order that all might know them (621 B.C.).[1] This had already been done for the Locrians by Zaleucus, and for Catana by Charondas.

Draco ordered to write down a code.

13. Of Draco himself we know nothing. Of his laws, those only which related to murder continued in use after the time of Solon; the rest were cancelled or superseded. The prevailing opinion about them was that they were excessively severe. Demades, the Athenian orator, is said to have remarked that the "laws of Draco would seem to have been written, not in ink, but in blood"—an opinion not too strong for a code under which petty theft was punished by death, and any debtor who was unable to meet the demands of his creditor might be sold into slavery. But it is doubtful whether the harshness of his laws can be attributed to Draco. The oligarchs, in order to make this new concession as worthless as possible, may indeed have induced him to express the existing law in the severest terms, and extend, by analogy, penalties out of proportion to the offences. A theft is a theft, whether it be of a talent or a drachma; the smaller offence comes under the same category as the larger, and may by a perverse logic have received the same penalty. But in any case, the practice under the written law can hardly have been more severe than what it was before the law was written down, or the difference would have been at once noticed, and the oligarchs would have lost all advantage which the concession might have won them. An occasion on

Draco's code of laws.

Its severity.

[1] The date of Draco is placed by Jerome in ann. Abr. 1395 = Ol. 39.4 = 621 B.C. It is uncertain whether the attempt of Cylon comes before or after Draco. Busolt puts it in 624 B.C.

which the people had wrung from the oligarchy a codification of the law, was not a time when the oligarchs could make the law more stringent than it had hitherto been.

However this may be, in regard to homicide Draco's code was a modification of older forms of law. As the rules laid down in it were retained by Solon, and became part of the later code of Athens, we can speak with some certainty about them. When the democracy was restored at Athens, after the revolution of the Four Hundred, it was resolved to revise the statute-book, and the king-archon with the clerk of the Council was authorised to give out a true copy of Draco's law, "that it might be inscribed and set up before the porch of the king." A part of this inscription has been discovered, which, though mutilated, can be restored with some approach to certainty, by the help of passages in Demosthenes.[1] The law is taken from the first "axon of Solon:" "If any one slay a man, not with intent, he must go into banishment. The kings shall be judges in charges for murder or intent, and the Ephetae shall give a verdict."[2] The rest is less certain; it seems to enact that, in the case of involuntary homicide, if the relations of the dead refused to accept satisfaction, the Ephetae should choose ten men out of the phratry to which he belonged, and arrange the penalty with them; and further, that any one who slew a murderer, so long as the murderer observed the restrictions laid upon him, and avoided the market on the borders of the land, the games and Amphictyonic sacrifices, should be held guilty of murder as in the case of any other Athenian.[3]

Early Laws of homicide.

Modifications of earlier rules.

The kings (*βασιλεῖς*) mentioned in the inscription are the king-archon and the four kings of the tribes (?): these were to

[1] C. I. A. i. 61 = Dittenberger, *Syll.* 45 = Hicks, *Manual of Inscriptions*, pp. 112, 113; Demosthenes, *In Macart.* p. 1069; *id. In Aristocr.* p. 631.

[2] *καὶ ἐὰμ μὲ ἐκ προνοίας κτένει τίς τινα, φεύγεν, δικάζεν δὲ τὸς βασιλέας αἰτιῦν φόνο . . . τὸς δὲ ἐφέτας διαγνῶναι.*

[3] *ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλον καὶ ἱερῦν Ἀμφικτυονικῦν.*

decide (δικάζειν) on the charge brought before them, whether the murder was premeditated, or accidental, or justifiable, that it might be referred to the proper place for trial. If even a deliberate intention to murder were established, whether the intention had taken effect or not, the case went to the Areopagus, the most solemn place of judgment in Athens. There, from all antiquity, great criminals had been brought to justice—Ares for the murder of Halirrothius, and Cephalus for the murder of Procris. There Orestes had been tried for the death of his mother, on the great day when Athena presided, and Apollo pleaded the cause of his servant against the "Avengers of Blood." On that occasion the votes were equal, and Orestes was acquitted, a precedent ever afterwards observed in Athenian trials for homicide. Below the hill was the abode of the Eumenides, who had consented to remain for ever near the holy place where their ordinances were enforced. If, however, the homicide were accidental, the trial was referred to the Palladium, the temple of Athena by the Ilissus, where it was said the sacred image brought from Troy was preserved. If, again, the homicide were justifiable, it was tried at the Delphinium, the temple of Apollo, the god who had pleaded justification for Orestes. Even if an inanimate object was the cause of death, a trial was held over it; in this case at the Prytaneum.

Places for pronouncing sentence.

Areopagus.

Palladium.

Delphinium

14. The kings were not competent to give a verdict. (διαγνῶναι). That was the duty of the Ephetae, a board of fifty-one men of more than fifty years of age. The meaning of the name of the Ephetae, the time at which the board was created, and the number, are all questions which have been much discussed. Ephetae may possibly mean, "the referees," or "those who add," *i.e.* the Second Court, which finally pronounced a verdict, and either sense would be applicable to the functions of the Ephetae. That they were established by Draco seems to

The Ephetae.

be pretty clearly made out; he appears to have thought that a crime so serious as homicide, which involved the pollution of the land, could not be judged by so small a body as the "Kings." Why he fixed upon the number fifty-one we cannot say with certainty; the number might stand in some relation to the nine archons, if we knew that the archons and the Ephetae were in any way closely connected. Most probably the number is fifty + one *i.e.* the first odd number after fifty.[1] A court composed of fifty might be evenly divided, but this was impossible with an odd number (assuming that the full number must be present, as in a jury). However this may be, it seems certain that Draco ordained that the Ephetae should sit at all the places where cases of homicide were tried, and that the final verdict of guilt or acquittal should be pronounced by them.

Humanity of the changes introduced by Draco.

This was not the only change which Draco introduced. The regulation that Ephetae might choose ten members from the phratry of a deceased person to accept the satisfaction which his family refused to accept was humane and equitable. A limit was now fixed to personal animosity. A man was not to be persecuted and remain an outlaw when it had been clearly proved that his act was accidental or justifiable, merely to satisfy the revengeful spirit of the dead man's relatives. Draco also introduced into the law of homicide the merciful provision that no man who carefully observed the conditions imposed upon him by the sentence of law, could be put to death at the will of another. To slay a murderer (*i.e.* an involuntary homicide) who kept away from all the prohibited places was itself a murder, and to be treated as such. Both these rules were excellently calculated to check the spirit of family vengeance; they emphatically declared that murder

[1] Demosthenes, p. 702, mentions a jury of 1001. The Nomothetae in the Decree (*ap.* Dem. p. 708) are also 1001 in number, though the Senate was associated with them. See Schömann, *Ant. Jur. Publ.* p. 265.

was a matter for the State to judge and punish. At the same time the penal court was increased to a number which represented the majesty of the State, and was far above the suspicion of prejudice in favour of a person or a family.

15. Little was gained by the publication of the laws. Within a few years—nine at the most—an attempt was made at Athens to establish a tyranny, after the pattern of Corinth and Megara. "In the days of old," such is the story, "there was an Athenian named Cylon, who had been an Olympic victor; he was powerful and of noble birth, and he had married the daughter of Theagenes, a Megarian, who was at that time tyrant of Megara. In answer to an inquiry which Cylon made at Delphi, the god told him to seize the Acropolis at Athens at the greatest festival of Zeus. Thereupon he obtained forces from Theagenes, and, persuading his friends to join him, when the time of the Olympic festival came round he took possession of the Acropolis, intending to make himself tyrant. He thought that this was the greatest festival of Zeus, and, having been an Olympic victor, he seemed to have an interest in it. Whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attica, or in some other part of Hellas, was a question which never entered into his mind, and the oracle said nothing about it. He thought that his interpretation was right, and made the attempt at the Olympic festival. The Athenians, when they saw what had happened, came in a body from the fields and invested the Acropolis. After a time they grew tired of the siege, and most of them went away, committing the guard to the nine archons, and giving them full powers to do what they thought best in the whole matter; for in those days public affairs were chiefly administered by the nine archons. Cylon and his companions were in great distress from want of food and water: so he and his brother made their escape; the rest being hard pressed, and some of them ready to die of hunger, sat as suppliants at the altar which is in the Acropolis. When the Athenians, to whose charge the

The attempt of Cylon.

guard had been committed, saw them dying in the temple, they bade them rise, promising to do them no harm, and then led them away and put them to death. They even slew some of them in the very presence of the awful goddesses at whose altars, in passing by, they had sought refuge. The murderers and their descendants are held to be accursed, and offenders against the goddess. These accursed persons were banished by the Athenians; and Cleomenes, the Lacedaemonian king, again banished them from Athens in a time of civil strife by the help of the opposite faction, expelling the living, and disinterring and casting forth the bones of the dead. Nevertheless they afterwards returned, and to this day their race survives in the city."[1]

Failure of the attempt.

The 'accursed.'

This is the account given by Thucydides of the first attempt to establish a tyranny in Athens. It was not a rising of the people against the nobles, but the attempt of an ambitious man, supported by a few friends and a body of Megarian soldiers, to grasp the supreme power. To the mass of the Athenians the movement seemed likely to bring Athens into subjection to Megara, and the people flocked from the country not to support the rising, as Cylon hoped, but to crush it.

The account which Herodotus gives is brief, and in some details inconsistent with the statements of Thucydides. "There was once an Athenian by name Cylon, who had won a victory at Olympia. He came forward as a man who aspired to regal power, and having got together a following he attempted to seize the Acropolis. Unable to maintain his position, he took his seat with others as a suppliant at the Statue. The prytanes of the naucrari, who at that time managed the affairs of Athens, raised up the suppliants on condition that they should not be put to death; but the Alcmaeonidae are accused of slaying them."[2] From Plutarch we learn that

Variations in the accounts of Cylon's attempt.

[1] Thuc. i. 126, Jowett's translation.

[2] Herod. v. 71.

Megacles was archon at the time. He persuaded the suppliants to leave the Statue, and submit themselves to justice. In order to secure the protection of the goddess when leaving the shrine, they attached a cord to the base of the Statue, and held it in their hands while descending the hill. When they were near the altar of the Eumenides the cord broke. Megacles and his fellow-archons assumed that the goddess had abandoned her suppliants to their fate, and made an onslaught on their defenceless victims. All outside the precinct were stoned, all within were cut down, those only being allowed to escape who had made supplication to the wives of their conquerors.[1]

The attempt had been crushed, but a deed of violence and treachery had been done, which, when the danger of the moment passed away, could not but appear in its true enormity. The land was stained with blood; the most holy sanctuaries of the city had been violated; the first officers of the State had trampled under foot the solemn pledges of faith and religion. In time these feelings bore fruit. For the present the attention of the people was called in another direction.

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16. At this time the Archons were the chief executive power at Athens. The functions, which had originally been exercised by the king, and after the overthrow of the monarchy, by the elective archons, were divided among the nine as follows. The First Archon, after whom the year was named, was in a manner the father or patriarch of his people. Before him were brought cases which affected the rights of a family: adoptions, marriages of heiresses, and the like. It was his duty to protect the rich orphan from the greed, and the poor one from the neglect, of her kindred. For at Athens the singular law prevailed that the next of kin not only might, but must, marry an orphan girl who was left the

Political condition of Athens.

The Archons.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* c. 12. See Appendix at the end of the chapter.

sole representative of a house, or at least provide her with a suitable dowry to ensure her marriage, that the house might not become extinct. The Second Archon retained the title of "King." Before him were brought complaints of outrage and murder, which he referred to their proper tribunals for decision, and all offences against religion. He wore the old royal dress, and his wife as the Queen of Athens for the year (*βασίλιννα*) was solemnly wedded to Dionysus at the Lenaeum, on the third day of the festival of the Anthesteria (spring). The Third Archon, or Polemarch, was the general-in-chief. He was the judge of the conduct of the citizens when serving as soldiers in the field (if accused of cowardice or desertion), and before him were brought all cases which concerned foreigners or aliens resident in Athens. The remaining six archons were called Thesmothetae. They were the ordinary magistrates of Athens, who sat as judges in cases respecting property (theft, embezzlement, breach of contracts, etc.) As there were no law-courts in existence at Athens at this time, the archons must have been both judge and jury in all cases but those of homicide. In later times, the first three archons were allowed to have assessors to aid them in the discharge of their duties, but these would not be required so long as the archons were chosen exclusively from the privileged classes.

Besides the archons, the Kings of the tribes had some kind of judicial power. They were four in number, one for each tribe, and may have been elected annually. They seem to have been associated with the archons in general in their judicial functions, as well as with the King-Archon and the Ephetae.[1] Other officers were the Prytanes of the Naucrari. These belong to a different organisation of the country from that which rested on the families and phratries. Each of the four tribes was divided into three trittyes (triads); and each trittys into four naucraries. There were thus twelve naucraries

The Tribe-Kings.

The Naucraries.

[1] Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 141 note.

in each tribe, and forty-eight in all. The prytanes of the naucrari must have been the heads of these divisions. So far as we can ascertain, the naucraries were *territorial* divisions, made for the purpose of taxation or its equivalent. Each naucrary was called on to supply one ship and two horsemen to the state, and doubtless the prytanes were responsible for the performance of these duties. The prytanes of the naucrari were thus the counterparts of the demarchs of later times, with whom they are compared by ancient writers. Herodotus indeed tells us that "they managed Athens" at the time of the Cylonian conspiracy, and were responsible for the acts of treachery and sacrilege which brought it to a close. But in this he is probably mistaken, or his account may be that which the Alcmæonidæ chose to give of the matter. For the guilt of Cylonian pollution was definitely fixed on Megacles, the archon of the year, and his family were the "accursed." The prytanes of the naucrari may have been very active in the management of local affairs, but they could not have been officers of great executive authority in the city. It is remarkable that a division into twelve trittyes should have existed in Attica side by side with a division into twelve phratries (p. 302), and if the two were not identical, as some authorities assert, the divisions crossed. The arrangement into gentes and phratries was inclusive of all those who could in any way be enrolled as Athenian citizens; but the arrangement into naucraries may have included those who though resident in Attica were not Athenians in the strict sense. Hence the naucraries could not be grouped into the phratries, and the trittys was invented as a link to connect them with the tribe (p. 284). In the tribe all idea of family relationship was lost, and it served equally well as the highest aggregate for gentile and territorial groups.[1]

[1] Naucraries, *cf.* Arlstot. *Frag.* 18 M.; Pollux viii. 108. Duncker (*Hist. Greece*, ii. 144 note) collects the passages. Trittys, Hermann, *Staatsalt*, § 97. In Herod. v. 71, Duncker would read πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκραριῶν for τῶν ναυκράρων, contending that the naucrari are the prytanes. But (1) Herodotus may use the word in a wider sense than later writers; or (2) the prytanes may be the acting members of the naucrari (in this case the text must be modified).

17. In the constitution of a Greek city, even when it is monarchical, we hear of a Council or Senate (*βουλή*). Such a Senate existed at Lacedaemon, in the Gerousia; at Argos and at Corinth. But it is extremely difficult to say what constituted the Council at Athens before the time of Solon. The Areopagus does not seem to have been concerned with other than judicial matters. It apparently met at intervals only, and was by no means a standing council for the transaction of business. It may be that the large body of archons rendered a standing council unnecessary, especially if the tribal kings were associated with them, and the prytanes of the naucrari managed the local business of the land. When the murderers of the Cylonian conspirators were brought to justice they were tried before a council of 300 of their own order, but it cannot be proved that this council was not an extraordinary assembly, convened for the occasion (but see *infra*, Appendix ii.).

Attic Council.

Nor can we speak with any certainty of the nature or duties of the General Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) in the century before Solon. The people must have had some power, or the Draconian laws would not have been published, and Solon would not have been chosen to reform the constitution. We do not know that the officers were elected by, or responsible to, the assembly, and of legislative and judicial authority the people had none. Perhaps we may assume that war could not easily be proclaimed without their consent, as they formed the bulk of the soldiers. If that were the case, the safety and power of the State depended, in the last resort, upon the General Assembly.

The Ecclesia.

18. Greek historians speak of the "families" in Attica (*γένη*) as aggregates into which the Athenians were classified. In other words they regard them as artificial rather than natural. "The titles 'Gennetae' and 'belonging to the same gens' (*γένος*) were not given (we are told) to those who were akin in the stricter sense, but to those who were at the first distributed into the

The social condition of Athens: Families.

so-called gentes." Philochorus, the historian of the third century B.C., remarks that those who had previously been called Homogalactes ("partakers of the same milk") were afterwards called Gennetae. The same author states that "the Phratries were compelled to receive both the Orgeones (sacrificers) and the Homogalactes, whom we call Gennetae." We may therefore suppose that the phratry included two classes: (1) Those who were called "partakers of the same milk" because they were supposed to be akin by blood; and (2) "sacrificers," *i.e.* men who, though they could not claim even the fiction of blood-relationship, were associated in common sacrifices with members of the γένη.

The number of families allotted to a gens was thirty; and again there were thirty gentes in a phratry. This would give 900 houses in each phratry, and as there were twelve phratries in all (three in each of the four tribes), there would be 10,800 houses for the whole population. If we allow three males in each family we get a population of 32,400 male citizens for the whole of Attica.[1]

Each phratry had a place of meeting (φράτριον) where the members assembled under the presidency of the phratriarch.

The Phratries.

At these meetings were decided all questions touching the legitimacy of those who claimed a place in the gentes belonging to the association. When a man married he introduced his wife to his phratry at a banquet; when his children were born they were admitted into the phratry, and, if challenged, the father swore solemnly that they were his offspring, born in lawful wedlock. The

[1] *Cf.* Philoch. *Frag.* 91-94 M. Harpocration, Γεννῆται. Suidas, Γεννῆται. Ὀργεῶνες. Pollux iii. 52; viii. 107, 111. Hesychius, *s.v.* Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 2=1252 *b*, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι, οὓς καλοῦσί τινες ὁμογάλακτας παῖδάς τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας, on which see Mr. Newman's commentary. Attica is said to be about as large as Worcestershire, of which the present population is about 380,000. Counting in the women, "metics," and slaves, Attica would probably reach this total. Yet the cultivated area in Worcestershire is far greater than that in Attica, where only one-eighth of the 700 square miles is now under cultivation.

occasion on which the entry took place was the Apaturia. It was celebrated in Pyanepsion (Oct.-Nov.). As the Greek day began in the evening (at sunset) the Apaturia opened with an evening banquet. On the next day sacrifices were offered to Zeus Phratrius and Athena Phratria, and hymns were sung to Hephaestus. On the third day followed the reception of new members into the phratriae and the registration of the children born since the last festival.[1]

The Apaturia.

The difference between the poorer and richer members of the gentes was doubtless very great. The peasant living on a small farm in a remote part of Attica might indeed rank as a member of a gens, and his children might be duly registered at the Apaturia, but his position would be widely different from that of the rich and powerful families who formed the governing class. In every gens also there would be broken and landless men, and artisans who, though without land, were valued for their skill and retained under the protection of the gens. With the growth of the city of Athens these elements, at first so unimportant, rose to power; but in the seventh century the nobles who were the great landowners monopolized the state. Many families could also claim a great position as the repositories of ancient rites. Such, for instance, were the Butadae, who had the charge of the Erechtheum and furnished the priestess of Athena Polias; the Byzygae, who ploughed the sacred field at Athens; the Hesychidae, who superintended the worship of the Erinyes; the Eumolpidae, who were the guardians of the mysteries of Eleusis, and others whose family rites had become a part of the public religion of the city.

Distinguished Families.

[1] It is not clear whether *φρατρία* is the same as *πάτρα*. According to Dicaearchus (*Frag.* 9 M.) the *πάτρα* is lineal—a father with his sons; the *φρατρία* is collateral—an association of brothers, etc.—Duncker, *l.c.* ii. 120, speaks of the peasants as only uniting in the sacrifices of the *γένη*, not as belonging to them. But how did a peasantry outside the *γένη* come into existence? As a rule the peasants must have been the poorer members of the *γένη*, unless we allow for a very large proportion of poor men who joined themselves to any *γένος* where they could find subsistence.

Herodotus tells us that there were no slaves at Athens in early times;[1] the daughters of the family did the household work and fetched water from the wells. By the time of Solon this simplicity of life had passed away. Slaves were then sufficiently numerous to attract the attention of the lawgiver. In the country they were perhaps less common than in the town, for the poorest class of peasants, even if not reduced to slavery, performed all the duties which could be required of slaves.

Slavery.

APPENDIX.

The Constitution of Athens before Solon, as described in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία.

In the recently discovered treatise on the *Constitution of Athens*, we find an account of the constitutional history of the city, which in many respects differs widely from that which we can put together from Plutarch and other sources previously known, and these differences are the more remarkable, because our new treatise is proved by quotations to be, at any rate in a large part, the treatise known in antiquity as Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, to which Plutarch frequently refers. Whether Plutarch (1) had our treatise before him and deliberately rejected the statements in it, or (2) neglected to use it carefully and fully, or (3) whether his copy of the treatise, though in many parts the same as ours, was different in others, are questions which we shall never answer, but the probability is largely in favour of the last hypothesis, when we consider the nature of the Aristotelian literature and the condition of books in the Alexandrian library, from which doubtless our copy of Aristotle's treatise was derived.

(1) The treatise is imperfect, and, so far as we can infer from a subsequent passage (c. 41), in which the various changes in the constitution of Athens are enumerated, at least two sections have perished, in one of which was described the constitution established by Ion, including the Synoecismus of the whole people and the division into four tribes; in the other the changes introduced by Theseus, when the power of the king was in some way modified.

As the treatise now stands we begin with a fragment describing the punishment inflicted on the persons implicated in the "Cylonian pollution," who, we are told, were condemned by a court of Aristocrats, presided over by Myron, and giving sentence on oath. The fragment ends thus: "The bodies of the dead were cast out of their tombs, and their race driven into eternal banishment. After this, Epimenides, the Cretan, purified the city" (c. 1). It is clear from these words that some time elapsed after the affair of Cylon before the guilty persons were brought to punishment—for some of these were already dead and buried,—and as we are further informed that a period of faction intervened between the condemnation and the reforms of Draco, we must place the attempt of Cylon long before the date of Draco. In the treatise Draco is fixed to the archonship of Aristaechmus, but we have no means of ascertaining the year of that archonship. If, however, we take 621 for Draco (Jerome), the date of Cylon will be perhaps 632 B.C., *i.e.* eight years after his Olympian victory in 640 B.C.

(2) Aristotle goes on to give an account of the social state of early Athens, which is much the same as that given by Plutarch, who here seems to be following him. "The people and the notables were at variance, for the constitution was strictly oligarchical, the poor being the slaves of the rich, both themselves, their children and their wives; and they were known as Pelatae and Hectemori, that (*i.e.* one-sixth part) being the rent for which they tilled the lands of the rich. The land was in the hands of a few owners, and if the rent was not paid, the tenant could be arrested and his children also; for it was not until Solon, in whom the Demos first found a champion, that borrowing on the security of the person was forbidden. This slavery (reading τὸ δουλεύειν) was felt to be the most oppressive part of the constitution, though there were other grievances also, for in fact the masses were excluded from everything" (c. 2).

(3) The constitution previous to Draco is thus described: "The election to office was determined by birth and wealth (ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην), office being held at first for life, but afterwards for ten years. The most important officers were the King, the Polemarch, and 'Archon,' of whom the King was the first to be established, then the Polemarch, whose office was rendered necessary by the incompetence of the King in war, an incompetence shown by the employment of Ion as general in a period of great distress. The 'Archonship' was more recent, some asserting that it was established under Medon, others under Acastus, for which they quote the fact that the nine Archons take the same oath as that taken under Acastus, which seems to prove that it was in his reign that the

Codrids gave up part of their regal privileges, these being handed over to the 'Archon.' However this may be, the 'Archonship' was certainly the last of the three to be established, and only at a later period did it become an important office by the acquisition of additional functions (τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις αὐξηθεῖσα). The Thesmothetae were elected (ἠρέθησαν) many years afterwards, when the Archonships had already become annual, for the purpose of writing down and keeping a record of judicial ordinances to be used in the trial of criminals. This alone of all the offices was never more than annual in duration."

(4) "The nine Archons did not reside together. The office of the Basileus was the so-called Bucolion, near the Prytaneum, as is proved by the fact that the marriage of the Queen-archon to Dionysus takes place there to this day. The residence of the 'Archon' was the Prytaneum; that of the Polemarch the Epilyceum, which was called the Polemarcheum, till it was repaired and fitted up by Epilycus, who was himself a Polemarch. The Thesmothetae had their official residence in the Thesmotheteum, which, in the time of Solon, was the common meeting-place for all."

(5) "The Archons at this period were competent to pronounce judicial sentences, and were not, as at a later time, confined to a preliminary investigation of cases. But the Council of the Areopagites was charged with keeping watch over the laws, and the largest and most important part of the public business was in their hands; they punished and fined transgressors, without allowing any appeal from their sentence. The Councillors were taken from the Archons, and therefore they alone retain office for life, down to this day" (c. 3). From a later passage we learn that they also chose the public officials, including of course the Archons (c. 8, § 2).

(6) Such was the first form of the constitution, till, in the archonship of Aristaechmus, Draco established his ordinances, at the same time introducing the following reforms: "All the citizens who could provide themselves with weapons had already received the franchise; and they now elected (ἥροῦντο) the nine Archons and the Treasurers, for which offices it was necessary to have a property of ten minae, clear and unencumbered. The minor officers were chosen from those who could provide themselves with weapons; the Generals and Hipparchs from those who possessed property of not less than 100 minae clear, and had children, born in lawful wedlock, over ten years of age." There is a lacuna in the text here, but, so far as we can gather, all these officers were subject to some kind of scrutiny, and were compelled to find sureties till this was passed. "There was a Council of 401 members chosen by lot from all the citizens

possessing the franchise over thirty years of age; but the same person could not be a Councillor a second time, till the whole body of citizens had served, when the allotment began again. And if any Councillor failed to attend a meeting of the Council or the Assembly he was fined three drachmae if he belonged to the Pentacosio-medimni, two drachmae if he belonged to the Hippeis, and one if he belonged to the Zeugitae."

(7) "The Council of the Areopagus was, as before, the guardian of the laws, and took care that the magistrates observed them in the administration of their offices. Any citizen who thought himself unjustly treated, could lodge a complaint with the Council (εἰσαγγέλλειν) on showing the law which had been transgressed in his case" (c. 4).

But though Draco amended the constitution, he did nothing for the social inequalities and miseries of the State. As before, debtors were liable in their own persons for their debts, and the land was in the hands of a few owners.

(8) It is, of course, quite impossible to bring this account into harmony with what, for distinction's sake, we may call the traditional history of Athens, and, considering how great is our ignorance on the subject, it is hardly worth while to make the attempt. We must be content to possess two divergent versions, for of neither can we say that we know the evidence on which it is founded. But a few remarks may be made.

(*a*) In Aristotle's account, the Areopagus not only existed before Solon, but even in this early period it was composed of the Archons. In the *Politics* (ii. 12) we are informed that it was a moot point whether the Council was or was not in existence before Solon, and the same is said by Plutarch, who further asserts that Solon was the first to put the Archons into it. Aristotle does not say precisely that all the Archons regularly passed into the Council at the end of their year of office, but this is probably his meaning.

(*b*) Nothing, or next to nothing, is said of Draco's judicial reforms, for though they seem to be mentioned in the phrase τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἔθηκεν, at the beginning of chapter 4, the author of the treatise apparently understands these words of the constitution, not of the code of Draco, for he continues ἡ δὲ τάξις αὕτη τόνδε τὸν τρόπον εἶχε. Draco is here a statesman, not a legislator. But in the *Politics* (ii. 12) we are told that Draco introduced no change into the constitution, but made laws only—and for these laws we have the evidence of inscriptions (*supra*, p. 293).

(*c*) Though Aristotle begins with a vivid picture of the social and economical misery of Athens, after the days of Cylon, the reforms of

Draco are not social but political. Under his arrangement, the franchise was exercised by all who could provide themselves with weapons, though it is not clear whether this was a change introduced by him, for the words *ἀπεδέδοτο* (pluperfect) *ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα παρεχομένοις* may mean either "the franchise had already been given to," or "was given to and remained henceforth with" all who, etc.; but in either case we may conclude that it was the hoplite class which brought about the reforms, and not the poorest class of all, whose grievances they did not touch.

(*d*) The Council of 401 is practically the same as the Council of 400, which is ascribed to Solon, though we have nothing to show that Draco's Council stood in any sort of relation to the four tribes.

(*e*) As the Councillors are fined various sums according to the property class to which they belong, the property classes would seem to be in existence before Solon, but by Plutarch they are regarded as almost the fundamental point of Solon's reforms. And, in fact, the Dracontian constitution throughout anticipates the property (timocratic) qualification on which Solon proceeded in his reforms. The public officers are no longer chosen *ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην* but *πλουτίνδην* only. The qualification for all offices is the same as for the franchise,—the ability to furnish a suit of armour; and for the more important offices the possession of 10 or 100 minae is required. But these are the only restrictions on a free choice from the whole body of enfranchised citizens.

(*f*) The lot was employed in the election of the Council of 401, but the superior magistrates appear to have been elected by choice.

(*g*) In c. 41, when enumerating the various changes in the constitution of Athens, Aristotle describes the constitution of Draco as that in which the laws were first written down. Of this nothing is said in the more detailed account, but, on the contrary, we are told (*sup.* p. 306) that the Thesmothetae, *before* Draco, wrote out (*ἀνέγραψαν*) the ordinances, and were in fact elected for this purpose.

For the numerous difficulties which have caused the authenticity of this constitution of Draco to be called in question, see Mr. Sandys' edition of the *Politeia*, pp. 13-18, and especially what is there quoted from Mr. Headlam's essay in the *Classical Review*, vol. v. p. 166.

CHAPTER X.

NORTHERN GREECE.

I.—EPIRUS AND MACEDONIA.

1. As we have seen (pp. 27, 35), Dodona in Epirus was the seat of an ancient shrine where the Pelasgi and Hellenes worshipped, and from the adjacent district, so far as we can tell, the Hellenes moved towards the south of the peninsula. In Epirus also dwelt the Graii, or Graeci, from whom the Latins borrowed the name for the continent and its inhabitants. Yet the Epirotae were not included among the Hellenes. In their civilisation they do not seem to have been more barbarous than some of the tribes in Arcadia, but they continued to be barbarians in the Greek sense of the word—a proof, if the proof were needed, of the capricious use of the term.[1]

Epirus not included in Hellas.

The most important tribes in this district were the Chaonians, once the lords of the whole of Epirus, the Molossians and the Thesprotians. The Chaonians lay near the coast on the north; the Thesprotians occupied the country to the south of the Chaonians, and were therefore in closer proximity to the Greeks of Ambracia than their neighbours on the north. From Thesprotia, as we have seen, proceeded the tribe which crossed the range of Pindus into Thessaly, and thus brought about the great movement which created such a remarkable change in the population of Hellas. The Molossians were in possession of the centre of Epirus.

Chaonians, Thesprotians, Molossians.

[1] Thuc. ii. 80; Strabo, p. 321.

In Homer we hear of a king of the Thesprotians,[1] but in the time of Thucydides the monarchy had come to an end. At any rate, both the Thesprotians and the Chaonians are then spoken of as being "without a king," and the Chaonians are commanded by two chiefs annually elected "from the ruling family." The Molossian kings claimed to be members of the race of Aeacus, Molossus being the son of Pyrrhus and Andromache. At a later period they became the sovereigns of the whole country, until they were absorbed into the Macedonian power, and passed with it into the Roman Empire.[2]

Monarchy in Epirus.

Epirus was divided into a number of long and narrow valleys by the Aous, Arachthus, Achelous, and other rivers. On the slopes of the hills were pastures, and by the streams rich meadow land. On these the Epirotes fed the flocks and herds in which their wealth consisted. On the shore, Panormus and Onchesmus offered good harbours, which apparently were not overlooked by the Phoenicians, for a town in the territory of the Chaonians bore the name of Phoenice. About the beginning of the sixth century, Ambracia was founded by Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, near the mouth of the Arachthus. It formed a convenient station for Corinth in her trade to the west, and could enter into rivalry with Corcyra in acquiring such products as the pastoral inhabitants of the interior had to offer. From this city some knowledge of the Greek language and civilisation spread over the south of Epirus.[3] At one time the country was very thickly populated; but if we set aside the part which it played at a much later time in the military events of Western Greece, Epirus is of little importance to the Greek historian.

Description of Epirus.

Ambracia.

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[1] *Od.* xiv. 316.

[2] Thuc. *l.c.* Χάονες ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο ἔπ' ἐτησίῳ προστασίᾳ ἐ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτυος καὶ Νικάνωρ. On the same occasion the Molossians were led by Sabylinthus, the guardian of the infant king Tharypus.

[3] Epirus is described by Strabo, p. 323, ff.

Originally a possession of the Thesprotians, Dodona afterwards passed into the hands of the Molossi. The shrine lay at the foot of Mount Tomarus, at some distance to the west of Lake Pambotis (Joannina). In the *Iliad* we hear of the Selli or interpreters (ὑποφῆται) at Dodona, who communicated to those who inquired of the oracle the responses given by the rustling of the leaves of the sacred oak. The epic poet describes these Selli as persons who slept on the ground (χαμαιεύνης, an epithet elsewhere given to pigs), and never washed their feet (*Il.* xvi. 235). At a later time, perhaps owing to the association of Dione with Zeus, the responses at Dodona were communicated by priestesses, three in number and called Peleiades—a name which gave rise to many controversies. Some understood the word to mean "doves," and supported their view by the story that the first Dodonaean priestess was an Egyptian woman, brought by Phoenicians from Thebes to Dodona, who, as she spoke a language unintelligible to the Pelasgi, was said to "speak like a bird." Others considered that the so-called "doves" (πελειάδες) were merely "old women" (πέλιαι). Though eclipsed at a later time by Delphi, which was much more central and easy of access, Dodona remained to the last one of the most important oracles in Greece. In the time of Demosthenes responses were still sought there by the Athenian State, especially on matters connected with religion, and for the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood it was a place of constant resort, even on the most trivial occasions.[1]

The Oracle of Dodona.

[1] The Homeric *Catalogue* compels us to assume a second Dodona in Thessaly (*Il.* ii. 748 ff.). With the epithet ἀνιπτόποδες compare the "Dusty-feet," who were the rural population of Epidaurus. For the "doves," see Herod. ii. 55, 57; Strabo, book vii., *Frag.* 1, 2; Athenian consultation of Dodona, Dem. *in Mid.* p. 530; for the site and ruins of Dodona, and the questions put to the deity, Carapanos, *Dodone.* In the inscriptions we find a προστάτης and a naiarch at Dodona (Cauer, *Del. Ins.* No. 249). On the Acheron, in the south of Thesprotia, was the oracle of the dead, at which Periander consulted Melissa (Herod. v. 92 η).

2. Like the Epirotes, the Macedonians were excluded from the Hellenes, but here the exclusion did not extend to the royal race. These claimed to be Heraclids of the stock of Temenus, and the claim was allowed by the judges at the Olympian festival. The story of the emigration of Perdiccas and his brothers from Argos to Macedonia is told by Herodotus as follows.

Macedonians not Hellenes except the Kings.

The three Temenids, Gouanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, whence they passed into Upper Macedonia, and so came to Lebaea, where they took service with the king. The eldest fed the horses, the second the oxen, and Perdiccas, the youngest, who was still a boy, kept the sheep. In those days kings, like their subjects, had but a slender store of wealth, and so it befell that the queen of Lebaea was wont to bake bread for the hirelings of the king; and when she baked she found that the loaf of Perdiccas waxed to twice the size of the rest—not once only, nor twice, but always. So she told her husband, and he, perceiving that it was a sign which boded ill, bade the hirelings begone out of his land. They made reply that they were willing to go when they had received their wages. At the mention of wages the king, as though bewitched, cried out: "There are your wages, and enough too," at the same time pointing to the sunlight which fell into the house through the smoke-hole. At this speech the two elder brothers stood awe-struck and silent, but Perdiccas, drawing a circle round the light on the floor with his knife, replied: "We accept the gift," and gathered the light thrice into his bosom. The brothers then left the house.

Story of Perdiccas.

Soon after, one of those who sat by explained to the king the meaning of that which the boy had done. The king fell into a furious rage, and sent horsemen after the brothers to destroy them. But it happened that, before the pursuers overtook them, they had already crossed a river, which was henceforth worshipped as the Saviour Stream. The river rose and swelled till the horsemen could not cross it. So

the Argives escaped. They retired into another part of Macedonia, and dwelt near the garden of Midas, where roses grow wild, each with sixty leaves, and in odour surpassing all others. There also is Mount Bermius—a mountain impassable by reason of the cold and snow. From this land they went forth and conquered all Macedonia.[1]

Thucydides enables us to trace the progress of these conquests. "To the Macedonians belong the Lyncestae and Elimiotes, and other tribes of the interior; these are their subjects and allies, though governed by monarchs of their own. The maritime Macedonia of our day was first acquired by Alexander the father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors, who were originally Temenids from Argos. Here they established themselves as kings, expelling the Pierians from Pieria, and the Bottiaeans from what is called Bottia. They also acquired a narrow strip of Paeonia, by the Axius, running down from the interior to Pella and the sea, and what is called Mygdonia, beyond the Axius as far as the Strymon, from which they expelled the Edonians. They also drove out the Eordi from what is now Eordia, slaying the great majority of them, and the Almopes from Almopia. Other nations also were conquered by these Macedonians, whose territory they still possess, Anthemus, Crestonia, Bisaltia, and a large part of the land of the original Macedonians. The whole is called Macedonia" (ii. 99). From this it appears that a hill tribe issuing from the upper valley of the Haliacmon, passed into Eordia, where were situated the "gardens of Midas," and Aegae, the old Macedonian capital, and from thence to the sea-coast. The kingdom thus established included a number of tribes, Illyrian, and Thracian (?), but the Macedonians themselves spoke a dialect of Greek.

Macedonian tribes.

The Macedonians were governed from a very early time by monarchs who united the functions of kings, priests, and judges. It does not appear that the king's power was

[1] Herod. viii. 137 ff. Another legend ascribes the foundation to Caranus, who was also a Heraclid of Argos (Paus. ix. 40. 8), the brother of Phidon.

absolute, even among those tribes which were more immediately subject to him, and the wilder mountaineers of the interior certainly preserved their independence down to the time of the Persian war. For the earlier period of the monarchy we have a list of names, and nothing more. When the Pisistratids were expelled from Athens, Amyntas, the sovereign then on the throne, offered Anthemus as a refuge to Hippias. Amyntas was still reigning, though advanced in years, at the time of the Persian invasion, when his daring son Alexander succeeded both in ridding the country of the presence of the Persians and conciliating their power. This prince is represented by Herodotus as a friend of the Hellenes, though his position rendered it inevitable that he should appear to favour the Persians.[1]

Kings of Macedon.

Amyntas and Alexander.

II.—THESSALY.

3. We have reason to believe that Thessaly was conquered at an early time by Thesprotian immigrants from the west, who gave the new name to the country.[2] After the conquest, the land appears to have been divided into four districts; Hestiaeotis, which was the district lying round the upper course of the Peneus; Thessaliotis, which included the district of the Enipeus, and the streams flowing into the Peneus from the south; Phthiotis, in which lay Mount Othrys, and the coast south of Thessaliotis; and finally Pelasgiotis, the name given to the lower plain of the Peneus. On the range of Ossa and Pelion dwelt the Magnetes. The largest cities of Thessaly, Larissa, Crannon and Pherae lay in Pelas-

Thessalians unknown to Homer.

The Tetrarchies.

[1] The Macedonian coinage, which was derived through Abdera and Miletus from Phoenicia, is too complicated to be treated in a note. *Cf.* Head, *l.c.* pp. xlvi. and 169 ff.

[2] In Homer nothing is known of this conquest; though a large number of places are mentioned in the *Catalogue* which lie within the district subsequently called Thessaly, we hear nothing of Thessalians. The district is divided into independent kingdoms. See Monro; note on *Iliad*, ii. 486.

giotis. The most important port was Pagasae, which eclipsed the fame of the older Iolcus.

Like many other districts of Greece, Thessaly is said to have been originally under the rule of one king, and the division into four districts is ascribed to Aleuas, surnamed Pyrrhus. The statement is not more probable here than elsewhere. So far as our information reaches, we find aristocratical families ruling independently in the Thessalian cities, chief among whom are the Aleuadae and Scopadae of Larissa and Crannon. Whenever the need was felt, a general was elected to be the leader of the forces of the whole country. He bore the title of Tagus, and till 500 B.C. he was always elected from the family of the Aleuadae.

The Aleuadae and Scopadae.

At the conquest, the original population of the country was for the most part degraded to the condition of Penestae. These were serfs attached to the soil, which they tilled for the benefit of their masters, to whom they rendered a fixed portion of the produce of the plots assigned to them. Their condition was therefore like that of the Helots of Sparta, and, like the Helots, they were a source of trouble and alarm to their masters. The great territorial families seem to have had the right of arming their dependants; we hear that Menon, the Pharsalian, assisted the Athenians in the war against Eion, with three hundred mounted Penestae of his own.[1] The Phthiotes, Perrhaebians and Magnetes, and other tribes which could not be reduced to slavery, were allowed to retain their independence on certain conditions. For this reason they continued to appear as members of the Amphictyonic League. But the best land was in the hands of the Thessalians, who have been compared to the feudal lords of the Middle Ages, living in castles, and surrounded by a crowd of somewhat turbulent retainers. The Thessalians were the greatest horse-breeders of Greece;

The conquered Population: Penestae.

Phthiotes, etc.

[1] Dem. *in Aristocr.* p. 687. Menon of Larissa was able to join Cyrus with 1000 Hoplites and 500 Peltasts; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 6.

it is in Thessaly and Arcadia that the legends of the centaurs are localised; and there were probably men of larger possessions, owners of a wider breadth of land, in Thessaly than elsewhere in Greece.[1] It was fortunate for the rest of Greece, to whom an united Thessaly would have been a serious danger, that the intestine disputes and feuds of the families rendered a combination of forces impossible. Border conflicts raged between the Thessalians and the Phocians on the south, but we do not hear of any serious attempt to pass beyond Thermopylae; and in spite of the opportunities offered by the Gulf of Pagasae, and the traditions of the Argo and the Minyae of Iolcus, the Thessalians never became a maritime nation.

Character of the Thessalians.

Among the national amusements of the Thessalians were the Taureia or Tauro-cathapsia, which may be compared to the bull-fights of Spain. Mounted riders pursued bulls round a circus or hippodrome till the animals were exhausted, when they leaped upon them and dragged them down to the ground by their horns. The famous Pulydamas of Scotussa is even said to have gone into a herd of oxen, and seized the strongest and fiercest bull by the hinder hoofs; in vain the bull struggled to be free, and when at last, by a great effort, he escaped, he left his hoofs in the hands of Pulydamas. It was the belief of the Thessalians that they owed their country to the action of Poseidon in opening a cleft through Tempe, and allowing the waters which previously covered the land to escape. Poseidon was also the giver of the horses for which the Thessalians were famous,—the creator of the springs of water which flowed from the rocks. For these reasons Poseidon was the national deity of Thessaly. On the coins—which are, however, later than 500 B.C.—"we see a youth pulling down a raging bull, while on the reverse is usually the horse of Poseidon (accompanied sometimes by the trident), now quietly

Bull-fights in Thessaly.

Worship of Poseidon.

[1] In Plato's *Meno* the Thessalians are said to be remarkable for their wealth and territorial possessions.

grazing, now bounding rapidly along with rein flying loose, or issuing from a rock, and so symbolising the springs of clear water called forth by the stroke of the trident of Poseidon, the cleaver of rocks."[1]

III.—DISTRICTS SOUTH OF THESSALY.

4. To the south of Thessaly we find a number of tribes which are little more than names in Greek history: Dolopians, Aenianes, Malians, Locrians of Cnemis and Opus. More important are the Phocians, whose territory extended from sea to sea, and included within its earlier limits the famous shrine of Delphi. The Phocians dwelt in a number of small republics, for which the centre of meeting was the Phocicum. Their constitution appears to have been similar to that of the Achaeans in Peloponnesus. The chief cities lay in the valley of the Cephisus. Elatea, the most important, commanded the main road which led from northern Greece into Boeotia.[2] Still higher up the course of the Cephisus lay the four communities of the Dorians: Boeum, Erineum, Cytinium, and Pindus. From this district the Dorians of Peloponnesus claimed to derive their origin. It was originally inhabited by the tribe of the Dryopians, who on their

The Phocians.

The Dorians.

[1] Paus. vi. 5. 6; Head, *l.c.* p. 246. From an inscription recently discovered at Larissa, it appears to be certain that the Thessalian and the Lesbian dialects were closely connected (Cauer, *l.c.* p. 247.)

[2] Border conflicts between the Thessalians and Phocians were common. *Cf.* Herod. viii. 27, 28. For security, the Phocians built, in very early times, a wall across the pass of Thermopylae. Herodotus (vii. 176) puts the building as far back as the invasion of Aeolis by the Thessalians; in 480 B.C., the wall was in ruins. For the Phocicum, see Paus. x. 5. 1. In his day it was a large hall; within, pillars ran along each side, and between the pillars and the wall were steps, on which the envoys sat during discussions. At the end of the hall were statues of Zeus, Athena and Hera. The coinage of Phocis, which goes back to the middle of the sixth century, is federal, like the old coinage of Arcadia. It was struck on the Aeginetic standard, probably at the periodical meetings at the Phocicum. The coins are marked with a bull's head (Head, p. 287).

expulsion by the Dorians, passed onwards over the Maliac Gulf to the coasts of Euboea and Argolis, where they founded the cities of Styra and Carystus, Hermione, Eion and Asine, and to the island of Cythnus. To the south of the Dorians lay the Western or Ozolian Locrians, whose territory bounded the Corinthian Gulf on the north. Their colonies in the west redeem them from oblivion, for of the Locrians in Greece we know almost nothing beyond their bad reputation as pirates and kidnappers. The chief cities of the country were Naupactus, the point at which the Dorians were said to have embarked when crossing into Peloponnesus, and Amphissa. Beyond the Locrians, to the west, lay the Aetolians and the Acarnanians. The legends of these nations have been related; in history they take no part till a later period. Even at the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Aetolians seemed to Thucydides to afford a fitting illustration of the old barbaric condition of Greece.[1]

The Locrians.

5. From very early times the tribes which inhabited the centre of Greece gathered together at Thermopylae to offer sacrifice to Demeter. The Amphictyony thus formed consisted of twelve members: Ionians, Dolopians, Thessalians, Aenianes (or Oetaeans), Magnetes, Malians, Phthiotes (or Achaeans), Dorians, Phocians, Locrians, Boeotians, and Perrhaebians. Each had one vote (afterwards doubled), which was of equal value, whether the tribe which gave it was great or small. All were pledged to mutual protection and assistance; no Amphictyonic city was to lay waste another, or cut it off from running water in war or peace; and, if any attempt of the kind were made, the tribes swore to come forward and resist it. The oracle at Delphi and the worship of Apollo were also placed under the protection of this league; the members undertook to aid the god "with hand and foot and voice and all their might, should any one pillage the temple or plot against the sacred rites." When, owing to the

The Amphictyony.

[1] Thuc. i. 5, iii. 94.

increasing importance of the oracle, a town sprang up round the shrine, the Delphians claimed to be independent of the Phocians, in whose territory the temple lay. The claim was, of course, resisted, and hence arose a series of "sacred wars," each more disastrous than the other for the unity of Greece. The first, which occurred about the beginning of the sixth century, led to the destruction of Cirrha, the harbour-city of Delphi, and the eternal desolation of the fruitful plain around it, which was henceforth sacred to Apollo. In this crusade the Athenians took a leading part, and the triumph of the god was marked by a renewal of the Pythian games on a grander scale (*infra*, c. xiii.).[1]

First Sacred War.

IV.—BOEOTIA.

6. Though the legends of Boeotia are full of contradictions, we may assume, with some certainty, that the country was at an early time divided into two great principalities, of which one was subject to Orchomenus, and included the lower valley of the Cephisus, and the other was the domain of Thebes (p. 74 ff.). Orchomenus was the older city, but in the course of time it became dependent to some extent on Thebes, and inferior in power. Then both cities were conquered by a band of invaders from the north, who introduced into the country, from the south of Thessaly, the worship of Athena Itonia, the name of the river Curalius and the town Coronea. These immigrants were the Arnaeans. They were governed by kings. Opheltas is said to have led them into Boeotia, and his son Damasichthon conquered Thebes. Finally Xanthus, the second successor of Damasichthon, attempted to invade Attica. The enterprise failed, and Xanthus lost his life in single

Orchomenus and Thebes.

Invasion from the north.

Xanthus, the last king.

[1] For the oath of the Amphictyons see Aeschines, *F. L.*, § 115 (121). The possession of the oracle at Abae, which the Phocians retained to the last, was a poor compensation for the loss of Delphi.

combat with Melanthus, the Pylian (*cf.* p. 118). After Xanthus there were no longer any kings in Boeotia, though the Opheltiadae continued to hold a high position at Thebes.

When the invaders were secure in the possession of the country, they settled down in a number of independent cities, which were united in a federal union. There seems some reason to suppose that the league consisted originally of fourteen members, and perhaps it included the following cities: Thebes, Orchomenus, Lebadea, Coronea, Copae, Haliartus, Thespiae, Tanagra, Anthedon, Chalia, Plataea, Eleutherae, Chaeronea, Oropus. The confederates were represented by councils presided over by an archon, but the management of the military affairs of the country and the executive power in general were in the hands of boeotarchs, officers elected annually by the cities of the federation, each of which elected its own officer. In the Peloponnesian war we hear of eleven boeotarchs only, of which two came from Thebes. This reduces the cities of the federation to ten. Plataea was then under the protection of Athens. Eleutherae and Oropus formed part of Athenian territory, and Chaeronea had passed into the control of Orchomenus.[1]

The Boeotian League.

In the several cities the constitution was mostly aristocratic. The rich lands were in the possession of the descendants of the conquerors, and were tilled for their benefit by slaves or hired labourers (Thetes). All political and judicial power was in the hands of the great families. About 725 B.C., Philolaus, a Bacchiad, who retired from Corinth to Thebes, is said to have given a constitution to the Thebans. The little that we know of him is derived from Aristotle. He is said to have arranged the laws of adoption, and his arrangements were, no doubt, intended to prevent the possessions of

Constitution of the Cities.

Philolaus at Thebes.

[1] Thuc. iv. 91. In iv. 93 he gives the names of seven confederate cities: Thebes, Haliartus, Coronea, Copae, Thespiae, Tanagra and Orchomenus. The four councils mentioned in Thuc. v. 38 still remain a puzzle. It is, however, clear that they could be united into one council, under the management of the archon at Thebes.

the rich from passing out of their hands, and the consequent diminution of the number of hereditary lots. There was also a law at Thebes—whether introduced by Philolaus or not is unknown—that no one who had not retired from trade for at least ten years should have any share in the government. The rule of families, or "dynasty," as the Greeks termed it, "a form of government closely resembling a tyranny," existed in Thebes at the time of the Persian war. Afterwards it was exchanged for an "oligarchy with equal laws," wealth making itself felt as well as birth.[1] In a few cities, as Plataea and Thespiae, democratic tendencies were strong, a division of political principles which led to feuds and disunion in the country.

7. At an early period Boeotia was famous for the worship of the Muses. The shrine of the deities lay on Mount Helicon, not far from the city of Thespiae. Strabo ascribed the foundation of the temple and the consecration of the mountain to the Thracians,[2] who, as we have seen, were celebrated in mythical times for their skill in music, and, whatever may be the truth of the story, the existence of the temple is a historical fact. It became famous in Greece. From the Muses of Helicon, Hesiod, the second name in Greek epic poetry, received the inspiration of song.

Worship of the Muses on Helicon.

We cannot fix a date for Hesiod. Antiquity made him the contemporary of Homer, and represented the two as contending for the prize of poetry. Such a contest was a natural invention at the time when Hesiod and Homer stood opposite to each other as the chiefs

Poet Hesiod.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 12 = 1274 *b*; iii. 5 = 1278 *a*; Herod. ix. 86; *δυναστεία*, *ἰσόνομος ὀλιγαρχία*, Thuc. iii. 62. The coins of Boeotia afford useful evidence on (1) the ancient independence of Orchomenus, and (2) the federal union of the country. The oldest coins of Orchomenus are stamped with an "incuse square" identical with that on coins of Aegina. (We know that Orchomenus, like Aegina, belonged to the Calaurian Amphictyony. It was doubtless the great trading city of Boeotia.) The other Boeotian coins exhibit as a common device the Boeotian shield (the shield of Athena Itonia?), with letters designating the city from which they originate (Head, *l.c.*, pp. 291, 293).

[2] Strabo, p. 410.

of the Ionian and Boeotian schools of poetry, but we cannot allow it to have any historical value. We are also told that Hesiod won a tripod at the musical contests held at the funeral of Amphidamas, king of Chalcis, but we do not know when Amphidamas died.

Hesiod's life and death.

Dius, the father of Hesiod, was a native of Cyme, in Aeolis, who made a precarious living on the sea. Towards the close of his life he settled at Ascra,[1] a hamlet lying on the slopes of Helicon, in the territory of Thespiae, where Hesiod in his boyhood tended his father's flocks. On the death of Dius, his two sons, Hesiod and Perses, had a dispute about the inheritance. The case was tried before the chiefs of Thespiae, who decided in favour of Perses. Hesiod intimates very plainly that this sentence was not gained without the influence of bribes, and it is likely enough that Perses, who led a life of idle and extravagant independence, was better known to the higher class than the laborious and thrifty Hesiod. The ill-gotten gain did not thrive. After the lapse of a few years Perses found himself a beggar. He threatened his brother with a new law-suit. Hesiod replied with reproaches and warnings—with what result we do not know. In his later life the poet appears to have left Ascra. It has been supposed, on very slender evidence, that he retired to Naupactus in Locris.[2] After his death, wherever that took place, his bones were removed to Orchomenus, and a monument erected in the market-place to his memory. At Thespiae also, and in the shrine of the Muses on Helicon, statues were set up in his honour.[3]

[1] For the legendary history of Helicon and Ascra, see Paus. ix. 29, 30.

[2] Bergk, *Lit. Gesch.* i. 921 f.

[3] In the time of Thucydides it was a common belief that Hesiod was put to death in the grove of Nemean Zeus near Oeneon, in Locris, "by men of the district," *i.e.* by Ctimenus and Antiphus, the sons of Ganyctor, whose sister he had outraged (Thuc. iii. 96). *Cf. Vita Hes.* p. 72, Schömann's edition; Paus. ix. 31. 6; Plut. *Conviv. Sept. Sap.* 19.

8. Hesiod is the earliest Greek poet of whom we have a distinct picture. We can see him on the slopes of Helicon, tending his father's flock; listening even then to the legends which gathered round the Muses' shrine, and cultivating the gift of song. Then follow the disputes with Perses, and the unjust decision of the "gift-eating" princes. We contrast Hesiod with his brother: the sturdy, honest, laborious, shrewd husbandman, with the idle, reckless, spendthrift lord of a few acres.[1] We have the details of his hard life in an age into which he wishes that he had never been born. Only by unremitting industry and vigilant thrift can a livelihood be obtained in the unkindly climate of Ascra, "which is cold in winter, sultry in summer, and always bad." What a contrast is this to the shadowy figure of Homer, of whom we do not even know whether he lived in Asia or Europe, or, indeed, whether he ever lived at all!

Hesiod a distinct historical person.

There is a contrast equally great between the Homeric and Hesiodic epic. The "glories of men," the labours of the Achaeans on the plains of Troy, the wanderings of Odysseus in far-off seas, are the themes of Homer. We move among exalted persons, in a scene where there is no room for the interests of humble life. The poet's songs are the "crown of the feast." Hesiod treats of other subjects. His Muse is serious—nay, she is sad; she seeks no longer to amuse a delighted audience, but to beguile the unhappy and rebuke the foolish. The days of martial enterprise are over; the relations of gods and men are changed; it is the poet's task now to arrange the knowledge of the past, and record the wisdom of the sages—a wisdom which is often the fruit of bitter experience.

The Homeric and Hesiodic Epic.

[1] Perses seems in these qualifications to have been a boon companion of the lords of Thespiae. These aristocratic persons despised agriculture and industry. Hence, at a later time, we find the owners of land in Thespiae deeply in debt to the Thebans (Heraclides, *Frag.* 43 M).

9. The Alexandrian scholars recognised as the genuine works of Hesiod the *Works and Days*, *The Theogony*, and the *Catalogue of Women*. Of these the two first remain to us, though it is highly improbable that their present form is that in which they were left by Hesiod.[1]

Works of Hesiod.

The *Works and Days* (828 vv.) fall into two parts, both of which are addressed to Perses. In the first, written after the unjust decision of the judges, and when a second law-suit was threatened, Hesiod urges his brother to reform his conduct, and seek for the means of which he is in need by industry rather than injustice. In the second, we have a number of rules for agriculture and navigation.

'Works and Days.'

Characteristic features of the first part are the ascribing of all the evils of human life to Pandora, whom Zeus created for the punishment of men when Prometheus had obtained for them the gift of fire, and the description of the five ages, which meets us here for the first time. Hesiod's view of women is widely different from that of Homer. The good and careful housewife is a valuable help; in this capacity she is superior to the ox which draws the plough, but she is included in the same category. Not a word is said to remind us of the queenly dignity and virgin grace, of the love and constancy, which throw an undying charm over Homeric story. The woman who seeks to attract notice among men is described in language of savage coarseness, not surpassed by Aristophanes.[2] Of the five ages, four are named

Characteristic features of the poem.

Women.

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[1] Schömann, *Commentatio Critica*, prefixed to his edition of Hesiod, 1869; Bergk, *Lit. Gesch.* i. p. 938. The *Eoeae* was, perhaps, only a part of the *Catalogue of Women* (see *infra*). For the different views current in Pausanias' time about Hesiod's genuine poems, see Paus. ix. 31. 4 f. He was shown an ancient leaden tablet with part of the *Works and Days* engraved on it.

[2] *Works and Days*, l. 405: οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε, βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα. On the choice of a wife, see l. 695 ff. Here he admits that no "spoil" that a man can carry off is better than a good wife, but a bad one is a curse to her husband: "She burns him without a

after metals—gold, silver, bronze, iron Between the ages of bronze and iron Hesiod inserts the age of heroes, which preceded his own. The growth of epic poetry, which had glorified the heroes of Thebes and Troy, compelled him to make this insertion, and as the heroes of Homer are always described as nobler and better than the men of his own day, it was necessary to depict the heroic age as better and nobler than its place in the declining series would strictly warrant. In the Golden Age men lived like gods; they were never feeble or old; death came upon them like a sleep. After death, we are told, the men of that age became holy spirits, who wandered over the earth in the service of the gods, watching the deeds of men, and bringing blessings to the pious. The account of the Silver Age is very unintelligible.[1] In that time men were dandled in their mothers' arms for the space of a hundred years—giant babies they were!—but when grown up to man's estate their lives were brief. They made war on each other, and would not render service to the gods, and so they passed beneath the earth. Of the men of Bronze we learn that they were a strong and warlike race, who ate not the bread of men. Their arms, their houses, their tools were of bronze, for iron was unknown. Slain by each other's hands, they entered the home of Hades. The Heroes were those who fought at Thebes for the flocks of Œdipus, and at Troy for Helen. After death Zeus removed them to the limits of the earth, where in peace they dwell by the eddies of Oceanus, in the islands of the blest, happy heroes; thrice a year the earth brings forth her increase for their use. The Fifth Age is the worst of all—an age of oppression and treachery. Aidos and Nemesis have left the earth; there is no longer any

The Five Ages.

torch, and brings him to a bitter old age." For the "strange woman," *γυνὴ πυγοστόλος*, see l. 373 ff. If Pandora be, as some think, an allegory of luxury, it is still woman who is the chief cause of luxury in human life. But the point of view in this passage (*Works and Days*, 57 ff) and in *Theogony*, 561 ff., is slightly different.

[1] See Schömann, *Opusc.* ii. p. 308.

thought of others, or regard for their rights. These men also in due time Zeus will bring to destruction.[1]

From the account of the Five Ages Hesiod passes on to the story of the *Hawk and the Nightingale*,—the first instance of that use of the beast fable in Greek literature, which afterwards became famous in the hands of Aesop. After this apologue the poet earnestly exhorts his brother to do his duty as a man, and save himself from ruin. Then follow a number of sayings and apophthegms of which the Hesiodic origin is doubtful. Being without any connection, they could, of course, be enlarged by subsequent additions. Whether genuine or not, they mark the growth of that practical wisdom which also received expression in Greek elegiac poetry.

'The Hawk and Nightingale.'

Apophthegms.

The second part of the poem (v. 383 ff.) is apparently separated by a considerable lapse of time from the first. Hesiod is visited by Perses, who applies to him for help. Direct assistance is refused. "You must work, silly Perses; work is ordained by the gods for men; by work alone can you escape beggary." A number of rules for husbandry follow, and from husbandry Hesiod passes to navigation. We have seen that Dius, the father of the brothers, gained his living on the sea, and the Thespians, in whose territory Ascra lay, possessed a harbour on the Corinthian gulf. Hence the Boeotian farmer, when his labour was not required on the land, might make money on the sea.

Perses and Hesiod.

The poem is here broken by a curious piece of personal history (vv. 646-662). Though he proposes by the grace of the Muses to instruct Perses in the art of navigation, Hesiod is not himself a seaman. Once only did he take ship, at the time when he crossed to Chalcis, and won a tripod at the funeral of King Amphidamas. We learn from Plutarch[2] that Amphidamas fell in a contest between Eretria and Chalcis for the Lelantian plain. These

Hesiod at Chalcis.

[1] *Works and Days*, ll. 109 ff.

[2] *Con. Sep. Sap.* 10. He speaks of Amphidamas as *ἀνὴρ πολιτικός*.

contests, so far as we know, were later than any date which we can assign to Hesiod. For this reason, and from its general tone, the passage has been thought to be an interpolation. We are, unfortunately, so ignorant of the early history of Euboea that we cannot decide whether Plutarch is correct in connecting Amphidamas with the wars which became so famous in Greece. And if on the one hand no reason can be given why Hesiod, when he had won fame by his poems, should not have crossed over to Euboea to take part in a contest of musical skill at Chalcis; on the other it may be urged that such a contest could be as easily invented as the more famous one between Homer and Hesiod.

This interruption is followed by the rules for navigation. There are two seasons for going to sea: an autumn season, which begins fifty days after the summer solstice, and a spring season, when the "leaves at the tips of the trees are as large as the print of a crow's foot." But this second season is only to be "snatched;" it is dangerous, and those who venture to sea in it stake their lives. "Do not," the poet wisely concludes, "put all your goods on board; stow a little, and leave more at home." The poem now suddenly reverts to the conduct of life. A number of regulations are laid down similar to those which close the first part. Some exhibit the shrewd wisdom of practical life; in others we have traces of old and unintelligible superstitions. Marry when about thirty years of age, neither much before nor after, and let your wife be sixteen or seventeen. Marry a maid, that you may have the teaching of her; and, above all things, seek a wife among your neighbours. Form no foolish friendships, nor yet cast off a friend lightly. Be careful of your speech; a sparing tongue is a great treasure; there is ever a charm in winning words. He that speaks evil will hear worse. Be neither over hospitable nor niggardly. Rivers and streams are holy—they are not to be defiled, nor crossed without a prayer. The ladle is not to be placed above the bowl—that is unlucky. Do not sit down, or put a child down, on what cannot be moved—harm will come of it.

Rules and Superstitions.

Do not use a pot that has not been duly dedicated. Do not, when building a house, leave it unfinished, lest a daw settle on it and utter cries of evil omen. Such monitions prove the ancient date from which they have come down. They are the wisdom of the fathers, handed down from generation to generation in the remote valleys of Greece.

The close of the poem is the Calendar, in which the poet distinguishes the days of the month as favourable or unfavourable. As in later times, the month is divided into three decades. The last, or thirtieth day, is to be occupied in reviewing the work of the whole, and providing food for the next. The seventh day is sacred—on that day was Apollo born; the eighth and ninth are favourable for labour in the field; the eleventh and twelfth for shearing sheep, and for harvest, but the twelfth is far the better of the two. The sixteenth day is bad for a girl to be born or to marry on. The twentieth is favourable for the birth of men of great powers of mind. The fourth of the month is the best day for marriage, if the omens are favourable. "Few are aware that the twenty-seventh day is the best for opening a cask, for breaking-in an ox, mule, or horse, and for launching a ship—one commends this day, another that, but few know the truth. A day is a mother, and, again, a day is a step-mother. Happy who can make his choice with knowledge." Herodotus (ii. 82) does not scruple to attribute the knowledge of propitious or unpropitious days displayed by Greek poets to the astrology of the Egyptians, an assertion which is probably due to the peculiar prejudices of that author. We have no reason to suppose that the rules laid down by Hesiod were not current in Greece in the earliest times, or that the Calendar is a later addition to the poem.

The Calendar.

10. The *Theogonia* of Hesiod is an attempt to give an account of the origin of the world and of the gods, for the two are in fact inseparable. We cannot doubt that there were many such theogonies in early Greece. The poets were at liberty to treat the material as they chose,

'Theogonia.'

and in every nation the attempt has been made to explain the origin of the world. Framed by men who were entirely without any idea of natural law, these attempts often took a form which was fantastic and unintelligible. Later ages discarded them as unworthy of credit, and many were lost. The theogony of Hesiod must have been generally received at an early time, and, owing to the reputation of the poet, it was saved from destruction.

We begin with the origin of the earth, heaven, and sea. The poet assumes without scruple the existence of any material or force which is needed for his object. Hence Chaos, Earth and Tartarus are primeval, and with them is associated Eros, or Desire, a force of which Hesiod makes no further use, but which appears in similar cosmogonies as the impulse to union and creation. Then Night and Day are distinguished. The Earth brings forth the Heaven and the Sea.

Cosmogony.

From the union of Heaven and Earth sprang the Titans. Thus the cosmogony passes into a theogony. From the Titans are born the later race of Cronidae, who finally overthrow their predecessors and attain the supremacy in Heaven. With these are associated the crowds of subordinate deities which the active imagination of the Greeks created. Finally we have a list of the goddesses who associated with mortals, and became the ancestresses of heroic races. The poem was thus brought into connection, doubtless by some later hand, with the *Catalogue of Women*, which, as we have seen, was ascribed to Hesiod.

Theogony.

Heroes.

We can no longer separate the materials from which the poet drew in composing this theogony. They were old and new; native and alien; the invention of priests and the tradition of the fathers. The meaning of some myths was perhaps already lost when the poet attempted to combine them with others with which they had no real connection. Hence there are parts of the *Theogony* which are very obscure, and which were so perhaps to the

Nature of the Poem.

author himself. Yet the poem has a great historical value. We see in it more plainly than elsewhere how the gross and rude conceptions, either inherited from barbarous times or borrowed from alien sources, were transfigured by the anthromorphic genius of the Greeks. The actions of the deities are often not human, but the deities are conceived in human form, and connected by human relations. The gods of Hesiod are not stocks and stones, nor demons of fantastic shapes. From the multitude of various traditions and divinities a system was now created which became authoritative in so far as it was generally received, and exercised a very considerable influence over the later Greeks. In this sense, Hesiod holds a place beside Homer as the creator of the theogony of the Greeks.

Its historical value.

Its influence.

11. The third poem of Hesiod, which we know only in fragments, is a catalogue of the women who were beloved by the gods, and became by them the mothers of heroes. Such catalogues were common in the Boeotian school of epic poetry, which attempted, as we can see from the *Theogony*, to systematise existing legends and myths. In antiquity we hear of two poems, the *Catalogue of Women*, and the *Eoeae*, but it is not certain that the two were not parts of the same work.[1] From this source were taken the genealogies which appear in the later forms of legends. The lines in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, which describe the women who come to Odysseus, are perhaps the best illustration of the nature of this lost poem. The singular name *Eoeae* is said to have been derived from the words ἦ οἵη, with which the descriptions of the various heroines began.

'The Catalogue.'

'The Eoeae.'

[1] For the *Catalogue* and *Eoeae*, *cf.* Kinkel, *Epic. Frag.* p. 90 ff. In any case, the two were combined into one poem, of which three books formed the *Catalogue* and a fourth the *Eoeae* (see Kinkel, p. 92). So in Pausanias, i. 43. 1 (*Catalogue*), ii. 16. 4, etc. (*Eoeae*); but he is doubtful whether the *Eoeae* is the work of Hesiod. His usual phrases are, "the poem which is called the *Eoeae*," "the author of the *Eoeae*,"

12. Aristotle remarks that Homer knew better than any other author "what a poet ought to do." After a short prelude he introduces his characters, and allows them to speak for themselves, but in his own person the poet rarely comes before us. Very different is the case with Hesiod. We see with the poet's eyes; we feel that we are in his company. The man is no longer lost in the minstrel. It is Hesiod of Ascra who is imparting to us this homely wisdom, these strange stories of gods, in a poetic form. Even the system of the *Theogony* is an attempt to impress the stamp of a single mind upon materials gathered from far and near. Another aspect of this change is brought before us in the resentful attitude which Hesiod takes up towards the lords of Ascra —an attitude quite impossible to the courtly bards of the Homeric age. The strife of high and low has begun; the economical view of life is contrasted with the chivalrous. More important still is the fact that the events of common life are found worthy of a place in poetry. This is the first step to that combination of realism and art which is so characteristic of the Greek elegiac and lyric poetry.

Contrast of Homer and Hesiod.

Personality of Hesiod.

Change in the tone of Poetry.

13. However great the hardships of the Boeotian peasant may have been, however severe the climate of the country, opportunities for recreation and enjoyment were not wanting. Every city had its festivals, at which there were generally sports or musical contests, or pastimes of some kind. The national assembly of the Boeotian confederacy, the Pamboeotia, was held at Coronea in honour of Athena Itonia. Here a perpetual fire burned before the image of the goddess, who had once appeared in all her Gorgon terrors and turned her priestess Iodama to stone. The assembly was the occasion of a great gathering, to which men flocked from all parts of Boeotia. At the shrine of the Muses on Helicon a quinquennial festival was held, at which there were musical contests and dances of boys. Thespiae, at the foot of the mountain, regarded Eros with especial honour. His statue

was a rude stone of immemorial antiquity; lovers sacrificed to him at the Erotidia, which were also the occasion of contests both musical and athletic. At Orchomenus there were Charitesia in honour of the Graces; Agrionia in honour of Dionysus; and at Thebes great festivals were held in honour of Apollo and Dionysus.

Nor was the Boeotian left without help in the doubts and difficulties of life; there were many national oracles to which he could repair. He might offer burnt sacrifice to Ismenian Apollo at Thebes; or consult Ptoan Apollo near Acraephia, a "most veracious oracle, which answered Mys the Carian in his own tongue;" or, if he were not a Theban, he might dream in the temple of Amphiaraus; or he might seek light and leading in the cave of Trophonius at Lebedea, unless he were deterred by the outlay in victims and the unpleasant ceremonial of consultation.[1]

In the Boeotian dialect we can observe the beginning of that change in the pronunciation of the Greek vowels which in the course of time reduced them all to a single sound or nearly so (*Itacism*).

e.g. *υ* appears for *ῳ* and *οι*,
ι for *εἰ*,—*κιμένας* = *κειμένας*,
ι for *ε*,—*χρίος* = *χρέος*,
ει for *η*.

On the other hand, the Boeotians used *ου* for the ordinary *υ*, but the sound must have been a *u*, not an *oo*, for otherwise we should hardly find such a development as *τιούχα* = *τύχη*. In *δίου* = *δύο*, the final *ο* seems to have been lost after the *u* sound, *δίου* being for *διυο*.

[1] Athena Itonia, Paus. ix. 34. 1; Strabo, p. 411. For the rest of the festivals, see the enumerations in Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 63; Rinck, *Religion*, ii. § 76. For Ptoan Apollo, Paus. ix. 23. 6; Herod. viii. 135. Trophonius, Paus. ix. 39. The inquirer at the oracle descended into an underground cave, from which he returned feet foremost!

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK COLONIES.

1. From the prosperity of the maritime cities Eretria, Chalcis, Megara, Corinth, etc., and of the Asiatic colonies, at the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we may conclude that the Phoenician and Carian traders had by that date been altogether outstripped in the Aegean by Hellenic mariners, who were now awake to the advantages which might be derived from commerce. The cities on the coasts provided themselves with ships; the increase of wealth enabled them to build walls and equip their citizens with efficient arms. The population increased, and as the nobles had risen to a power which counterbalanced that of the monarchs, so the development of trade and commerce created a wealthy class, which, in turn, demanded a share in the government. Money, not birth, now made the man. The change produced a desire to embark in any venture which promised to bring the coveted prize of wealth. In new settlements the impoverished and ruined aristocrat, or the discontented and excluded citizen, might hope for a more satisfactory position than he could gain at home. At the same time the increased security of navigation, which arose partly from the suppression of piracy, and partly from the greater perfection of shipbuilding, allowed the mariners to become acquainted with distant shores, and productive regions, whose wealth was but imperfectly known to the ignorant and barbarous natives. Such were the general causes from which the new impulse to colonisation arose—

Growth of Commerce.

Influence on Politics.

Extension of maritime adventure.

an impulse which spread the Hellenes over the greater part of the Mediterranean, and even carried them into the remote waters of the Black Sea.

2. The cities which took part in this movement were not those which occupy our attention at a later period of Greek history. That Sparta should not be engaged in maritime enterprise in the eighth century B.C. admits of easy explanation. Her inland position forbade it; and her strength was taxed to the utmost in the struggles in which she was engaged with her neighbours. But it is remarkable that not a single colony was sent out from Athens, though she already stood at the head of a united Attica. At the time of which we are speaking, it was the Ionians of Euboea and Asia Minor, the Dorians of Corinth and Megara, who took the lead; and the success which attended the adventurers tempted the islanders of the Aegean, the Achaeans and Messenians of Peloponnesus, to follow in their steps.

Cities which took part in colonisation.

The colonies were sent out in every direction; northwards, to Thrace and the Black Sea; westwards, to Sicily and Italy; southwards, to Egypt and Libya. In speaking of them, it is convenient to disregard the chronological order of foundation, and arrange the settlements according to the locality in which they were planted, and the tribe which planted them.

Classification of the Colonies.

I.—NORTHERN COLONIES.

3. At an early period Chalcis and Eretria became the most important maritime cities of Euboea. The first was situated on the Euripus, at the point where the island most nearly approaches the mainland; the second lay at some distance to the south-east, on the same shore. Between the two extended the Lelantian plain, a strip of fertile land, separating the shore and the mountains of the interior, and watered by the river Lelantus. In very early times (1046 B.C. is the traditional date) Chalcis, in connection

Chalcis and Eretria.

with Cyme, a small town on the eastern coast of Euboea, is said to have founded Cyme in Campania (Cumae). The early date is probably a mistake, arising from the confusion of Cyme in the Aeolid with Cyme in Italy. For it is far more reasonable to suppose that the Chalcidians, when established in Sicily, passed through the Straits of Messina and along the Italian shore till they found a suitable site in the islands of Oenaria and Prochyta, and the headland of Cyme, than that they should have penetrated to such distant regions without founding a single settlement on the way.[1] Even if it existed, the so-called colony can have been nothing more than an isolated band of pirates. It was not till the eighth century B.C. that Chalcis and Eretria began to send out colonies in the later sense—*i.e.* settlements intended to form cities, and generally confirmed by divine sanction—and the first expeditions were apparently directed to the north.

Cyme in Campania.

4. In the *Works and Days* of Hesiod we hear of a King Amphidamas of Chalcis, at whose funeral games and musical contests were held, in which Hesiod carried off the prize (p. 326). Before the eighth century the monarchy had been replaced by an oligarchy of the richer citizens, who called themselves Hippobotae. Under this constitution public offices were open only to those citizens who were above fifty years of age, and possessed of a certain amount of property.[2] Of the government of Eretria nothing

Constitution of Chalcis.

[1] So Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 157 note. Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* i. 359, thinks that Cyme may have existed as a pirates' nest before the founding of Naxos. Other writers agree with Duncker in putting it later. The Greeks certainly regarded it as the oldest Greek settlement in the West (Strabo, p. 243), and it is possible that the Teleboae or some western mariners may have visited the place at a very early time, as Holm suggests.

[2] Strabo, p. 447: *ἐστάλησαν δὲ αἱ ἀποικίαι αὗται, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἡνίκα ἡ τῶν Ἱπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία· προέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες.* For the age, Heracl. *Frag.* 31 M. Aristotle (*Pol.* iv. 3. 3 = 1289 *b*) includes both the Chalcidians and the Eretrians among the oligarchies

is recorded beyond the fact that it also was an oligarchy of knights. At the time of her greatest prosperity the city could send a procession of sixty chariots, 600 horsemen, and 3000 hoplites to the adjacent temple of Artemis Amarynthia.[1] Both cities seem to have established some kind of supremacy over the neighbouring islands; Chalcis over those lying to the north, Sciathos, Icos, and Peparethos; Eretria over those to the south, Andros, Tenos and Ceos.[2]

Constitution of Eretria.

5. The coast of Macedonia between the Axius and Strymon projects into the sea in a solid peninsula, which finally separates into three long promontories. Here the Euboeans planted their colonies amid a population of Thracians and Pelasgians;[3] and so numerous were they that the district was known as Chalcidice, from Chalcis, the great Euboean city. On Pallene, the westernmost of the three promontories, were founded Mende, an Eretrian colony, famous for its wine; Scione, a colony of Pellene in Achaea; and Potidaea, a colony of Corinthians. On Sithonia, which was the name given to the middle promontory, lay Torone, a Chalcidian town, and one of the earliest settlements. At the head of the bay, which separated the two promontories—the bay of Torone—was Olynthus, a town which, originally occupied by Bottiaeans, became, at a later date, a colony of Chalcidians, and the most famous of the cities of Chalcidice. On the third promontory, the Acte, which terminated in Mount Athos, were situated Sane and Acanthus, colonies founded about the middle of the seventh century

Colonies of Chalcidice.

Pellene.

Sithonia.

Acte.

whose strength lay in their cavalry. In *Pol.* v. 12, 12=1316 *a*, we are told that the tyranny of Antileon changed the government into an oligarchy; and in v. 4. 9=1304 *a*, we hear of a tyrant Phoxus, who was put down by a combination of the notables and the people, who then seized the government.

[1] Strabo, p. 448.

[2] Scymn. Ch. 580, 586. Strabo, *l.c.*

[3] Thuc. iv. 109; Herod. vii. 122, 123.

from Andros. Of the Greek cities which lay farther to the north than Chalcidice, Abdera was founded first by the Clazomenians and afterwards by the Teians, when flying from the victorious Persians soon after the middle of the sixth century. Maronea was a colony of Chios, and, like the mother city, it was famous for its wine.

Abdera and Maronea.

6. The prosperity of the Euboean cities was ruined by an unfortunate quarrel for the possession of the Lelantian plain. After a long and exhausting war Chalcis remained victorious, but the strength of the city was broken. Thucydides speaks of the war as one which divided Hellas into two opposing camps. The Thessalians, the colonists in Thrace, and the Samians, joined Chalcis; the Milesians aided Eretria.[1] It is interesting to observe that the combatants allowed themselves to be governed by fixed rules of warfare, each side undertaking not to make use of missile weapons. The final battle is said to have been decided by the valour of Cleomachus at the head of his Thessalian cavalry.[2] We have no definite date to assign to this war, but as the Euboeans were active in the colonisation of Sicily in the middle of the eighth century, we may, perhaps, put the Lelantian war at its close. The islands which had been subject to Eretria were now able to assert their independence, and Andros began to send out colonies of her own (p. 364).

War between Chalcis and Eretria.

7. In early legends the Megarid was regarded as a part of Attica, and the limits of Ionian territory extended to the isthmus.[3] In historical times the country was occupied by Dorians, a change which was attributed to the Dorian invasion which took place in the time of Codrus.[4] For a considerable period after this date the Megarians appear to have been subject to the Corinthians. But at the time when Phorbas was life-archon at Athens, the

Megara.

[1] Thuc. i. 15; Herod. v. 99.

[2] Strabo, p. 448, who quotes an inscription in the temple of Artemis Amarynthia; Plut. *Am.* 17, 3 ff.

[3] Strabo, p. 393.

[4] Herod. v. 76.

Megarians, with the assistance of the Argives, defeated the Corinthians.[1] After the liberation, the country went through the usual Greek process of *synœcismus;* the five communities, which had hitherto existed as separate villages, Heraea, Megara, Piraea, Tripodiscus and Cynosura were centralised at Megara.[2] By 728 B.C. the Megarians had become a maritime nation, and were able to found their first colony in Sicily (see p. 345). After this date their energies were, for a time, engaged at home. In 720 B.C. Orsippus of Megara was victor in the foot-race at Olympia, and his victory was the more remarkable as he was the first athlete who was crowned naked. But he was more than an athlete. In the inscription which the Megarians engraved upon his statue in their market-place, we are told that he "won back much territory for his country, and extended her limits far and wide."[3] These acquisitions were, without doubt, made in border wars with the Corinthians. Yet, even with these additions, Megara was neither a large nor a fertile district. The available land was quite insufficient for the needs of the energetic race which possessed it. In the generation which succeeded Orsippus we find the Dorians pursuing the route which the Ionians of Euboea had opened to the north, and passing beyond the regions already colonised. In 675 B.C., under the leadership of Archias, they founded Chalcedon on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus. The choice of the site may have been determined by the numerous Greek settlements on the Anatolian coast, which would thus seem less inhospitable than the opposite shore. Some fifteen years later

Megarian Colonies.

Orsippus.

Megarian colonies on the Bosporus.

Chalcedon.

[1] Paus. vi. 19. 13, 14. There are no early coins of Megara from which we can gather information about the standard on which they were struck. It is easy to conjecture that Argos supported Megara against Corinth in order that she might share in the western trade of Megara. This would lead us to assume an Aeginetic standard at Megara, at any rate in the earliest times.

[2] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17.

[3] See Hicks, *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 3.

a second band of emigrants ventured to found Selymbria in the land of the Thracians, on the northern shore of the Propontis (660 B.C.). Two years later still (658 B.C.) an excellent harbour was discovered on the European shore of the Bosporus, where the coast is broken by an inlet of the sea (the Golden Horn). Here the Megarians founded Byzantium. The name of the city was taken from the "fortress of Byzas," a stronghold of the native Thracians. For a long time the colonists had to defend their new acquisition against the Thracians in a series of severe struggles, but when these were over, the city rapidly attained prosperity. The entrance to the Black Sea was now entirely in the hands of the Megarians, and, at the same time, their colonies reached farther to the west than those of any other Greek city. The extraordinary development of this little state, the daring energy and foresight of its citizens, are without a parallel in the history of Greek colonisation. No small part of their prosperity was due to the situation of the country, which, except in the convenience of transferring ships from one sea to another, was a rival of Corinth. They had ports on both seas (Pegae and Nisaea), and the traffic from north to south passed through their country. At a later time the Samians attempted to share in the advantages of the trade of Byzantium by founding Perinthus in the neighbourhood of the city (B.C. 600). Quarrels between the two colonies were frequent, but neither succeeded in destroying the other; and, owing to her superior site, Byzantium retained her precedence.[1]

Dorians found Selymbria and Byzantium.

Enterprise of the Megarians.

Perinthus founded by the Samians.

8. The monarchical form of government, founded by Neleus, continued to exist at Miletus for some generations. Among his descendants we hear of Phobius and Phrygius, but there is nothing important to relate of them.[2] In truth, the

[1] Strabo, p. 320, describes the advantages which Byzantium derived from the tunny fishery.

[2] Phobius ceded the throne to Phrygius owing to the stain brought upon him by the conduct of his wife (Aristot. *Frag.* 199 M.).

only historical event recorded of the monarchy at Miletus is its fall, which was due, as so often, to a quarrel in the royal house. Laodamas and Amphitres contested the succession, and an arrangement was made that the throne should pass to him who deserved best of the Milesians. At this time Miletus was at war with Melos and Carystus. Amphitres was unsuccessful against Melos, but Laodamas defeated the Carystians. To him, therefore, the throne was given. Amphitres, in revenge, fell upon him and slew him as he was sacrificing to Apollo. Soon afterwards he was himself slain by the sons of Laodamas. But the sons were not allowed to succeed their father on the throne. The constitution was rearranged and became an oligarchy, under a prytanis or president, "who had supreme authority in many matters."[1]

Miletus: fall of the monarchy.

The abolition of the monarchy did not secure domestic peace for the city. We hear of the rise and fall of a tyrannis, and of factions between the notables and commons, in which either side proceeded to acts of the most atrocious cruelty.[2] And from the beginning of the seventh century, Miletus, as the chief of the Ionian cities, began to feel the weight of the Lydian power. These disastrous events do not, however, appear to have seriously affected the prosperity of the city. Trade flourished; the colonies of the Milesians spread far and wide into regions hitherto unknown to the Greek mariner. From their position and intercourse with the native tribes the Milesians were able to gather information about the advantages to be obtained by trading in the Euxine. On the southern shore the land was rich in metals: copper, iron, and silver; timber abounded in the magnificent forests. On the north the supply of grain and skins was inexhaustible; the sea swarmed with fish. About 780 B.C. a Milesian colony was planted at Sinope, under the leadership of Abron. The town was built on a peninsula, across the neck of which—a distance of a quarter of a mile

Prosperity of Miletus.

Trade in the Euxine.

Sinope.

[1] Conon, *Narr.* 44; Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 54; Arist. *Pol.* v. 5, 8 = 1305 *a*.

[2] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 32; Athen. p. 524.

—a wall was carried for protection against attack from the mainland. On either side of the peninsula, which faced the north, lay an excellent harbour. From Sinope in 756 B.C. a new colony was founded farther to the east. This was Trapezus—the modern Trebizond. Between these colonies and the mother city the Milesians established Cyzicus in the Propontis, which became the emporium of their trade with the Black Sea (750 B.C.) Finally, in 708 B.C., the Milesians, in concert with the Parians and Erythraeans, founded Parium in the Hellespont, and very soon afterwards the Parians made an attempt to secure the island of Thasos, and wrest from the natives of the opposite coast a share of the profits in the gold mines of the region. The colony underwent severe struggles, but was at length successful.

Trapezus, and Cyzicus.

Fifty years later the Milesians extended their colonies to the northern shore of the Euxine. Istros, a city on the coast, south of the Danube, was founded about 656 B.C. Not many years later Olbia was planted at the mouth of the river Borysthenes (Dnieper) from which the town was subsequently re-named. These were followed by numerous other settlements: Theodosia, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Phasis, and others, until the shores of the Black Sea were covered on every hand with Grecian colonies.[1] It is said that Miletus, directly or indirectly, planted no fewer than eighty colonies in the Euxine. At a later time these towns became the chief source of the corn supply of Greece; even in the time of Xerxes vessels laden with corn could be seen sailing through the Hellespont.[2]

Colonies on the north of the Euxine.

9. The Black Sea was at first known to the Greeks as the Pontos Axeinos, or "inhospitable" ocean, but afterwards, owing no doubt to the numerous colonies planted on its shores, the name was changed to Euxeinos, or "hospitable." The great sea, of which even Herodotus has

The Black Sea.

[1] Strabo, p. 635; Scymn. Ch. 734.
[2] Herod. vii. 147, "to Aegina and the Peloponnesus."

such an exaggerated estimate,[1] could not but appear a vast and desolate expanse to the adventurous mariners who first penetrated its waters. Accustomed to move from bay to bay, or island to island, without ever losing sight of land, in a sea whose winds and currents they knew, the Greeks were now launched into an immense basin, without islands or easily distinguished landmarks. In its mysterious vastness the Euxine seemed a fitting home for all that was most strange and weird in Hellenic legend. At its mouth, beyond the Bosporus, fable placed the wandering or closing rocks, which brought destruction on every ship which attempted to pass through them, until at length they were fixed for ever by the will of Zeus. The voyage of the Argo was transferred to the Euxine; the land of Aeetes was Colchis, the eastern shore of the newly-explored sea. The Amazons dwelt on the southern coast; and Iphigeneia had been wafted from Aulis to the Tauric Chersonese. Yet, in the space of a century, this sea was crowded with Greek settlements. The barbarians on its shores became friendly allies; Scythians copied Hellenic manners, and Greeks married Scythian women. So great was the power which the Greeks possessed of assimilating alien elements, and carrying their civilisation with them wherever they went.[2]

Fabulous stories connected with the Sea.

II.—COLONIES OF WESTERN GREECE.

10. In the west also the Chalcidians led the way. In 735 B.C. the first Greek settlement in Sicily was founded by a combined body of emigrants from Chalcis in Euboea, and the island of Naxos. They were led by Theocles. The new town, which was called Naxos from the name of the island, was situated under the steep declivity of Mount Taurus, at the mouth of a small river. Behind it rose the heights of Etna. Six years later Theocles was able to establish a second

Colonies in Sicily.

Naxos.

[1] Herod. iv. 86.

[2] See Holm, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 330.

colony, Leontini, to the south of the volcano, about five miles distant from the coast, and so tempting was the richness of the soil, that, in spite of the danger arising from the proximity of the mountain, a third colony, Catana, was planted, soon after Leontini, at the point where the roots of Etna sink into the sea. Leontini and Catana, on Etna.

At this time the extreme west of Sicily was in the possession of the Phoenicians, who had established themselves at various points on the coast. Of the inhabitants of the interior, the most western were the Elymi, whose stronghold was Eryx, and their tutelary deity a goddess whom the Greeks called Aphrodite; next to these were the Sicani, who also worshipped at Eryx; and further to the east, in the immediate proximity of the Greeks, lay the Sicels. These and the Sicani were of the same race as the early inhabitants of Italy.

II. The new-comers were not content with Sicily. We have seen that tradition places the foundation of "Euboic Cyme" in 1050 B.C., and, even if we diminish this date by three hundred years, Cyme will still remain the first colony of the Greeks on the Italian peninsula. From this point, according to the legend, pirates returned to Sicily and established themselves on the Straits of Messina. They were soon joined by a band of Chalcidians, and the new settlement (728 B.C.) was called Zancle, from the shape of the site, which was a promontory in the form of a sickle. The colonists quickly saw what advantages they would gain from a complete command of the strait, and in order to establish a city on the Italian shore they sent to Chalcis to ask for assistance. The Chalcidians responded to the appeal, and, in union with a number of exiled Messenians, founded Rhegium (715 B.C., or earlier). Finally, about 648 B.C. the Zanclaeans established a new outpost in the west of Sicily, on the Himera, a river flowing into the sea on the northern shore, in close proximity to the ancient Phoenician towns of Panormus and Soloeis. Colonies in Italy. The Chalcidians found Zancle and Rhegium.

12. From the time that Aletes had secured Corinth for the Dorians, the city was governed by kings who succeeded each other in the following order: Aletes, Ixion, Agelas, Prymnis, Bacchis [Agelas II.], Eudemus. The only important name in the list is Bacchis, who appears to mark a break in the series, and the accession of a new family, or of a new branch, to the throne. From him the ruling family at Corinth were henceforth known as the Bacchiads.—Eudemus had two sons, Aristomedes and Agemon. When the first died, leaving an infant son, Telestes, Agemon usurped the throne, and at his death he left it to his son Alexander. Alexander was slain by Telestes, who was slain in his turn by Ariaeus and Perentas, kinsmen of Alexander After the death of Telestes, the monarchy was abolished, and a yearly prytanis, taken from the royal family, governed Corinth with the aid of a senate of eighty members. This change seems to have taken place in 745 B.C. Eleven years afterwards, Archias, one of the most powerful members of the ruling family at Corinth, endeavoured to gain possession by force of a youth named Actaeon. Resistance was made, and Actaeon perished in the struggle. Then Archias left Corinth and retired to Sicily in the year following the foundation of Naxos (734 B.C.). He settled on Ortygia, which was at that time a small island off the Sicilian coast, near the mouth of the Anapus. This was the nucleus of the city of Syracuse, the most famous of all the Greek settlements in Sicily. The space between the island and the mainland, which were subsequently united by a mole, afforded excellent harbourage for ships; the soil of the adjacent country was exceedingly fertile. From Syracuse were founded Casmenae and Camarina.[1]

Corinth under the monarchs.

Establishment of an oligarchy.

Archias founds Syracuse.

Thirty years after the foundation of Syracuse, the Cor-

[1] Holm is of opinion that Euboeans and even Eleans had visited Syracuse before Archias, but his was the settlement sanctioned by Delphi.

inthians seized the island of Corcyra, which formed a convenient station on the voyage to the new colonies in Sicily. It is said that the Eretrians had already perceived the importance of the place, and had attempted to colonise it. But they were unable to maintain themselves against the attack of the Corinthian Chersicrates, who, like Archias, was an exiled or dishonoured member of the Bacchiad family.[1] The island was supposed to be the abode of the Phaeacians of Homeric story, and the colonists—for of the original inhabitants we know nothing—were eager to rival the nautical skill of their mythical predecessors. There was wood in abundance for shipbuilding; the soil was productive of wine and oil; and a remunerative trade could be carried on with the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast. The colonisation of Corcyra falls in the year 705 B.C.,[2] and it is remarkable that this is the date within a year which Thucydides mentions in connection with the new war-ship of the Corinthians (*infra*, ch. xii.). It was in 704 B.C. that Aminocles the Corinthian built triremes for the Samians. Forty years after this date the colony of Corcyra had attained such strength that it resolved to break loose from the mother city. In 664 B.C. the first naval battle was fought between Greeks, and, though Thucydides does not explicitly mention the fact, it is certain that Corcyra established her independence.

Corcyra seized.

Triremes built by the Corinthians.

13. The Megarians also took part in the colonisation of the west. A few years after the Corinthians had planted their colony at Syracuse, a band of Megarians sailed to Thapsus, a promontory to the north of the Corinthian town, and settled there, on land given to them by Hyblon, a chief of the Sicels. The colony was known as Hyblaean Megara (728 B.C.). A hundred years afterwards, a new colony was founded by the Megarians far to the west, on the southern shore of the island,

Megarian colonies in the west.

Megara, Sicily.

[1] The pressure of the Lelantine war may have made Eretria unable to carry out her views in Corcyra.

[2] Others place it thirty years earlier.

which received the name of Selinus, from the parsley abounding in the neighbourhood. Like Himera on the northern coast, this city formed an advanced post of Hellenic commerce and civilisation among the Phoenicians.

Selinus.

Another Dorian colony in Sicily was Gela, founded in 690 B.C. by a combined body of emigrants from Rhodes and Crete. The city lay on the south coast of the island, at the mouth of the river of the same name. From Gela, after the lapse of a century, was founded Acragas or Agrigentum (*c.* 580 B.C.), which became, under her tyrants, the second city of Sicily.

Gela.

Acragas.

14. Nearer home, on the western coast of Greece, a number of colonies were founded by the Corinthians in the second half of the seventh century (650-600 B.C.) In 655 B.C. the oligarchical government of Corinth was overthrown by Cypselus, under whose vigorous administration the city rose to yet greater eminence. The Corinthians were still envious of the position of Corcyra, and though, for a time, no direct attempt was made to subdue the rebellious city, Cypselus at once proceeded to establish settlements which confined her power and embarrassed her trade. Ambracia was founded on the Arachthus, at a point some miles above the mouth of the river; Leucas on the promontory of that name, which was, however, made into an island by cutting a passage through the narrow isthmus; and Anactorium on the southern shore of the Ambracian Gulf.[1] The Corcyraeans were unable to prevent the foundation of these cities; but they sought to repair the damage done to their commerce by founding Epidamnus in 626 B.C., as a convenient station from which to develop a trade with the barbarous tribes of the continent. The emigrants were con-

Colonies in Western Greece.

Anactorium, Ambracia, and Leucas.

Epidamnus.

[1] Strabo, p. 452: *καὶ τῆς χερρονήσου διορύξαντες τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἐποίησαν νῆσον τὴν Λευκάδα, καὶ μετενέγκαντες τὴν Νήριτον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ὃς ἦν ποτε μὲν ἰσθμός, νῦν δὲ πορθμὸς γεφύρᾳ ζευκτός, μετωνόμασαν Λευκάδα ἐπώνυμον, δοκῶ μοι, τοῦ Λευκάτα.*

ducted to the new city under the auspices of Phalius, the son of Eratoclides, a Heraclid of Corinth.[1]

Periander, the son of Cypselus (625 B.C.) succeeded where his father failed. He reduced Corcyra to submission, and placed his son Nicolaus in command. A new colony was founded at Apollonia, to the south of Epidamnus, and additions were made to the colonies which Cypselus had founded. In this manner the Corinthians were firmly established on the western shores of Greece. The greater was the vexation when, on the death of Periander, Corcyra threw off her allegiance to Corinth, and once more divided the spoils of the West with the mother city.[2]

Periander of Corinth subjugates Corcyra.

But the island recovers its independence.

15. In Italy the Dorians were less active. One colony only, of first-rate rank, was founded on the peninsula, and this was not the work of a seafaring city anxious to extend her commerce, but the refuge of a defeated faction. When the rebellion of the Partheniae had been suppressed at Sparta, the defeated insurgents were bidden by the Delphian oracle to "seek the clear waters of the Taras." Thither, therefore, they went in the year 708 B.C., and founded Taras, or Tarentum, in the Iapygian Bay, at the mouth of the river of that name. The city rose to importance by its trade and manufactures, and, though it had to undergo severe conflicts with the Messapians of Brentesium, it remained the chief centre of Greek civilisation in this part of Italy (*supra*, p. 269).

Tarentum.

The Tarentines were not the first Greeks who had penetrated this region. Thirteen years previously (721 B.C.) Achaeans from Peloponnesus had founded Sybaris on the Crathis,[3] and in 710 B.C. a second Achaean city had been established at Croton, near the Lacinian headland. The success of these colonies was so remarkable that, in time, Achaean cities covered the southern

Achaeans in Italy.

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[1] Thuc. i. 24.

[2] See *infra*, c. xii.

[3] Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 11 = 1303 *a*. *Cf.* Strabo, p. 263.

shore of Italy, which became known as Magna Graecia. Owing to the great fertility of the soil the Sybarites obtained wealth without effort, and ere long they degenerated into a luxury which in time became proverbial. Still farther to the south than Croton was Locri Epizephyrii, founded about 700 B.C. by emigrant Locrians from the Corinthian Gulf.[1] Other colonies were Metapontum, which claimed to be as old as the times of the Trojan war, a city famous for its corn; Siris, a colony of the Colophonians, 680 B.C.; Scylletium, Caulonia; the colonies of Sybaris, Poseidonia (Paestum) and Pyxus; and those of Croton, Temesa and Terena.

Sybaris, Croton.

Locri.

Metapontum, etc.

16. One settlement, lying far to the west, still remains. The Phocaeans of Asia Minor, though not the first to open the treasures of the mines of Spain, quickly availed themselves of the discovery. They sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar to Tartessus, where they were hospitably received by the native prince, Arganthonius. The same spirit of adventure carried them to the Ligurian coast. Here, about 600 B.C., they founded Massilia (Marseilles) near the mouth of the Rhone. A later colony went out about 565 B.C. to Alalia, in Corsica, which was joined twenty years afterwards by the Phocaeans who refused to submit to Cyrus. The colonists had to sustain severe conflicts, not only with the natives, whom they dispossessed, but with their rivals in navigation and commerce, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians. These nations naturally resented the intrusion of new-comers into regions from which hitherto they had reaped an undivided harvest.[2] About 540 B.C. a great battle took place at Alalia. The Greeks are said to have been victorious, but they lost forty out of their sixty ships. Alalia was abandoned, and the Phocaeans founded a new colony in Lucania at Elea (Velia, *c.* 540 B.C.)

Massilia.

Alalia and Elea.

[1] For Locri, see Polyb. xii. 5 ff.; Strabo, p. 259.

[2] For Massilia, etc., *cf.* Arist. *Frag.* 239 M.; Justin, xliii. 3; Thuc. i. 13; Herod. i. 165.

COLONIES IN AFRICA.

17. In the first half of the seventh century Psammetichus succeeded in establishing an independent monarchy in Northern Egypt. In this enterprise he was assisted by Ionian and Carian mercenaries (sent by Gyges, king of Sardis); and henceforth Greek mercenaries were retained in Egypt and stationed on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. In the reign of Amasis (570-526), the Milesians were allowed to establish an emporium on the Canopic arm of the Nile, where they were joined by other Greeks from Asia and the islands. Temples were founded for the worship of Greek deities. Samos, Aegina, and Miletus possessed separate temples; but the Hellenium was a common shrine for the colonists from Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Chios, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, Rhodes, and Mitylene.[1] Naucratis, as the settlement was now called, became a great and flourishing city; and a knowledge of Egypt, the land of immemorial antiquity and stupendous monuments, was diffused throughout Greece.

Greeks in Egypt

Naucratis, on the Nile.

A second colony in Africa was Cyrene, a settlement of the Theraeans. The island of Thera (Santorin) had been colonised at an early time by the Phoenicians, and subsequently by Minyae and Achaeans, who had been expelled from the banks of the Eurotas by the growing power of Sparta (*supra*, p. 220). The colony seems to have become prosperous; the abundant remains of pottery are evidence of the trade which was carried on in these articles; the inscriptions are the oldest which we possess, and go back to the second half of the seventh century. The island also gave its name to a species of native embroidery which was highly esteemed. From Thera, about 630 B.C., a colony was sent out, which first settled on Platea, a small island off the coast of Libya, and

Cyrene, on the north coast.

Cyrenaean account of the foundation.

[1] Herod. ii. 154, 178. Excavations are now being carried on at Naucratis, under the direction of Mr. Flinders Petrie.

eight years afterwards at Cyrene. Herodotus tells a romantic story of the founding of this city, which, he says, was the account given by the colonists at Cyrene, and differed from that of the Theraeans. Etearchus, king of Oaxus, in Crete, had a daughter Phronime, whom her stepmother, the second wife of Etearchus, accused of unchastity. Etearchus delivered the girl into the hands of Themison of Thera, a friend who had pledged himself to carry out any command which Etearchus might impose upon him, bidding him throw her into the sea on his voyage home. Themison was indignant that such a charge should be laid upon him, but he would not break his oath. He threw Phronime into the sea, as he was pledged to do; drew her out again, and carried her to Thera, where she was taken by Polymnestus as his concubine. She became the mother of a son, Battus, who was so called because he stammered in his speech. When he became a man, Battus repaired to Delphi to be helped of his infirmity. Without vouchsafing any answer to his questions, the oracle bade him found a colony in Libya. Battus replied that he was unable to do so with the forces which he had at command, and when the oracle made no further communication he returned to Thera. After his return all went ill with him and the Theraeans. In their distress they sent to Delphi, but the answer was still the same: A colony must be sent to Cyrene. At length Battus was despatched with two penteconters. He failed to establish the colony, and returned, as before, to Thera. But the Theraeans, in their fear of the displeasure of the deity, would not allow the emigrants to land. In despair they returned upon their way, and settled on the small island of Platea, off the Libyan coast. Still followed by misfortune, they sailed after two years to Delphi, in the hope of a more favourable response. But the answer was the same: They must colonise Libya. Battus then returned, and settled at Aziris, on the mainland, where he remained six years. In the seventh year the Libyans conducted the emigrants to a more fertile spot, where

Phronime.

Battus.

the "sky was pierced." Here was founded the city of Cyrene.[1]

The Theraeans knew nothing of Phronime or Themison. In their story the King of Thera was at Delphi offering sacrifice and consulting the oracle, which commanded him to colonise Libya. He declared that he was too old for such an undertaking, and pointed to Battus, the son of Polymnestus, who stood by his side, as better fitted for the task. They returned home, and, owing to their ignorance of the situation of Libya, the colony was not sent out. Thera was now afflicted with a blight, and on consulting Delphi the Theraeans were once more bidden to colonise Libya. They made inquiries in Crete for some one who was acquainted with the country, and at length found a certain Corobius, who had been driven out of his course to the island of Platea. Thither they went, and when the news of their arrival reached Thera, a strong detachment of the inhabitants of the island was sent to join them.[2]

Theraean account.

Battus, the name given to the son of Phronime, is a Libyan word, the titular appellation of the kings of Cyrene. It could not have been in use till the city had been founded and recognised by the nations of the coast. The defect from which Battus suffered is derived from his name; it has arisen from the similarity of the Libyan title to the Greek word which means to stammer.

From other sources we find that the real name of the founder of Cyrene was Aristoteles.[3] The cause of his migration was not a defect of speech, but defeat in a party quarrel. Compelled to leave the island of Thera, and unable to force a return, he retired with his adherents to the African coast, and founded a new city. That he occupied the island of Platea before he settled on the mainland is probable. Thence he may have passed, as the story relates, to Aziris, and from Aziris to Cyrene. The Libyans were overpowered, and compelled to accept Aristoteles

The probable facts.

[1] Herod. iv. 154 ff. [2] Herod. iv. 150 ff. [3] Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 10.

as their monarch; in this manner he received the title Battus, which was borne by the Libyan native kings. From Cyrene a second colony, Barca, was established[1] by the younger brothers of the third descendant of the founder of Cyrene (Arcesilaus II.). Still farther to the west was the colony of Euesperides.

18. The rapid and simultaneous development of colonisation in the eighth century B.C. is one of the most remarkable features of Greek history. It is true that piracy was common in the earliest times of which we have any record. Even then it was the scourge of the Mediterranean, and, doubtless, the Greeks took an increasing part in it, as their knowledge of maritime affairs developed. But stations established by pirates, and immediately abandoned when some more suitable post offered, are not Greek colonies in the sense in which we find them spreading far and wide, from the middle of the eighth century, with the guidance and approval of Delphi. The nature and foundation of these settlements can only be explained by reference to the political conditions of the prominent cities of the time. The general causes already alluded to (p. 333), the growth of the population, the love of liberty, the desire of wealth, whatever force they may have had, are too permanent and universal to explain entirely so peculiar a phenomenon.

Colonies and 'pirates' nests.'

The middle of the eighth century marked the close of a change in the constitutional history of Greece. At the time of the Dorian migration monarchy was the form of government universally established in the cities. In the battle-field a chief is needed to lead his people; monarchy is better adapted than any other form of government for the necessities of war. In more peaceful times the case is altered. The pre-eminence of a commander is no longer acknowledged when there is no opportunity for

Decline of monarchy in Greece.

[1] Duncker, *Gesch. des Alt.*, vi. 260 ff. Herodotus, iv. 155, tells us that Battus was the name of the Libyan king. For Barca, Herod. *ib.* 160.

the display of his courage and sagacity. Others feel themselves his equals, and regard his superior position as an infringement of their rights; or his virtues degenerate into vices, and monarchy becomes a tyranny. In one way or another the monarchies of Greece came to an end, and their place was taken by elective officers chosen from certain families, or under certain restrictions of age or wealth. At Argos the monarchy was at an early age reduced to a mere name; and though it was revived in its fullest extent by Phidon, it declined after Phidon's death. In Corinth the monarchy ended, amid strife and bloodshed, in 745 B.C. In Athens the kings became life-archons; these were succeeded by decennial archons; the privileges of the ruling family were gradually set aside; and at length the duties of the office were parcelled out among nine annual officers. In Thebes the monarchy appears to have ceased at an early period, if it be true that Xanthus, the contemporary of Melanthus, was the last king. In Euboea the kings were succeeded at Chalcis by the oligarchy of the Hippobotae. It is only in the half barbarous states of Greece that we find monarchs continuing in power; in Macedon and Epirus. A similar change went on in the cities of Asia Minor. The Penthilidae of Lesbos, the descendants of Agamemnon of Cyme, the Neleid princes at Miletus and Ephesus, disappear, to make room for oligarchies.[1]

Oligarchies.

19. The oligarchies which succeeded the monarchies, whether founded on birth or wealth, regarded themselves as a privileged class, and sought by every means to maintain their position against the lower orders. When the navigation of the Aegean fell into the hands of the Greeks, and excellent sites for the development of trade were discovered on every hand, it was natural that those who felt themselves shut out from privileges at home should seek

Growth of discontent.

[1] This political disturbance is not by itself sufficient to account for the colonies of the eighth century. We find no colonies sent out by Argos, or Elis, or Thebes, or Athens, in which these changes nevertheless went on

new abodes where no such invidious distinctions existed. There was generally some nobleman, who, either from love of adventure or because he was dissatisfied with affairs at home, was willing to lead the emigrants. In cities where the oligarchy was distinctly one of wealth, as at Chalcis or Miletus, any citizen who was in danger of losing his franchise would rather leave the city or send his sons from it, than sink into the lower ranks.

Of some of the cities which sent out colonies at this time we have sufficient knowledge to be able to point out the circumstances under which the emigrants left their home. Archias, as we have seen, went away from Corinth owing to a disgraceful outrage; Chersicrates, the founder of Corcyra, who was also a Bacchiad, is said to have been deprived of his citizenship.[1] In Locri we see how discontent arose in an oligarchical city. In the parent town the older families who governed the state were known as the Hundred Houses; they considered themselves the nobility, and jealously guarded their privileges. If women of these families married husbands of lower rank, the marriages were not recognised; the offspring was not admitted to the privileges of the nobles. It was a man of this disfranchised class, Evanthas by name, who founded the new colony.[2] A similar cause led to the foundation of Tarentum by the Partheniae of Sparta. The Messenians at Rhegium were fugitives from the oppression of the Spartans; Cyrene, as we have seen, owed its origin to a faction at Thera.

Cause of the foundation of Locri.

External circumstances also contributed not a little to the success of Greek colonisation at this time. From the ninth century onwards the monarchs of Assyria oppressed, with ever-increasing severity, the cities of the Syrian coast. Tribute was demanded from them, even from Tyre and Sidon, and at length Tiglath Pileser II. (about 745 B.C.) established his sovereignty over

Circumstances favourable to colonisation.

[1] Timaeus, *Frag.* 53 M.

[2] Polyb. xii. 5; Strabo, p. 259.

the entire region. Then followed the contests of Egypt and Assyria for the control of Syria, contests which, however decided, inflicted great loss on the Phoenicians. Under such circumstances the Phoenician mariners looked more and more to the West; Carthage rose to power as Tyre and Sidon sank into subjection. At the same time the Phoenicians of the West seem to have left the rich and fertile lands of Eastern Sicily and Southern Italy unoccupied. Their trade drew them to the extreme west (Tartessus and the Atlantic) or to the north of the Tyrrhene Sea (the mouth of the Rhone), and the Greeks were thus at liberty to seize upon that part of the Mediterranean which was most suited to them. Lastly, the decline and fall of the Assyrian empire (from 650 B.C. onwards) left Egypt free from attack in that quarter. After the repeated invasions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal had broken the power of the Ethiopian kings of Napata, Psammetichus was able to establish himself as Pharaoh at Sais. Under his protection and that of his successors, the Greeks were at last permitted to enter the secluded valley of the Nile, and share in the trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, and the Red Sea.[1]

20. The Greek colonies were not, like those of Rome, established to extend and secure Hellenic dominion, however great the part which they played in diffusing Hellenic civilisation. On the other hand, they were more than trading stations. They attained an independent life and history, and often outstripped the cities from which they sprang in wealth and importance. For the Greek colonist did not look forward to returning home with the wealth which he had amassed, and closing his life in the haunts of his childhood. When he left his native city he ceased to be a member of it, his fortunes being henceforth bound up with the fate of the colony of which he had become a member. For this reason the prosperity of the mother

Nature of the Greek colony.

[1] See the sketch in Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 294.

cities was not always in proportion to the prosperity of the colonies which emanated from them. Byzantium outstripped Megara, and, under the reign of her tyrants, Syracuse became a far more powerful city than Corinth. But though independent, the colonies acknowledged a certain debt of reverence to the mother state. Fire was taken from the public hearth by the colonists to their new home; the deities of the mother city were the deities of the colony. We hear of instances in which distinguished men were brought from the mother city to settle disputes among the colonists, and if a war arose between mother and daughter, the younger city had to repel the charge of ingratitude, and prove that the war was inevitable. But it also happened that a colony could not be considered the offspring of a single city. Either the colonists had amalgamated with the original inhabitants, or more than one city had combined in the foundation, or a later band had reinforced an earlier settlement. Such colonies, while they assumed a more independent position, were exposed to the evils which naturally arise in a heterogeneous population.[1]

Mixed colonies.

21. In many cases the colonists did not establish themselves without severe conflicts with the previous inhabitants. At Syracuse, we are told, Archias "drove the Sicels out of the island" (Ortygia),[2] and at Byzantium the Megarians suffered severely from the attacks of the Thracians, whom they dispossessed of their ancient fortress. In Libya it was some years before the emigrants could pass from the island where they first landed to a desirable settlement on the mainland. The hostility was natural. The natives resented the occupation of their territory; they became aware that the products of their country would pass into other hands, with little, or at any rate very inadequate, remuneration to themselves. They must expect either to be driven off the ground or reduced to the position

Relations of the colonists and the natives.

[1] Thuc. vi. 17: ὄχλοις συμμίκτοις πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ ῥᾳδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς.

[2] Thuc. vi. 3.

of slaves where they had been the masters. Nor was the conduct of the new-comers such as to inspire confidence. Any kind of treachery was considered lawful in dealing with the natives. When the Locrians settled in Italy they agreed with the Sicels, who possessed the country, to be on friendly terms with them, and allow them a share of the land, as long as they trod upon the same earth and carried their heads on their shoulders. This oath they evaded by putting earth upon the soles of their shoes, and carrying heads of garlic on their shoulders; when they had shaken off the earth, and thrown the garlic away, they considered that the oath was no longer binding upon them. On the other hand, we hear of Greeks intermarrying with Thracians; both Themistocles and Thucydides were sprung from such a union. And in the open ports on the Black Sea, where the Greek was rather a trading merchant than a colonist in the stricter sense, the relations would tend to become more friendly than those which existed between a city of conquering emigrants and their immediate neighbours.[1]

Treachery in dealing with the natives.

But in spite of frequent conflicts, the native population in many districts was greatly influenced by the Greek colonists. The Etruscans and Oscans received their alphabet from the Greeks. Cyme and Tarentum were great centres of civilisation in Italy. Greek heroes were thought to have settled in the country, as Diomed at Argyripi, and the eponyms of Italian tribes were traced to a Greek parentage. Daunus and Iapyx were said to be the sons of Lycaon the Arcadian. In religion, more especially, the Greeks were exceedingly tolerant. We have already seen how they adopted the deities of Asia Minor, respected their temples, and maintained their worship. The same principle was observed in the later colonies. Yet, along

Effect of Greek colonies on the native population.

[1] At Panticapaeum, which was founded by Milesians, the native princes, or half-breeds, finally established a monarchy which continued for some generations under Leucon, Satyrus, and Parisades (Strabo, p. 310).

with this toleration, they retained an independence of feeling which prevented them from becoming degraded by barbarous practices, whether social or religious. The colonists remained Greek in sentiment and habits, and many of them had a better claim to the name of Hellenes than the tribes which inhabited the west and north of Greece. In all the spheres in which the Greeks strove for distinction—in the games at Olympia, in art and literature—the colonists proved themselves not unworthy of the source from which they sprang.

Greek colonies always Greek.

22. The varieties of the coinage enable us to distinguish the lines of trade which were followed by the great commercial cities of Greece. The two principal standards were the Aeginetic and the Euboean (*supra*, p. 230, n. 2). Both were originally derived from Babylon—the first through Phoenicia; the second, which is really a gold standard though applied by the Euboeans to the coining of silver, through Asia Minor, from which it passed by Samos to Euboea.

Coinage, and trade routes.

These two systems of coinage point to two great divisions of commerce. In early times the trade of the Aegean was in the hands of the Phoenicians. They carried wares from Tyre and Sidon to the islands, and from hence to Argos or Aegina, which in time became the centre of this Eastern commerce. This was the first era of trade in Greece. It was essentially a trade with the East; for even if the Phoenicians obtained some objects, such as amber, from the West, they were careful to conceal all knowledge of the West from the Greeks. The second begins with the discovery of the West and the spread of colonisation, which was closely followed by the movement which brought Sardis within reach of the sea. Euboea, Corinth, and Athens now became the great emporia of the Aegean. The Phoenicians gradually removed to the far west, where they divided the trade with the Tyrrhenians, and brought the products of Spain or the Cassiterides or the

Eastern Trade.

Western route.

Baltic to the Greek mariner at Massilia or Sybaris or Syracuse. At the same time, the mines in the north of Greece came within reach of the Euboean colonies in Chalcidice. This is the second era of trade ; it is chiefly a trade with the West.

From the first there was, no doubt, a bitter rivalry between the two. For a moment Aegina may have cherished hopes that a share of the trade with the West would fall to her. The earliest coins of the Chalcidic colonies in Sicily were struck on an Aeginetic standard, and Corcyra maintained this standard to the last. But the hopes were soon at an end. The colonies changed over to the standard of Chalcis. The rivalry was finally suppressed by the destruction of the Aeginetans by Athens.

Besides the Aeginetic and Euboean standards there were two others less widely accepted. The first of these, with a stater of 173 grains, was current in Asia Minor (except the west coast). Thence it passed into Thrace ; for Thrace, like Asia Minor, was rich in metals, and coined money at an early period. The second was a better-preserved Phoenician standard (220 grains) minted at Miletus, and current on the south coast of Asia Minor. The coinage of the neighbouring Greek cities was sometimes determined by these standards. Byzantium, for instance, adopted the standard current in Thrace and Asia Minor ; Ialysus and Lindus, in Rhodes, the Phoenician standard. This standard also passed from Miletus to Abdera in Thrace, whence it penetrated into Macedon, and there gave rise to the Macedonian standard.[1]

Minor standards of coinage.

23. In material civilisation the mother country must have greatly profited by her colonies. A merchant, visiting Corinth about the year 600 B.C., would have found a large collection of wares in the bazaars and depots of the city. Wine was supplied from many sources : from Mende,

[1] See Head, *Historia Numorum*, Introduction, pp. xlvi. ff., 230. With the position of Argos-Aegina, between Sparta on the one hand and Euboea on the other, we may compare the position of Venice between Maximilian and Louis XII. and the Portuguese, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

or Chios, or Lampsacus, or perhaps from Falernum in the distant West. Fish came from Sicyon or Copae, or, if salted, from Byzantium and Cyzicus. Corn was imported from the Euxine and from Sicily. Olive oil was furnished by Attica and Cyrene; honey came from Hymettus and Cyprus; figs from Attica and Rhodes; almonds and chestnuts from Cyprus and Naxos. Among the spices and medicinal herbs would be found marjoram from Tenedos, thyme from Hymettus, saffron from Rhodes, hellebore from Anticyra, silphium from Cyrene. The finest woollen goods were supplied by Miletus or Athens; the best flax and hemp by Elis and Tarentum; Cyrene and Epirus furnished hides, Arcadia oak for shipbuilding, Macedonia timber for houses; Cyprus and Chalcis sent copper, Attica, silver; iron utensils were supplied by the towns of Laconia, bronze pans by Delos or Aegina. The gold, if any could be found, even in Corinth, was an importation from the East; the electrum from Sardis. Those who were in search of objects ornamental rather than useful would have the opportunity of purchasing bronze statuettes from Aegina, terra-cottas from Tanagra, pottery from Athens and Rhodes, or from the shops of Corinthian makers. Fine metal work was imported from Sicyon, or fashioned by native artists. Among the rarer commodities were amber from the Hadriatic, richly embroidered garments from Italy and Thera, purples from Tyre, ivory and glass from Sidon. There would be slaves imported from Thrace and Asia Minor, and, perhaps, a few horses might find their way to Corinth from Thessaly or Arcadia, especially at the time of the Isthmian games. Sportsmen would know where to find a fighting cock which had been brought over from Tanagra or Rhodes. And who could tell what new or rare commodity, purchased from Phoenician or Tyrrhenian traders, might not be hidden in the ship which had newly come from Sybaris? For the far West was at this time as fabulous a region to the Greeks as India to the Venetians and Portuguese in the Middle Ages.

Corinthian Bazaar.

24. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of Greek

colonisation than the influence exercised by Delphi in guiding the settlers to a new home. It was the duty of every band of adventurers, before leaving their native shores, to seek the advice and sanction of the god. So strongly was this felt by the Greeks themselves that any colony which set forth without this ceremony was doomed to failure from the first. We find the practice noticed as early as the foundation of Naxos in 735 B.C., which was established under the protection of Apollo Archagetes, and it is illustrated in the most striking manner in the legends of the foundation of Cyrene, and the unfortunate attempt of Dorieus of Sparta to establish a colony on the Cinyps in Libya (see *infra*, chap. xiv.) In some instances the responses, or what were supposed to be the responses, given to the founders of the colonies were preserved. We know how Phalanthus, the founder of Tarentum, was guided to the mouth of the Taras (*supra*, p. 269). The settlers in Byzantium were told to found their colony opposite "to the city of the blind" (Chalcedon). The colonists who mistook the island of Platea for the mainland of Libya, and claimed to have fulfilled the command of the oracle by settling there, received the indignant remonstrance—

Delphi and the Colonies.

The Responses given.

> Αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἴδας ἄμεινον,
> μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ.

In other instances the responses were given in more ambiguous language, and it was left to the penetration of the settlers to divine the exact spot which was assigned to them.

To the colonist the responses, however obscure, served as a charter, which entitled him to take possession of the land of aliens. For the priests of Delphi appear to have claimed a right of possession in the whole world beyond the limits of Hellas. In their eyes property did not exist, except among the Greeks. This was an admirable arrangement for satisfying the conscience of the Greek, who was at all times distracted between two opposite desires: the wish to acquire what

Value of the sanction of Delphi.

was not his own, and to maintain the appearance of honesty and justice, in acquiring it. The oracle was, at the same time, careful to appropriate no territory which belonged to a friendly power, even if barbarian.

Sources of the knowledge of Delphi.

The influence which the oracle exercised must have been due to a superior knowledge of the localities suitable for the foundation of Greek colonies. How this was obtained we do not know; we may conjecture that the priests of the temple at Delphi made inquiries from those who came to consult them, about the regions from which they came, their situation and fertility; and they would be in a better position to acquire information on these matters than any one else in Greece. We may also suppose that they were careful to conceal the sources of their knowledge, as by this means the possession of it became the more surprising. Great indeed must have been the astonishment of the wandering mariner when he discovered that his divine guide was acquainted with the local peculiarities of the place selected for the colony to a degree which required a personal knowledge of the country.[1]

Effect of the success of colonisation on Delphi.

To Delphi it was of the first importance that no colony should succeed which settled without her sanction, and that none which fulfilled all the obligations imposed on it should fail. This result was secured partly by care and foresight in giving advice, partly by a certain amount of ambiguity in the instructions given, or of subtlety in interpreting them. In the end, the success was far greater than could have been expected. The colonies became the pride of Hellas, and their glory was reflected on Delphi. They were not mere trading stations, but Greek cities, spreading Greek manners and civilisation on every hand, and bringing to the continent in return a ceaseless flow of prosperity and wealth. To this

[1] When the Theraeans were told to colonise Cyrene they had the greatest difficulty in finding any one who could guide them thither. Yet the Delphians insisted on the fulfilment of the command to the very letter.

success, perhaps, more than to any other single cause the unique position of Delphi among Greek sanctuaries is due. Although she was never a political power, even in the colonies, her advice was sought by all, and it was given to all without distinction of city or tribe. For her interests lay in the universal prosperity of Hellas, and in promoting harmonious relations with foreign potentates. Hence her sanction came to be regarded as the seal of a common Hellenism, and in this way, by the end of the eighth century B.C., the shrine of Apollo was a recognised centre of unity in Greece.

TABLE OF THE CHIEF GREEK COLONIES.

WESTERN COLONIES.—I. SICILY.

Date.	Name.	Founder.	Oekist.	Reference.
735 B.C.	Naxos	Chalcis and Naxos	Theocles	Thuc. vi. 3.
734	Syracuse	Corinth	Archias	,,
729	Leontini	Naxos	Theocles	,,
729	Catana	,,		,,
728	Megara Hyblaea	Megara	Lamis	Thuc. vi. 4.
728, or earlier	Zancle	Cyme	Perieres	,,
690	Gela	Rhodes (Lindus) and Crete	Antiphemus and Entimus	,,
664	Acrae	Syracuse	...	Thuc. vi. 5.
648	Himera	Zancle	Euclides, Simus, Sacon	,,
644	Casmenae	Syracuse	...	,,
628	Selinus	Megara	...	Thuc. vi. 4.
599	Camarina	Syracuse	Dascon and Menecolus	Thuc. vi. 5.
581	Acragas	Gela	Aristonous and Pystilus	Thuc. vi. 4.

Date.	Name.	Founder.	Oekist.	Reference.
1050 B.C.?	Cyme	Chalcis and Cyme in Euboea	Megasthenes Hippocles	Strabo, p. 243.
?	Parthenope, or Neapolis	Rhodes	...	Strabo, p. 654.
721	Sybaris	Achaea	Isos	Strabo, p. 263.
715, or earlier	Rhegium	Chalcis and Messenia	Artimnestus, Aristodamidas (?)	Strabo, p. 257.
710	Croton	Achaea	Myscellus	Strabo, p. 262.
708	Tarentum	Sparta	Phalanthus	Strabo, p. 278.
c. 700?	Metapontum	Sybaris	Leucippus	Strabo, p. 264.
?	Locri	Locris	Evanthas	Strabo, p. 259.
600	Massalia	Phocaea	...	Strabo, p. 179, 252.
565	Alalia	Massalia	...	Herod. i. 165.
c. 540	Elea	Massalia	Creontiades	Herod. i. 167, Strabo, p. 252.

III.—COLONIES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Date.	Name.	Founder.	Oekist.	Reference.
800, and after	Chalcidian cities	Chalcis and Eretria	...	Strabo, 447.
675	Cyzicus	Miletus	...	Strabo, 635.
708?	Parium	Miletus, Erythrae, Paros	...	Strabo, 588.
706?	Thasos	Paros	Telesicles	Strabo, 487.
690	Phaselis	Rhodes	Lacius	Steph. Byz.
Temp. Gyges	Abydos	Miletus	...	Strabo, 590.
654	Acanthus	Andros	...	Thuc. iv. 84.
?	Stagirus	,,	...	Thuc. iv. 88.
?	Sane, Argilus	,,	...	Thuc. iv. 109, 103.
654	Lampsacus	Miletus	...	Strabo, 589.
654 (544)	Abdera	Clazomenae (Teos)	Timesius	Herod. i. 168.
?	Maronea	Chios	...	...
633	Cyrene	Thera	Aristoteles (Battus)	Herod. iv. 150.
600	Perinthus	Samos	...	Strabo, 331.
After 570 B.C.	Naucratis	Miletus, etc.	...	Herod. ii. 178.

IV.—COLONIES IN THE EUXINE.

Date.	Name.	Founder.	Oekist.	Reference.
c. 780 (630)	Sinope	Miletus	Abron	Scymn. 947.
756	Trapezus	,,	...	Euseb. *ad ann.*
656	Istros	,,	...	Herod. ii. 33.
645	Olbia	,,	...	Strabo, 305.
?	Tomi	,,	...	Scymn. 765.
?	Odessus	,,	...	Strabo, 319.
600, and after	Theodosia	,,	...	...
...	Panticapaeum	...	...	Strabo, 309.
563	Amisus	Phocaea	...	Scymn. 917.

The dates given for the foundation of colonies cannot be considered certain. Either they rest on the testimony of ancient chronographers, or they are calculated on some basis, such as the capture of Sardis, which is by no means definitely fixed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TYRANTS.[1]

1. It is not untrue to say that in Greece the age of colonisation was succeeded by the age of tyrannies. No doubt, the line of division was by no means clearly drawn, and colonies were sent out in the seventh century as well as in the eighth. But the characteristic feature of the period extending from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century is the internal change which then took place almost simultaneously in a number of cities. The oligarchies were overthrown; many of the ruling families were executed or driven into exile; their property was confiscated, and the rule of one took the place of the rule of the few. The change was the inevitable result of the progress of events. The establishment of colonies had given a new impulse to commerce, especially to commerce with the West; and as the cities which engaged in it grew in wealth, power and extent, an ever-increasing population flocked to them. Hence arose new political conditions. In those states which were purely or mainly agricultural, the population was spread over the whole country. If on the one hand common interests combined the poor against the rich, there was, on the other, no concentration of forces which could give effect to feelings of discontent. In the mercantile cities it was otherwise. When both parties were within the same walls, the bitterness of opposition became more intense, and at the same time the inhabitants of the cities

Political changes in the seventh century.

Town and country population.

[1] H. G. Plass, *Die Tyrannis*, etc., Leipzig, 1859.

were wealthier, more enterprising and far-sighted than the shepherds and peasants of the country. They had a clearer view of the evils which pressed upon them, and were able to combine for their removal. It was not a conflict between rich and poor only, but between a privileged and an unprivileged class; and in those cities where the descendants of an old population occupied a subordinate position towards a conquering race, the memories of the past gave a force and sanction to the growing discontents. For these reasons the oligarchies in the mercantile cities of Greece, and more especially in the cities on the isthmus, which lay in the track of the Western trade, found themselves, in the seventh century, in a very critical position.

In some instances, moderate counsels prevailed. The oligarchies of birth no longer insisted on their position; the *aristocracy*, or rule of the nobles, gave way to a *timocracy*, or rule of the rich. Energetic men, who had made their own way in the world, were no longer excluded from civic power and office. This revolution, for such it may be called, was sometimes carried out with the aid of an eminent citizen, who was appointed to reform the constitution and establish a code of laws, as Solon was at Athens, and Zaleucus at Locri. Or the constitution was for a time suspended, and plenary powers given to an umpire or *Aesymnetes* to adjudicate between the contending factions, and arrange the state upon a basis which would satisfy both. Such an umpire was Pittacus of Lesbos, who for ten years was absolute ruler of Mitylene. But in the cities where the aristocracies refused to make concessions to the lower orders —whether they were aristocracies of birth or of wealth— the only remedy was force. If there happened to be in the privileged class a man unscrupulous enough to employ the spirit of discontent in his own interest, he could come forward as a demagogue, and rise to power on the ruins of his order. Or if in the unprivileged class there was any one of unusual force of character and intellect, the opportunity was now open to him of attaining the foremost position in the

Aristocracy and timocracy.

state. In either case unlimited personal power was the prize. Democracy and democratical forms of government did not yet exist; if the traditional constitution was set aside, the government must fall into the hands of the man who took a leading part in removing it.

Accounts of the tyrants untrustworthy.

2. The accounts which have come down to us of the rise and administration of the tyrants in Greece are exceedingly untrustworthy. Even when they are not obvious fictions, they are founded on traditions handed down by the oligarchs whose power the tyrants broke, often by very violent means. At such hands the memory even of a great and patriotic man was not likely to meet with mercy or justice. Whatever his actions, they were done with a sinister object. Did he adorn his city with monuments, or execute useful public works,—his aim was to crush the citizens by laborious tasks. Did he send offerings to Delphi or Olympia,—they were furnished by exactions wrung from the people. The truth or falsehood of these statements was a matter of no importance. Fiction was always more entertaining to the Greeks than history, and those who could hardly have understood the measures by which Periander made Corinth the first city of Greece, found it easy to connect his name with actions of inhuman cruelty and lust. We must, therefore, receive these accounts with the greatest caution. In spite of the worst which has been said against them, the tyrants hold a legitimate place in the progress of Greek constitutional history. They were the means of breaking down the oligarchies in the interests of the people. That the lower classes sometimes found themselves deceived, and had reason to hate a tyrant no less than they had hated the oligarchs whom he removed, is doubtless true, but even in that case it was better to have one master than many. And when the tyrant's work was done, and the oligarchs had been too severely weakened to maintain themselves against the growing power of the people, it was easier to remove a ruler whose safety depended entirely upon his own watchfulness, who

Place of the tyrants in Greek history.

had forfeited every claim to the rights of a citizen, and was universally hated, than to exact justice and consideration from a close and unscrupulous order. To the Greek the very name of the "tyrant" was detestable, but at this distance of time it is impossible to deny that the tyrants, though their rule involved the suspension of civic life, were often men of great capacity, who played an important part in the history of Hellenism, and that the cities which they governed enjoyed great prosperity and power.

SICYON.

3. It was at Sicyon that the first tyrannis arose. After the Dorian conquest of the city the Ionian population had been allowed to remain as a fourth tribe, the Aegialeis, beside the three tribes, the Hylleis, Pamphyli and Dymanes, into which, here as elsewhere, the Dorians ranged themselves (*sup.* p. 64). The proportion of the Dorian tribes to the Ionic shows that the Dorians, whatever their numbers, were the preponderant and ruling power in the city; their attitude towards the subject population is perhaps indicated by the title "Skin-wearers," which was here given to "certain slaves, who resembled the Epeunacti," a class of the Helots at Sparta.[1]

The territory of Sicyon was of very limited extent, reaching only from the river Nemea on the east to the Sythas on the west, and bounded on the south by the territory of Phlius and Cleonae. The city lay in the valley of the Asopus, which, though confined at first between mountains, opens towards the sea into a plain of remarkable fertility (the Asopia). In this plain, on an elevated platform between the rivers Helisson and Asopus, about two miles from the shore, was built the older city or acropolis; at the foot of the hill lay the newer town, and in Sicyon's most flourishing days there was also a port on the sea-coast. Owing to the situation the city probably had some share in

Situation of the city.

[1] Κατωνακοφόροι, Athen., 271 D., from Theopompus. For the contempt which the word expresses, *cf.* Theognis, v. 55.

the profits of the western trade, but the wealth of the Sicyonians was chiefly derived from their land. Oil and wine were produced in abundance in the Asopia; and in the upper valley of the river there were mines of copper, a fact of some importance in the history of the town, as it was owing to this supply of metal that Sicyon became at an early date a flourishing home of plastic art.[1]

4. We are too ignorant of the history of Sicyon in the period from the Dorian invasion to the rise of the Orthagorids, to be able to explain the conditions under which the establishment of the tyrannis became possible. In the first Messenian war Sicyon showed her antipathy to Sparta by supporting the Messenians, from which we may conclude that the Ionian or non-Dorian population was even then of importance in the city. As the family which rose to the throne was of this Ionian stock, the Dorian influence must have still further declined in the next century. We may conjecture that the Ionians availed themselves of the growth of trade, which the Dorians despised, to amass wealth, and by this means were enabled to resist more successfully the oppression of the ruling tribes. Whatever the cause, about the year 670 B.C.[3] a certain Orthagoras, who is said to have been a cook,[3] succeeded in establishing himself as tyrant in Sicyon. Of his reign no incident is recorded.

Sicyon in the eighth century.

In the seventh.

Orthagoras.

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[1] Dipoenus and Scyllis, the old Cretan masters, came to Sicyon about 580 B.C.—at which date a community of artists seems to have been already existing in the city, perhaps supported by Clisthenes. Dipoenus and Scyllis, however, worked in marble. Murray, *Hist. of Sculpture*, p. 88. For the topography of Sicyon, see Smith's *Dict. Geogr., sub voce*.

[2] See note at the end of the section.

[3] Libanius, *in Sev.* iii. 251; "the son of Copreus" (manure merchant), Plut. *De Sera. num. vind.* 7. In Diod. viii. 26, Andreas is the cook, a man whom Herodotus also mentions (vi. 126) as the founder of the race of Clisthenes. The relation of Orthagoras to Andreas is very obscure. Can Orthagoras have been a nickname? ὀρθαγορίσκος was the Laconian for a little pig! The family were known as Orthagoridae.

He was succeeded by his son Myron, who distinguished himself and his city by winning the Olympian prize with his four-horse chariot in 648 B.C. In commemoration of the event he built a treasure-house at Olympia for the reception of dedicatory offerings.[1] The son of Myron was Aristonymus, of whom we do not even know that he ascended the throne. Aristonymus left three sons, Myron, Isodemus and Clisthenes.[2] If we are to believe the story told by Nicolaus of Damascus, Clisthenes availed himself of the vices of Myron and the weakness of Isodemus to procure the assassination of the first and the expulsion of the second.[3] Whatever the means by which he obtained his object may have been, he became sole ruler of Sicyon.

Myron I.

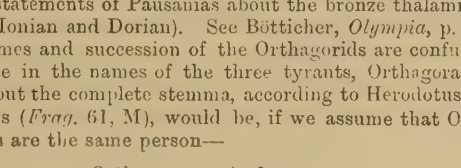
Clisthenes.

5. A few disconnected facts are all that we know about the long and prosperous reign of the greatest of the Orthagoridae. At the beginning of the sixth century we find Clisthenes taking a leading part in the first Sacred War (p. 400), at the close of which he contended and was victorious in the newly established Pythian Games (582 B.C.). By such successes he obtained a great

Clisthenes engaged in the Sacred War.

[1] Pausanias vi. 19. 2. The excavations recently made entirely contradict the statements of Pausanias about the bronze thalami and the two styles (Ionian and Dorian). See Bötticher, *Olympia*, p. 215.

[2] The names and succession of the Orthagorids are confused. All writers agree in the names of the three tyrants, Orthagoras, Myron, Clisthenes, but the complete stemma, according to Herodotus (vi. 126) and Nicolaus (*Frag.* 61, M), would be, if we assume that Orthagoras and Andreas are the same person—



[3] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 61 Müller.

reputation in Hellas, but in his position as tyrant of Sicyon he was more closely interested in the measures which he took to liberate his city from the supremacy of Argos, and to destroy all that remained of Dorian prestige in Sicyon. In legendary history Argos and Sicyon were closely connected. When expelled from Argos by Amphiaraus, Adrastus had withdrawn to Sicyon, and on the death of Polybus, the Sicyonian king, without male issue, Adrastus, as the husband (or son) of his daughter, succeeded to the throne. At a later time he returned to Argos, of which city Sicyon became a vassal kingdom. The connection thus established was confirmed at a later date by the submission of Hippolytus to Agamemnon, and, once more, by the colonisation of the city by the Dorians of Argos under Phalces (*supra*, p. 103). Under each of the great dynasties therefore which had ruled in Argos—the Perseids, Pelopids and Heraclids—Sicyon had been in dependence on that city. The remembrance of the ancient vassalage was kept up by various religious rites and ceremonies at Sicyon, especially by the worship of Adrastus as a hero, and the Dorian conquest was sufficiently proved by the existence of the Dorian tribes in the city. Clisthenes resolved to eradicate every vestige of the connection.

Resolves to liberate Sicyon from Dorian influence.

He began with an attack on Adrastus. In order to suppress the choric songs and religious rites with which the hero was honoured at Sicyon, he sent to Delphi, requesting permission to expel him from the city. His request was refused: "Adrastus," said the priestess, "is the lawful king of Sicyon, and thou art a murderer." Finding that he could not openly remove Adrastus, Clisthenes determined to make it impossible for him to remain in the city, and with this object invited the hero Melanippus, who in the Theban epic was the deadly enemy of Adrastus and slew his son-in-law Tydeus, to take up his abode in Sicyon. A shrine was founded for Melanippus in the Prytaneum, and the honours hitherto paid to Adrastus were transferred to the Theban. After

His attack on Adrastus.

such an insult it was supposed that Adrastus would leave Sicyon of his own free-will.[1]

6. In his treatment of the Dorians, who had so long been the ruling order in Sicyon, Clisthenes was restrained by no scruples of religious feeling. He was at once able and eager to exhibit to the world the old opponents of his race in a degraded and helpless position. The names of the four tribes of the city were formally changed, the Aegialeis, to whom the tyrant belonged, being now called Archelai, or rulers of the people; while the three Dorian tribes received the most contumelious titles. The Hylleis became Hyatae or Piglings; the Dymanes, Choreatae or Porkers; the Pamphyli, Oncatae or Cuddies. Clisthenes must have felt himself in a strong position when he could thus openly trample on Dorian susceptibilities in spite of the proximity of two ancient Dorian communities at Sparta and Argos. As his political arrangements are said to have continued in use for sixty years after his death and the extinction of his power, it is clear that in this case the violence of the tyrant expressed the popular wish.[2]

He changes the names of the Dorian tribes.

In the same anti-Dorian spirit Clisthenes engaged in a war with Argos, which indeed under the circumstances was almost inevitable. Of the details of the struggle we know nothing, but the tyrant's triumph over the Dorians in Sicyon is a proof that he cannot have been defeated by the Dorians of Argos. The beginning of the sixth century, in which the reign of Clisthenes falls, marked a period of decline in the power of Argos; at this time she was quite unable to maintain her ancient claims of sovereignty. Clisthenes also caused the recitations of the rhapsodes to be discontinued at Sicyon. The rhapsodes recited nothing but Homer, and Homer sang of nothing but the glories of Argos, which the tyrant did not wish his subjects to hear. In the place of

Goes to war with Argos.

Puts an end to the rhapsodes.

[1] Herod. v. 67.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 68.

this amusement he introduced and supported festivals in honour of Dionysus—a form of worship always popular with the lower classes.[1]

7. The genius of Herodotus has made an incident in the private life of Clisthenes the most striking event of his reign. As the tyrant was without male issue, it was a matter of the greatest importance that a suitable match should be provided for his only daughter, Agariste. At the Olympic Games, at which he was victorious with a chariot and four, he caused a proclamation to be made that any Hellene who held himself worthy to marry the daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon should repair to the city within sixty days at the latest; for in a year from the sixtieth day, Clisthenes would betroth his daughter. Then all the Greeks who were proud of themselves or their lineage came to the wooing. From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, the most luxurious of men, and Damasus of Siris; from Epidamnus came Amphimnestus; from Aetolia, Males, the brother of the misanthropic athlete Titormus. From the Peloponnesus came Leocedas, the son of Phidon, the great tyrant of Argos; Amiantus, an Arcadian of Trapezus; Laphanes, the Azanian from Paeum; Onomastus, the Elean. Athens furnished Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, and Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, who surpassed all the Athenians in wealth and personal beauty. From Eretria came Lysanias; from Thessaly, Diactoridas of the Scopadae of Crannon; from the Molossians came Alcon. For a year Clisthenes entertained this troop of suitors, in order that he might test their accomplishments, manners, temper and disposition. Sometimes he visited them in person, sometimes he watched their exercises, but more especially he feasted them with profuse magnificence. The Athenians found favour in his eyes above all the rest; and of the two he preferred Hippoclides, partly owing to his personal qualities, and partly because he was connected with the Cypselidae of

The marriage of Agariste.

[1] Herod. *l.c.*

Corinth. When the day arrived for decision, a great banquet was prepared, at which Clisthenes entertained not only all the suitors, but also the whole population of the city. After the meal the guests diverted themselves with pleasant tales, each man striving to outdo his neighbour in the wit and point of his story. At length Hippoclides, weary of this amusement, in which he had greatly distinguished himself, called for a flute-player, bade him play a dance-tune, and danced to the music, more to his own satisfaction than to that of Clisthenes. Ere long he asked for a table, upon which, when he had executed some Laconian and Attic measures, in order to exhibit the more his unrivalled agility, he planted his head and gesticulated with his legs in the air. Clisthenes could contain himself no longer. Starting from his seat, he cried aloud, "Son of Tisander, you have danced your wife away." "Don't care," said Hippoclides—an expression which became proverbial at Athens. Clisthenes then pronounced in favour of Megacles, and dismissed the rest of the suitors with courteous words and presents.

'Hippoclides does not care.'

We cannot support this account as historically accurate. It is, for instance, quite impossible that the son of Phidon of Argos should be a contemporary of Clisthenes —unless indeed we alter the date of Phidon's celebration of the Olympia (*supra*, p. 229). The subject was one which inevitably led to exaggeration. The marriage of the only child of the great monarch of Sicyon created a stir in Greece; and was probably the scene of such magnificence and rejoicing as had never before been witnessed. Here was a new Helen, whom the choicest flower of Hellas sought to win. Many suitors might be ascribed to her, and the inventive genius of the Greeks would quickly supply a list of distinguished names, without criticising them too severely. The principal fact was certainly true. Agariste became the wife of Megacles of Athens, and she bore him children; among others, Clisthenes, the Athenian reformer, and a daughter who was married to Pisistratus, after he

Criticism of the story.

became tyrant of Athens for the second time (*infra*, Chap. xv.).[1]

8. As Megacles took a personal part in the factions which broke out in Attica after the legislation of Solon, there is little doubt that he carried his wife with him to Athens. But from the day of the wedding we hear no more of Clisthenes. How or when he died—whether he remained on the throne to the last—we do not know. We may, however, confidently assert that the tyranny at Sicyon was not suppressed by the Spartans; for, if that had been the case, the changes introduced by the tyrant would have fallen with him, and the Dorians would have been at once restored to their old position in the city. Without fixing any year for his accession or his death, Nicolaus ascribes to Clisthenes a reign of thirty-one years. We may venture a little beyond this statement, and say that his reign fell in the first thirty years of the sixth century.[2]

End of the reign of Clisthenes.

After the death of Clisthenes, whenever it took place, we have nothing more to record of the political history of Sicyon till the city appears as a member of the Lacedaemonian confederacy towards the close of the century. By what means the changes of Clisthenes were supported and preserved after his death, as we are told that they were, we cannot even conjecture.

9. Aristotle remarks of the Orthagoridae that "they treated their subjects with moderation, and to a great extent observed the laws; and in various ways gained the favour of the people by the care which they took of them. Clisthenes, in particular, was respected for his military ability. If report may be believed, he

The rule of the Orthagoridae.

[1] Herod. vi. 126 ff. If the connection of Hippoclides with the Cypselidae of Corinth weighed with Clisthenes in his choice of a son-in-law, the marriage of Agariste must have taken place before the assassination of the last of the Corinthian tyrants in 582 B.C. Yet it cannot have taken place long before, for Clisthenes the son of Agariste was an active party leader at Athens in 509 B.C.

[2] If his death is to be placed *c.* 570 B.C. See p. 377, note 3.

crowned the judge who decided against him in the games, and, as some say, the sitting statue in the Agora of Sicyon is the likeness of this person."[1] Nicolaus on the other hand, though he agrees with Aristotle about the military ability of Clisthenes, presents his character to us in a different light. Having gained his power by treachery, he exercised it "with greater cruelty and violence than any of his predecessors."[2] That Clisthenes was a far stronger character than his brother Isodemus is obvious—if there be any truth in the narrative of Nicolaus; but no acts are recorded of him such as those which disgraced the life of Myron II. and brought about his death. The charge of violence has probably arisen out of his treatment of Adrastus and the Dorians, as that of "insolence" against Phidon of Argos from his celebration of the Olympia. It is nowhere said that Clisthenes oppressed the people by laborious tasks, after the usual manner of tyrants; on the contrary, it is allowed that the cost of the portico which he built in the market-place of Sicyon was defrayed out of the spoils of the war with Cirrha. The "change from the tyranny of Myron to the tyranny of Clisthenes," of which Aristotle speaks, may have been a change from the rule of a selfish despot to that of a monarch who extended and developed the resources of his city. All that we really know of Clisthenes is in his favour. (1) He delivered Sicyon from dependence on a foreign city; (2) he was renowned throughout Greece for his military ability; (3) though he left no son to take his place, the changes which he introduced continued in force for two generations after his death; and (4) he made Sicyon a distinguished home of plastic art by inviting to the city the best masters of the time.[3]

Clisthenes did not oppress the people.

[1] *Pol.* v. 12, 1 = 1315 *b*.

[2] *Frag.* 61 Müller.

[3] The total duration of the tyrannis was 100 years (Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, Diod. *Frag. Vat.* p. 11 (= viii. 26), *circa* 670-570 B.C.). The only certain date is the victory of Myron at Olympia in 648 B.C. But as Sicyon became a member of the Lacedaemonian confederacy

CORINTH.

10. At its south-western extremity, the isthmus which connects northern Greece and the Peloponnesus sinks rapidly down from the summit of Geranea (5000 feet) to a narrow and flat strip of land, about three and a half miles wide, and at no point more than 240 feet above the sea. To the south of this depression, where the isthmus ends in the mainland of the Peloponnesus, the mountains rise once more. On the east is Oneum, which attains a height of 1900 feet, and to the west of this, but separated from it by a river flowing through a deep ravine, is Acrocorinthus (1850 ft.). Strictly speaking, Acrocorinthus is a spur of the still higher mountain which separated Corinth from Cleonae, but, owing to the ravine on the east and the depression in the south, it has the appearance of a detached hill, especially when seen from the north. This was the Acropolis of Corinth, a magnificent watch-tower guarding the entrance into Peloponnesus. The town lay on the northern slope of the mountain, close upon the stream which divided it from Oneum. On the west, the level space, about a mile and a half in breadth, between the city and Lechaeum, the port on the Corinthian Gulf, was crossed by long walls; and on the east Oneum ran out to the Saronic Gulf, where was Cenchreae, the eastern port of Corinth, at a distance of seventy stades from the city. Owing to this splendid situation, Corinth not only commanded the isthmus, as a bridge between two seas, but also held the key of the routes between northern and southern Greece. Of the two great roads which ran from Sicyon and Argos to the north—into which those from Elis and Sparta converged—one was commanded by the long walls of Lechaeum, and the other passed under

Site of Corinth.

about 510 B.C., at which time the contumelious titles of the Dorian tribes must have been removed, we get 510 + 60=570 B.C. for the death of Clisthenes, and 670 B.C. for the rise of Orthagoras, if the hundred years ascribed to the tyrannis by Aristotle are to be calculated without any interruption.

the eastern wall of Corinth, while the third and less important route, by the Saronic Gulf, passed through Cenchreae. Corinth was thus the central emporium of Greece, and her importance was greatly increased by the growth of her colonies in the west. No Greek sailor would pass the dreaded Malea if he could profitably dispose of his goods at the isthmus, and the mariners of the west preferred the shorter and safer route up the Corinthian Gulf to the circuit of the Peloponnesus.

These natural advantages were improved by the mechanical genius of the Corinthians. For the convenience of those who wished to sail to the east or west, a pathway was constructed at Schoenus over the lowest and narrowest part of the isthmus, by which ships could be transferred upon rollers from one sea to the other. For this purpose the cargo was generally taken out, and no doubt it was sometimes found advantageous to traffic in the ports of the city while the ship was drawn over the isthmus. The Corinthians were also fully alive to the necessity of maintaining a superior navy. They had not gained their position in the west without conflicts with the Chalcidians, by whom the trade was at first carried on, and the prize could not be retained without energy and enterprise. Towards the end of the eighth century the Corinthian shipbuilders constructed a new vessel far superior in swiftness and strength to anything which had yet been seen. The ordinary ships of the time were either sailing-vessels (πλοῖα) or fitted with a single bank of oars, twenty-five on each side (penteconters). The new Corinthian galley contained three banks of oars, each rising over the other, and carried a crew of 200 men. Unfortunately the Corinthians could not keep the invention to themselves. In 704 B.C. Aminocles built triremes for the Samians, and in 664 B.C. the Corcyraeans were able to defeat the Corinthians at sea.[1]

Enterprise of the Corinthians.

[1] For Corinth, *cf.* Strabo, p. 378 ff.; Aminocles, Thuc. 1. 13; the defeat of the Corinthians, *supra*, p. 345.

11. This defeat may have contributed to the internal changes at Corinth which followed it. Within the next ten years (655 B.C.) the rule of the oligarchy (*supra*, p. 344), after a duration of ninety years, was brought to an end. The immediate cause of the change is said to have been a dissension in the family of the Bacchiads. Amphion of Corinth had a daughter Labda, who was lame, or in some way deformed, and as no one of her own rank would take her to wife, she was married to Aetion, of the deme of Petra, a descendant of a Lapithan family which had long been settled there. Oracles warned both Aetion and the Corinthians that the son of this marriage would "justify" Corinth, and the Bacchiadae resolved to kill the child as soon as it was born. Ten men were sent for this purpose to the house of Aetion at Petra; but when placed by his unsuspecting mother in the arms of the man who had asked for him, and who had undertaken to dash him immediately to the ground, the infant smiled. The man was touched with pity at the sight, and handed him to the next, by whom he was passed on to the next, until he reached the tenth, who gave him back to his mother. When they left the house, the men accused each other of cowardice, and after a time they returned intending to destroy the child by a common act. But Labda, who had overheard them, hid the child in a chest; and when he could not be found the men went away, and reported that they had done all that was required of them. This child was Cypselus, the first tyrant of Corinth.[1]—If there are any elements of truth in this story, it is useless to attempt to disentangle them. The incident of the chest seems to be due to the name Cypselus (a name which occurs elsewhere, both of places and persons). In Greek *kypselê* means a chest, and it appears to have gratified the pride of the tyrant's race to suppose that the founder had been saved in this wonderful manner. Periander gave

Rise of the Cypselids.

Labda.

Cypselus.

[1] Herod. v. 92.

confirmation to the legend by consecrating a magnificent chest in the Heraeum at Olympia. Less mythical accounts omit all mention of the chest, and tell us that the oligarchs had made themselves hated by their oppression, greed and misrule.[1] Then Cypselus, who was a favourite with the people—though he belonged to the Bacchiads by birth—availed himself of his position as polemarch to conciliate the people still more, until at length he came forward as their champion, slew Patroclides, the prytanis of the year, and established himself as tyrant with the consent of the people. The brief notice in Aristotle supports this view; and we may assume with certainty that Cypselus won the affections of the common people, and rose to power with their assistance and approval.[2]

How he became Tyrant.

12. Cypselus reigned for thirty years. By his wisdom and moderation he was able to retain the affections of his citizens to the last; he kept his throne without the assistance of that "commonplace of tyrants," a foreign body-guard. The city prospered under his rule. Though he was unable to bring Corcyra into subjection, he succeeded in restricting her trade by the foundation of the three colonies already mentioned (p. 346), Ambracia, Leucas and Anactorium, in which he placed his three natural sons, Gorgus, Pylades and Echiades. His wealth was doubtless enormous. He was able to build a treasure-house at Delphi, and therefore, we may presume, to consecrate offerings, which he intended it to receive, but whatever these may have been, they were far surpassed by the golden colossus of Zeus which he set up at Olympia—a statue not cast, but beaten with the hammer, and one of the wonders of the world. The Greeks told various stories of the methods employed by Cypselus to defray the cost of his magnificent piety; how he taxed the Corinthians at ten per cent. for ten years, thereby acquiring the whole of their property; how he robbed and

The reign of Cypselus.

[1] Nic. Dam. *Frag.* 58 M.
[2] Arist. *Pol* v. 10. 6 = 1310 *b*.

oppressed them. There is no reason to suppose that he did anything of the kind. The trade of Corinth would provide ample resources for a ruler who had no standing army to maintain.[1]

Character of Cypselus.

In Herodotus Cypselus is described as a tyrant who banished a great number of Corinthians, deprived others of their possessions and many more of their lives. This picture is drawn in the colours in which Herodotus loves to paint a tyrant, and from other authors we receive a more favourable impression. Though the exiled Bacchiadae felt the tyrant's rule to be severe and unjust, the people whom he rescued from oppression regarded it in another light. He was their champion, and could rely on their protection, while the care with which he governed the city and promoted her interests won for him universal confidence. But in Greece, at any rate in early times, the people had not the power of expressing their thoughts in literature. That was the exclusive privilege of the oligarchs, to whose partial judgment is due the contradiction that the memory of the tyrants was hated at Corinth, though the period of their rule was the most flourishing era of the city.[2]

Periander.

13. In 625 B.C. Cypselus was succeeded by Periander, whose long reign of forty years marked the highest point ever reached by the military power of Corinth. The son followed the lines laid down by the father, and succeeded where he failed. While Cypselus had contented himself with establishing rival colonies to check the development of Corcyra, Periander reduced the rebellious island to submission, and placed his son Nicolaus in command of it.[3] This conquest, which led to the acquisition of Epidamnus, was followed

Subdues Corcyra.

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[1] Strabo, pp. 325, 452; Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 58: treasure-house, Herod. i. 14: statue, Plato, *Phaedr.* p. 236; Strabo, p. 378: taxation, Arist. *Oecon.* ii. 2, 1 = 1346 *a*.

[2] Even in Herodotus it is admitted that Cypselus "wound up his life successfully" (*διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ*).

[3] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 60 M.

by the plantation of a new Corinthian colony at Apollonia (in which settlement Corcyraeans were included), and the rule of the Greeks in the Ionian Sea was thus completely secured. But for the long reign of Periander, Plutarch observes, the Hellenes would not have dwelt at Apollonia, or Anactorium, or Leucas. In the north of the Aegean, in order to secure a share in the profitable trade with Macedon and Thrace, Periander founded the colony of Potidaea, and this city also he placed under the command of one of his sons, Evagoras.[1] In the Peloponnesus he extended the domain of Corinth by the conquest of Epidaurus. He had married Lyside, or, as he chose to call her, Melissa (the Bee), the daughter of Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, and niece of Aristomenes, the hero of the second Messenian war. After she had borne him two sons (or more), she fell a victim to his violence. A war with Procles was the result of this unhappy catastrophe. Periander was victorious; he carried his father-in-law captive to Corinth, where he apparently kept him, and Epidaurus became a dependency of that city.

His wife Melissa.

Periander was now the most famous monarch in Hellas. He was regarded as the type of the successful despot; his sayings became the received maxims of the tyrant's art. So great was the authority of his name that he was allowed a place among the Seven Wise Men, though it is true that later criticism found it difficult to reconcile Periander the despot with Periander the sage. But Herodotus was no sceptic; he places in the mouth of the daughter of the Corinthian tyrant a number of sententious maxims, such as might have fallen from the lips of any of the Seven. "A stubborn spirit is the treasure of a fool;" "Do not cure evil with evil;" "Many men place gentleness before justice;" "Many a man while seeking his mother's inheritance has lost his father's;" "Tyranny

Periander the sage.

His maxims.

[1] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 60 M; Thuc. i. 56. Classen, note on Thuc. *l.c.*, regards the date of Potidaea as uncertain.

is a slippery thing, but many are in love with it." If we cannot vouch for the genuineness of such aphorisms, we may observe that the words of a despot who maintained himself in power for forty years were not likely to be forgotten.[1]

Revival of the Isthmian Games.

14. To Periander was due the revival and extension of the Isthmian Games. The Ionians had long offered a sacrifice of bulls to Poseidon on the shore of the Saronic Gulf, and with the growth of Corinth the attendance at this festival increased. At length, in 587 B.C., stimulated perhaps by the new importance which was being given to the festival of Apollo at Delphi, Periander added gymnastic contests to the sacrifices. These were the Isthmian Games, held in the pine woods at Schoenus, every two years, in the second and fourth years of the Olympiad. The victor's crown was a wreath of wild parsley.[2]

The worship of Dionysus.

Like his great contemporary at Sicyon, the tyrant of Corinth favoured the worship of Dionysus. In his city and during his reign, the dithyramb or song in honour of the wine-god became "choric," the wild unmeasured strains previously in vogue being balanced by strophe and antistrophe, as the chorus danced round the altar. This innovation was due to Arion of Methymna in Lesbos, who at the same time increased the gaiety of the performance by dressing the members of the chorus in attire suited to the occasion, and introducing them as Satyrs in the train of the god.[3]

Periander and Arion.

When at the height of his fame, Arion resolved to visit Italy and Sicily. Everywhere he was received with welcome and applause, and wealth flowed in upon him. On his return home the Corinthian sailors, in whose vessel he embarked from Tarentum, conspired to put him to death, and possess themselves of his riches. Finding no means of escape from his murderers, Arion requested leave

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[1] Herod. iii. 53; Arist. *Pol.* v. 11. 4=1313 *a*.

[2] On the date of the Isthmia, see Duncker, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 370.

[3] Herod. i. 23; Suidas, *sub voc.*

to play a last strain; after this respite he undertook to throw himself into the sea. The sailors readily agreed to this, for they could desire nothing better than to hear the greatest harp-player of his time. Arion clad himself in the robes which he wore at musical contests, and, standing on the deck at the end of the vessel, he played a solemn strain, after which, as he had promised, he plunged into the sea. He was not doomed to die. A dolphin came and carried him safely on his back to Taenarum, whence he returned to Corinth and told his story to Periander. Periander was incredulous, and kept him in charge till the Corinthian sailors should return. On their arrival at Corinth he sent for them, and made inquiries about Arion. They answered that they had left him safe and prosperous at Tarentum, when to their amazement Arion came forward, dressed in the robes in which he had thrown himself into the sea, and compelled them to confess the truth. The story was current in Corinth and Lesbos, and was confirmed by the existence of a bronze statue at Taenarum, representing a man seated on a dolphin. The statue was seen by Pausanias, and the inscription on it, together with an ode in which Arion celebrated his delivery, has come down to us.[1]

15. Another story brings Periander into close connection with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus. We are told that he sent an envoy to Thrasybulus to inquire the best method of governing a city. Thrasybulus made no direct answer, but walked with the envoy through a field of corn, and, as he walked, he struck off all the finest and tallest ears till none were left. Periander asked the envoy on his return what Thrasybulus had said. He replied that he had said nothing; he seemed to be a man out of his mind, and bent upon doing mischief to

Periander and Thrasybulus of Miletus.

[1] Herod. i. 24; Paus. iii. 25. 7; *cf.* Aelian, *Hist. An.* xii. 45. The device of a man seated on a dolphin is found on various coins, *e.g.* those of Tarentum and Methymna. Of the ode Bergk says (*Poet. Lyr.* iii. 79, 80): "Mihi novicium omnino videtur carmen, quod ante Euripidis aetatem vix potuit componi."

himself. He then told Periander what he had seen in the corn-field. Periander understood the meaning which Thrasybulus intended to convey; if a tyrant wished to remain secure in his position, he must cut off and destroy all who were eminent in the city.[1]

16. Periander did not fall short of his father in the splendour of his offerings to the gods. The chest which the "Cypselidae" dedicated at Olympia was one of the most famous achievements of early Grecian art. It was made of cedar wood, and covered with pictures in relief, in which gold, ivory and cedar were the materials employed. Pausanias, who describes the chest more minutely than intelligibly, speaks of five fields (χῶραι), each filled with subjects from the mythology of Greece. In four of the five, inscriptions were added to explain the subjects, and Pausanias remarks that some of these were written in the old manner known as *boustrophedon*—*i.e.* continuously from right to left, and left to right. The "fields" were apparently horizontal bands running round the chest, and as Pausanias in describing them proceeds from right to left with the first, third and fifth, and from left to right with the second and fourth, we must suppose that the chest had three sides only covered with pictures, the fourth being for some reason vacant, as would be the case with a chest set against a wall.[2]

The chest of the Cypselids.

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[1] Herod. v. 92.; Arist. *Pol.* iii. 13. 16=1284 *a* (*cf.* v. 10. 13=1311 *a*) reverses the relation of the two tyrants. For the assistance which Periander rendered to Thrasybulus in the siege of Miletus, see *infra*, chap. xvi.

[2] It was thought to be the identical box in which Cypselus was hidden by his mother. No other Cypselid but Periander was in a position to dedicate such an offering. For the description see Pausanias, v. 17. 7-19. In ch. 18. 1, we have τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γένοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου, and ch. 19. 1, τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιόντι, κ.τ.λ. In 17. 6, he speaks of beginning at the foot in the first field, and in 19. 7, of ἡ ἀνωτάτω χώρα. See Overbeck, *Griechische Plastik*, p. 62 f.

Pausanias begins his description with the lowest band. Here was Oenomaus in pursuit of Pelops, who was carrying away Hippodamia, and next in order the house of Amphiaraus, before which stood Eriphyle, with the necklace, her daughter beside her, and Alcmaeon, yet a child. Amphiaraus is about to step into the chariot on his fatal journey, and turns with an angry gesture towards Eriphyle. Next were depicted the funeral games of Pelias, a scene from the story of the Argonauts; then Heracles slaying the Hydra on the banks of the Amymone; and Phineus, from whom the sons of Boreas were beating away the Harpies. On the second band—Pausanias is now moving from left to right—was a female figure with two children, one on her right arm, fair and asleep; another on her left, which was like the sleeping child, but dark; both were lame in the feet. These were Sleep and Death, in the arms of Night. Two other women represented Justice and Injustice: the first, who was fair to see, was beating the other, who was hideous. Another pair of women were represented pounding drugs, but who they were was unknown. After these came Idas and Marpessa, Zeus in the form of Amphitryon, and Alcmena. Menelaus was also to be seen, with his sword drawn as if about to slay Helen, after the capture of Troy; and Medea on a throne, with Jason standing by. The Muses were there, singing, and Apollo to lead them. Atlas was depicted supporting the heavens on his shoulders, and holding the apples of the Hesperides; close at hand was Heracles. Then were seen Ares and Aphrodite, Peleus and Thetis, and the sisters of Medusa in pursuit of Perseus. The third band of the chest was filled with subjects of a warlike character of which the real meaning was doubtful even in the time of Pausanias, some referring them to the invasion of the Peloponnesus under Oxylus, others to the conquest of Corinth by the Dorians. On the fourth band were Boreas carrying away Orithyia, and Heracles struggling with Geryon. Next came Theseus, and Ariadne crowned,

Description of the chest: first field.

Second field.

Third field.

Fourth field.

Achilles and Memnon engaged in conflict, with Thetis and Eos watching the event. There also could be seen Milanion and Atalanta, Ajax in single combat with Hector, the Dioscuri, Helen and Aethra, and Coon fighting with Agamemnon over the dead body of Iphidamas. In another picture Hermes brought the three goddesses to Paris, and in another Cassandra was dragged away from the shrine by Ajax. Next Polynices was seen attacked by Eteocles and behind him a Doom (κῆρ) with the tusks of a wild animal and crooked talons. Next came Dionysus, in a cave, clad in a long robe, a golden goblet in his hand; around him were vines and fig-trees and pomegranates. In the highest or fifth compartment was a grotto, in which were a man and a woman sleeping on a couch, surrounded by four handmaidens. These were Odysseus and Circe, for though there was no inscription, it was possible to identify the figures of the maidens by the tasks allotted to each, which corresponded with the description in Homer. There was also a Centaur in which the fore-legs were those of a man—perhaps Chiron; winged horses yoked in chariots, in which rode the Nereids, and among them Thetis, receiving the arms from Hephaestus. Nausicaa too was there, driving with her women to the washing-pits, and Heracles shooting down the Centaurs. "Who was the artist I could not discover, but it is possible that the pictures are by one hand, the inscriptions by another. As to the last, my own suspicion is strongly in favour of Eumelus, the Corinthian."

Fifth field.

Such were the pictures which Pausanias saw on this wondrous chest. The description is of the greatest interest and value, partly for the light which it throws on the history of Greek art, and partly for the evidence which it supplies of the existence of the Homeric and cyclic poems at an age preceding the reign of Pisistratus.

17. The close of the life of Periander was saddened by domestic troubles, of which Herodotus gives us the following account. After the death of their mother, the two sons of

Melissa, youths of seventeen and eighteen years of age, were invited to Epidaurus by their grandfather, Procles. When parting with them on their return, Procles asked the question, "Do you know who killed your mother?" The younger son, whose name was Lycophron, took the question much to heart, and when he reached Corinth, refused to have any communication with his father or to speak to him. Periander, in a rage, banished him from the house, and inquired from his elder son what Procles had said. After a time the youth, who was of much slower intelligence than his brother, remembered the question and repeated it. Periander now issued a proclamation that no one was to entertain or support Lycophron, or even to speak to him. For three days the unhappy boy had remained in the porticoes of the city, when Periander himself addressed him, and sought to soften his resentment. Lycophron was inexorable, and merely answered that Periander had transgressed his own proclamation. Finding all attempts at reconciliation useless, Periander sent his son to Corcyra, and proceeded to make war upon Epidaurus. Towards the close of his life, when he felt the need of a younger hand to support his power, he sent to Corcyra, desiring Lycophron to return and occupy the throne of Corinth. Lycophron made no reply. Then Periander sent his daughter, in the hope that she might persuade her brother to return. She urged the necessity of saving the tyranny from falling into other hands, and the evils of a stubborn spirit, but in vain. Lycophron steadily refused to return to Corinth while his father lived. Periander sent yet a third time, proposing that he should go to Corcyra, and his son succeed him at Corinth. To this proposal Lycophron agreed, but when the Corcyraeans heard that the dreaded tyrant was coming to rule over them, they seized Lycophron and put him to death.

Troubles at the close of Periander's reign.

Lycophron.

The murder of Lycophron.

Periander resolved on a terrible revenge. Three hundred boys from the leading families in Corcyra, were carried away

to be sent to Alyattes, that they might be made eunuchs for the service of the Lydian court. Fortunately those who were in charge of them put in at Samos on their way to Sardis. On hearing what a fate was in store for the boys, the Samians directed them to attach themselves to the temple of Artemis. From this asylum they would not allow them to be removed, and when the Corinthians attempted to starve them out, they held a festival with dances of girls and boys who carried cakes and sweetmeats, which the Corcyraean boys were allowed to snatch from the bearers as they approached them in the dance, and by this means they were kept alive till the Corinthians, weary of the delay, returned home. We do not hear that Periander made any attempt to revenge himself upon the Samians.[1]

The revenge of Periander.

From another source—later it is true—a different account of the sons of Periander has come down to us. He had four, all of whom perished before their father. Evagoras was slain at Potidaea; Lycophron fell in the attempt "to establish a tyranny among the Perioeci;" Gorgus was killed by a fall from his chariot; and Nicolaus, the gentlest, was slain by conspirators at Corcyra, when it was known that Periander, who was in fear of violence, had resolved to summon his son to Corinth, and reign himself at Corcyra. Periander revenged the murder of his son by putting to death fifty conspirators, and carrying away a number of boys as hostages, whom he placed at Samos. In the room of Nicolaus he established Psammetichus, the son of his half-brother Gorgus, at Corcyra.[2] Whatever the truth about these unhappy incidents, they were quickly followed by the death of Periander.

Another account; the Sons of Periander.

Periander's death.

18. The character of this tyrant appears in antiquity in

[1] Herod. iii. 50 ff.

[2] Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 60 M. The meaning of the words "establishing a tyranny," which are used of Lycophron, is obscure; perhaps he assisted Procles against Periander. It is highly probable that Nicolaus was slain in an insurrection at Corcyra, which, however,

two different lights. Though early tradition seems to have enrolled him among the Seven Sages—his sayings were quoted beside those of Solon and Thales, for the shrewd practical wisdom which they contained—a later generation did not scruple to charge him with the worst crimes. He was not only a bloodthirsty tyrant, who removed every enemy from his path without pity or remorse, but his cruelty extended to women and children—even to those of his own kindred. In order to provide himself with gold for an offering, he is said to have stripped all the women in Corinth of their ornaments, and, in another version of the story, to have taken even their garments that he might burn them in honour of his dead wife, who, when he consulted her spirit after death, complained that she was cold. This wife he not only killed by an act of savage violence, but he insulted her body after death. Other stories darkened his memory by the stain of incest with his mother, and when it became difficult to reconcile such a character with the reputation of Periander the sage, it was in the course of time assumed that the two persons were distinct. The truth is now beyond our reach. It is clear that Periander was a firm and vigorous ruler, and a great soldier, who extended the power of Corinth to the utmost limits which it ever attained. That he took strict precautions for his own safety is no doubt true, but the accounts which we have of his bloodshed and pillage come from a tainted source. We may believe that his relations with his wife Melissa were unfortunate; she may have fallen a victim to his violence, for the death of a pregnant wife through a husband's brutality is almost a commonplace in the tyrant's career; and her death may have given rise to domestic strife. But in regard to some of the charges brought against Periander, we must remember that in the eyes of Herodotus every tyrant

Character of Periander.

Criticism of the tradition.

Periander was able to quell. The hostages seem to have remained at Samos till Periander's death—at least we hear no more of them. The story of the intended mutilation is no doubt a later touch in the picture.

was or ought to be a monster of iniquity; and in the period when Greek biographies were written, the life of sage or philosopher was thought insipid without an infusion of vice.[1]

19. Periander was succeeded by Psammetichus, the son of his half-brother Gorgus, who had followed Nicolaus in the government of Corcyra. Of his reign we know nothing. When he had sat on the throne three years and a half he fell by the hand of an assassin, and with his death the tyrannis at Corinth came to an end, after a duration of seventy-three years and a half (655-582 B.C.). With the fall of the tyrants Corinth reverted to an oligarchical form of government. The supreme authority was placed in the hands of a Council of eighty as before, of whom eight were prytanes. Each tribe therefore furnished one prytanis and nine councillors to the governing body. The immediate result of the change was not encouraging. Corcyra established her independence; Epidamnus and Epidaurus were once more free. From her position as a great naval power, commanding the sea to the west, and respected as far as Miletus and Egypt in the east, Corinth became a city of merchants, renowned for her wealth, and notorious for her profligacy. The family of the Cypselids experienced the utmost severity of oligarchical resentment. Their houses were torn down, their goods confiscated, and the body of Psammetichus was cast out of the country without burial.[2]

Psammetichus

Fall of the tyranny: the results.

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[1] Suidas has two notices of Periander, the son of Cypselus. In the first he is a sage who composed 2000 gnomic verses, and died of a broken heart (*cf. Anth. Pal.* vii. 620). In the second (=Nic. Damasc. *Frag.* 59 M.), he changed "the monarchy into a tyranny," kept a bodyguard of 300 men, prevented his citizens from possessing slaves, and put an end to their leisure by providing new tasks for them. He fined every one who sat idle in the market-place. From Hermippus we hear that he drowned all the procuresses in the city (Athen. 443 A).

[2] It is remarkable that the last of the Cypselids should bear the name of the Egyptian prince who about this time had done so much for the Greeks in Egypt. It is possible that Cypselus or Periander entered into relations with the Egyptian monarch, or at any rate wished to testify his friendship by this compliment.

MEGARA.

20. In the seventh century Megara played an important part in the development of Hellenic commerce. Her colonies were established in the distant west and in the north, at Selinus and at Byzantium. And at Megara, as elsewhere, the increase of prosperity led to dissensions between the poorer and the richer classes. For though we are ignorant of the internal arrangements of the city, we know that it contained two conflicting elements —the oligarchs, who lived within the city walls and owned whatever rich meadow-land there was in the barren and mountainous country; and the peasants, who "were clad in the skins of goats," and lived on the hills "like deer." Nothing was needed but an opportunity and a man to give effect to the mutual hatred of these parties; and when Theagenes, who was himself of noble birth, seized the herds of some rich oligarchs, which were feeding by a river, he was at once supported by the people, and enabled to put himself at their head.[1] He became tyrant of Megara in the popular cause. The date of his accession to the throne is uncertain, but as Cylon of Athens was his son-in-law (*supra*, p. 296), his reign may be placed in the last three decades of the seventh century.

Theagenes.

His rise.

At this time Megara was at war with Athens for the possession of Salamis (*infra*, p. 398), and it is not improbable that Theagenes owed his position, at least in some degree, to his success in leading the Megarians in this struggle. For a time the Megarians were victorious. Salamis was even occupied by colonists from Megara, probably men of the poorer class, who looked up with gratitude to the Friend of the People by whom they had been placed in possession of their new farms. We are also told that Theagenes supported Cylon in his attempt to establish a tyranny at Athens. Like other tyrants, he

The conquest of Salamis.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* v. 5. 9=1305 *a*.

erected great public works. An aqueduct which he built to convey water into the city is described by Pausanias, 700 years or more after its erection, "as remarkable for its size, ornamentation, and the number of the pillars." This is all that we know of the events of the reign of Theagenes, and of its close we know nothing. There is reason to suppose that he did not retain the throne till his death. When the tide of fortune turned in the Salaminian war, and the Megarians were not only driven from the island but even from their port of Nisaea, the popular feeling may have turned with it, and Theagenes may have been expelled by the combined forces of nobles and commons. At any rate it is very unlikely that a tyrant was on the throne of Megara when the city allowed the dispute about Salamis to be referred to the decision of the Spartans.[1]

Loss of Salamis and fall of Theagenes.

After the restoration the government appears to have been conducted with moderation, at least for a time. The straits to which the city was reduced in the war with Athens probably made the union of classes imperative. Then a change occurred; the race for wealth became all absorbing, and the more so as the external power of Megara began to decline. Money made the man; the old social distinctions were cast aside: birth was less and less regarded, aristocrats married daughters of the common citizens if they had a rich dowry, and high-born ladies did not disdain alliance with wealthy parvenus. Enormous rates of interest prevailed; on every hand were oppression and greed. At length the people retaliated, and a radical democracy took the place of the oligarchy. Of the aristocrats some went into exile, and their goods were confiscated; others, who remained at home, were compelled to feast the poor in their houses under pain of pillage and violence. A law was publicly passed that all sums which had

The Oligarchy.

The Democracy.

[1] See Vogt, *De rebus Megarensium*, Marburgi Catt., 1857, p. 81, where the scanty evidence is collected.

been paid as interest on borrowed money, should be repaid to the borrower. So great was the public contempt of established law and Hellenic custom, that on one occasion the Amphictyons had to interfere to secure compensation for injuries done to a sacred procession on its way through Megarian territory. When this change took place is uncertain, but it cannot have been much later than the middle of the sixth century.[1]

21. Of the condition of the city at this time the Megarian poet Theognis, whose life fell mainly in the second half of the century, has left us a lively picture. He saw the evils of misrule, and himself suffered by them. He warned his citizens that their conduct would end in their destruction; in other words, that the oligarchs, of whom he was one, were going to excess in their greed and dishonesty. "A city, even in the profoundest peace, is on the way to ruin when the people are oppressed, and justice is perverted. Gain gotten to the people's hurt is the root of strife, and civil bloodshed, and 'monarchs.'"[2] "The desire for wealth is all-absorbing; the noble weds the base; women prefer wealth to rank; the old distinctions of birth are set aside."[3] "Wealth is the only virtue in the eyes of the multitude; let a man be just as Rhadamanthus, wise as Sisyphus, eloquent as Nestor, and swifter of foot than the Harpies, yet wealth carries the palm."[4] Thus the city was in agitation, and it was not unlikely that a tyrant would once more arise. "Our city is in labour, and I fear she may bring forth a man to take the lead in cruel party-strife; for though our citizens are good, our rulers are

State of Megara as described by Theognis.

Their Avarice.

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 18 is the *locus classicus* for the Megarian democracy. He notes the restraint of the citizens (ἐσωφρόνησαν); the extreme form of the democracy (ἄκρατος ἐλευθερία, a Platonic term); the invasion of rich houses by the poor; and the παλιντοκία. The outrage of the Megarians on the Theori is recorded in *Quaest. Graec.* 59. From Aristotle (*Poetics*, c. 3) we learn that comedy arose at Megara during the time of the democracy. No doubt the populace were inclined to be merry under the circumstances!

[2] Theogn. 43 ff. [3] *Ib.* 183 ff. [4] *Ib.* 699 ff.

on the way that leads to wickedness."[1] Then we hear of the rising of the people, of the poverty and banishment of the nobles: "Our city is the same, Cyrnus, but the people are changed; those who in the old days knew nothing of law or justice, but went about with goat-skins on their shoulders, and lived far from the city like deer, these are now the gentlemen, and the nobles of old are the commons. So every one cheats and robs his neighbour, for they know not evil from good."[2] "Grant my prayer, O Zeus in heaven; vouchsafe that I may taste good after evil. O that I might pay them back the evils which they have done me, as is right, but I have no power to avenge me on the men who have robbed me of my goods; I am like a dog which in crossing a torrent has lost everything in the stream. May I drink the heart's-blood of them; this wish I pray some gracious deity to bring to pass."[3] "I went to Sicily, and to the plain of Euboea rich in vines, and to Sparta, the fair city by the reeds of the Eurotas. A kindly welcome I found with all; yet my heart was not glad within me; so true is the saying: 'There is no place like home.'"[4] His complaints of poverty are bitter: "Ah cruel poverty, why dost thou weigh upon my shoulders to the shame of body and mind alike? Many an evil lesson thou teachest to me, against my will, for I know what is honest and right among men."[5] The poems which seem to belong to the later part of his life breathe a happier spirit, and speak at any rate of material comfort. "Remind me not of my misfortunes; I have suffered as Odysseus, who came back to earth after entering into Hades, and slew the suitors without mercy, remembering his wedded wife, Penelope."[6] "May Zeus hold his right hand over this city to shield it from harm; and the other blessed gods immortal. May Apollo guide our words and thoughts aright. Let us pour libations to the blessed gods, and drink about merrily, regardless of the Medes."[7]

The change of parties.

The poet's own distress.

Theognis' exile.

[1] Theogn. 1081 ff.; *cf.* 39 ff. [2] *Ib.* 53 ff. [3] *Ib.* 341 ff.
[4] *Ib.* 783 ff. [5] *Ib.* 649 ff. [6] *Ib.* 1123 ff. [7] *Ib.* 757 ff.

Throughout the whole of the poems, Cyrnus, to whom they are addressed, is warned to put no trust in the "base" (*i.e.* the people); they are false, feeble and treacherous. No "base" man is true in adversity; he seeks nothing but his own advantage, and he who associates with him becomes like him. Such a spirit of distrust and animosity between high and low was of evil omen for the peace of the city. But the decline of Megara was inevitable. Her territory was too small for the city to maintain a great position when severed from her colonies. Before the end of the century she was eclipsed by Athens and by Aegina.

The spirit of distrust.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOLON.

I.—THE STRUGGLE FOR SALAMIS.

1. Across the bay of Eleusis and in the very eye of the citadel of Athens lies the island of Salamis, which at one extremity almost touches the coast of Megara, and at the other approaches the harbour of Athens. In the earliest times the island is said to have formed an independent state, governed by kings of the stock of Aeacus, but afterwards it declined, owing to the growth of the neighbouring cities of Aegina and Megara, and passed into the hands of the Athenians. Towards the end of the seventh century B.C., the Megarians, instigated perhaps by Theagenes, obtained possession of the island. The Athenians attempted to dislodge them, but in vain. Every effort failed, and at length, in the course of a long and distressing war with Megara, Athens was reduced to such a state of despondency that a law was passed forbidding any one to propose to recover Salamis on pain of death.[1]

Salamis.

Lost by the Athenians.

Then Solon, the son of Execestides, who traced his descent from the old royal family of Attica, "indignant at the disgrace which had fallen on his city, and seeing that many of the younger citizens were eager to recover the island but durst not speak of it," resolved to bring the matter once more into public notice. Elegiac verse had already been used by Callinus and Tyrtaeus to rouse the spirit of despondent warriors: Solon now composed an elegy on the loss of Salamis. In order to evade the law which made it

Solon rouses the people.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 8; Polyaen. i. 20.

death to speak of the island, he pretended to be mad, and no longer responsible for his actions. When the favourable moment came he rushed into the market-place in a herald's cap, poem in hand, and, mounting the stone from which the herald made proclamation to the people, he recited his verses: "I am a herald from lovely Salamis; my song is my message. O that I could change my country, and be no more an Athenian but a man of Pholegandros or Sicinos, for soon the words will be in the mouths of all men—'This is one of the Athenians who abandoned Salamis.' Let us away to Salamis; let us fight for the lovely island, and thrust from our shoulders the load of shame."[1] The poem had the desired effect. Pisistratus, who was then quite a young man, took the lead in supporting the movement, and the law was repealed. An expedition was sent against Salamis under the command of Solon; the island was recovered, and for a time remained in the possession of the Athenians. Even Nisaea, the port of Megara, was captured (about 600 B.C.).

The island reconquered.

2. The Megarians were not inclined to give up Salamis without a struggle, and the recovery of Nisaea was absolutely necessary for their marine. Within five or six years from the date of Solon's success, the Athenians were dislodged from the island and the port. The war thus renewed went on for years with varying fortune, until at length both sides agreed to leave the dispute to the decision of five Spartans: Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, Cleomenes. It was a current story in antiquity that Solon, or Pisistratus—for both names are mentioned—attempted to influence the award by inserting a line in the *Iliad*, to the effect that Ajax of Salamis ranged his ships at Troy beside the Athenians.[2] This was

Final settlement of the dispute.

[1] Solon, *Frag.* 1, 2, 3 Bergk. The poem extended to 100 lines (Plut. *Sol.* 8), but only eight lines have been preserved.

[2] *Il.* ii. 557, 558. The genuineness of l. 558 is contested; see Monro's note *ad loc.*

brought forward as a proof that Salamis belonged to Athens in the heroic age! Whatever the arguments advanced on either side may have been, the island was finally assigned to the Athenians,[1] who divided the land among their citizens.

II.—THE WAR WITH CRISA.

3. About the same time the Athenians were engaged in a war with Crisa, a city adjacent to Delphi, which sought to maintain her claim to the possession of the shrine of Apollo. The sanctuary lay in the territory of Crisa, and had originally been under her control, but the Delphians, as their prosperity increased, claimed to be an independent community; the oracle, they said, was the property of the Hellenic nation, and no longer in the jurisdiction of Crisa. They also charged the Crisaeans with exacting tolls from the pilgrims who landed at their port of Cirrha (at the mouth of the Plistus) on their way to the oracle. The matter was brought before the Amphictyonic Council, where Solon took a leading part in the discussion. He urged the Amphictyons to support the Delphians, and to put an end to the unjust extortion of the Crisaeans. "Let all come to the help of the god; and take part in the

Crisa and Delphi.

[1] The chief source of our knowledge of the Salaminian war is Plutarch, who quotes no authorities for his statements. He distinguishes four stages in the progress of the struggle; (1) Salamis is taken by Megara; (2) it is recovered by Solon, with help from Pisistratus; (3) is lost again; (4) after a long contention is finally assigned to Athens. Herodotus mentions the capture of Nisaea by Pisistratus (i. 59), who, he says, was general (polemarch?) when he took it. For the passage in Homer see Plutarch, *Sol.* c. 10, and Strabo p. 393. With regard to the chronology, it is difficult to believe that Pisistratus took a prominent part in a war before 600 B.C., as he lived till 527 B.C., and he cannot have been a polemarch till much later (the polemarch, as an archon, would be thirty years old or more). Yet if the war with Salamis was the beginning of Solon's influence in Athens, his success cannot be put later than 600 B.C. The loss of Nisaea is stated by Plutarch to have taken place before the visit of Epimenides (in 596 B.C. ?). The Megarian war must therefore have lingered on from the time of Solon into that of Pisistratus.

holy cause."[1] The conduct of the war was intrusted by the Amphictyons to Clisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon; the Athenians took the field under Alcmaeon, and a body of Thessalians marched to their aid under the command of Eurylochus. In spite of this array of forces the enemy was able to hold out for ten years (595-586 B.C.) Crisa was the first to fall. The oracle had declared that the city would not be taken till the sea washed the shrine of Apollo, and as Delphi lay at a distance of some miles from the coast, this response filled the Crisaeans with hope. But Solon, who was present with the army, persuaded the three commanders to agree in consecrating the Cirrhaean plain to Apollo, and by this means to bring the precincts of the god down to the sea-shore. Further resistance was in vain, and Crisa now fell into the hands of the allies. Cirrha still held out, and was only reduced by the ingenious strategy of Solon, who impregnated the water of the Plistus with hellebore, thus rendering the Cirrhaeans who drank it unable to remain at their posts. Both cities seem to have been destroyed —Crisa so completely that the name and site became doubtful. The harbour of Cirrha was blocked up; the walls pulled down; the inhabitants sold into slavery; the territory consecrated to Apollo, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Pronaea. Nothing was to be sowed or planted upon it, and any one who attempted to restore the fruitful plain to the service of man was under the curse of the god and the ban of the Amphictyons.[2]

The first Sacred War.

Destruction of Crisa and Cirrha.

Consecration of the territory.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 11. In *Hymn. Apoll.* 262 ff. Crisa includes the whole district from the shore to the temple. An interpolation in Strabo tells us that Cirrha was destroyed by Crisa, which was afterwards destroyed by the Amphictyons.

[2] Strabo places Cirrha on the sea-shore opposite Sicyon, and distinguishes it from Crisa (p. 418); Pausanias regards Crisa as the ancient name of Cirrha (x. 37. 5). Cirrha was the larger and more important, though the more recent town; and probably the Crisaeans had little more than a nominal authority over it; but the Delphian priests did not make any nice distinction in the guilt of their rivals. Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 107 ff.

4. The end of the war was marked by the institution of the Pythian Games. From ancient times there had been musical contests at Delphi, in which poems were sung, to the music of the harp, in honour of the god. These contests were now enlarged. The flute was added to the harp, and used not only as a separate instrument, but in playing the accompaniment to elegies, though this combination (αὐλωδία) was immediately discarded as unpleasing. Gymnastic trials of strength were also held (586 B.C.), and, in the second celebration of the games, races with horses and chariots, the hippodrome being laid out in the territory of Cirrha. This part of the festival was quite at variance with the traditional feeling of the Delphians, if we may trust the author of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. In his opinion the rattle of chariots and the watering of mules at the holy springs would be vexatious to the deity; while elaborate games would divert attention from the temple. Echembrotus of Arcadia, Melampus (?) of Cephallenia, and Sacadas of Argos were victorious in the first musical contests; the prize in the first chariot race fell to Clisthenes. The new games were celebrated once in four years, in the autumn of the third year of the Olympiad.[1]

The Pythian Games.

III.—THE VISIT OF EPIMENIDES.

5. These wars, however national or sacred might be the cause, however satisfactory the result, did not long divert the minds of the Athenians from their troubles at home. In spite of the failure of Cylon's attempt, his party became powerful in the state, and the political differences which had separated them from the party

Distress at Athens.

[1] Paus. x. 7. For the date see Thuc. v. 1, with Arnold's note. *Hymn. Apoll.* 89-96. The position of Alcmaeon as general of the Athenian forces—for which Plutarch quotes the Delphian records—is remarkable. The date of the war seems to fall in 595-586 or 592-583. Yet only a few years previously the race of the Alcmaeonidae had been declared accursed and banished from Athens, and this Alcmaeon must have been the son of the Megacles on whom rested

of Megacles were now aggravated by the memory of a terrible crime. The stain of blood was still on the city—so deeply felt that the murderers of Cylon were now known as the "Accursed," and, thus embittered by religious hatred, the strife of parties ran to a height which seemed likely to endanger the state, when Solon once more came to the rescue. By the influence which he had gained with both sides, he was enabled to play the part of mediator. In order to satisfy the strong feeling which existed in the city he persuaded the "Accursed" to submit themselves to the decision of a jury composed of three hundred men taken from their own order, and when the decision of the court went against them, the living were sent into banishment; the bones of the dead were dug up and thrown beyond the borders of Attica.

The 'Accursed expelled.

Severe as this sentence was, it seemed to come too late. The Megarians had meanwhile got the upper hand in the contest for Salamis, and the Athenians in their distress connected this disaster with the offence which had brought upon them the guilt of bloodshed. Superstitious fears took possession of the city; ghosts and apparitions were seen; the seers were warned by the sacrifices that further expiations were needed to appease the wrath of heaven. In this emergency the Athenians invited the assistance of Epimenides of Phaestus in Crete, a man of superior reputation for sanctity and sacerdotal power. On his arrival he found the city in a state of miserable distraction and excitement. Families were being ruined by extravagant rites and ceremonies; the wailing of mourners had become a disorderly and contagious frenzy. By introducing some alterations into the ritual at funerals, and

The Visit of Epimenides.

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the guilt of the Cylonian massacre. In the first celebration of the Pythian games prizes of value were given to the victors, doubtless from the spoils of Cirrha; in the second (582 B.C.) crowns of laurel only were given. Duncker puts the capture of Crisa in 590 B.C., and the end of the war in 583 B.C. (*Hist. Greece*, ii. 402 ff.). I have kept Pausanias' date of the games (Ol. 48. 3).

forbidding the wild lamentations, Epimenides was able to check extravagance, and to put an end to excessive indulgence in grief. More than all, by propitiations and purifications, and the establishment of new modes of worship, he soothed the prevailing excitement and induced the citizens to listen to reason, and return into harmony with one another. At his departure the Athenians, in gratitude for his services, offered him large sums of money and marks of high distinction, but of these he would accept nothing. He asked for a branch from the sacred olive of Athena on the Acropolis, and with this reward returned to Crete.[1]

Nature of the distress.

There have been times in the history of many nations when superstitious fears have prevailed with remarkable force, and in ancient Greece these seasons of excitement were by no means uncommon. No crisis but had its prophets who filled the people with alarm, nothing supernatural that was not readily believed. The beginning of the sixth century B.C. was in a peculiar degree a time of religious emotion. It was marked by the rise of that Orphic literature, by the spread of those mysteries, which, however contemptible in our eyes, were full of meaning to the Greeks. The sleep which rounded life was broken by dreams; the simple worship of ancestors was disturbed by puzzling thoughts of a hereafter; and with the deepening sense of moral guilt came the need of more efficacious means of expiation. Out of this labour of the spirit there was born for the nobler minds the poetry of Pindar and Aeschylus, the philosophy of Heraclitus and Parmenides; but the majority soothed their apprehensions with rites and ceremonies,

No reason to doubt the account of Plutarch.

by the offering of a pig (made of dough), and by attendance at childish or obscene displays. For these reasons we may accept the picture which Plutarch has given of the religious despair of Athens at this time, and of the healing effect of the ministrations of

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 12. Myron of Phlya undertook the accusation of the "Accursed." The date of Epimenides' visit may be placed in 596 B.C.

Epimenides as in the main a true one, for it is drawn in colours which harmonise with the situation.

IV.—THE ARCHONSHIP OF SOLON.

6. The affair of Cylon had thrown into the background troubles of a more lasting nature, which, when the religious distress abated, again began to agitate the people. Nothing had yet been done to remove the burden of debt and poverty which oppressed the poorer citizens; the old strife of parties had never been healed. Melancholy indeed is the picture which is drawn for us of the social state of Athens at this time. In the higher classes there prevailed a spirit of selfish greed, in the lower there was hopeless misery and degradation. The wives and daughters of the rich seem to have lived in luxury, marriages more especially being occasions of great and ostentatious extravagance; while the yeoman was obliged to sell his children into slavery in order to purchase release from the crushing claims of his creditor.[1] Such a contrast of rich and poor was fraught with great dangers, which no one observed more clearly than Solon. He saw that internal strife, when a powerful neighbour like Theagenes was at hand to take advantage of it, was not unlikely to end in the ruin of the state, and he pointed out his view of the situation in an elegiac poem addressed to the people. "It is not the will of the gods that our city should perish, for over us are spread the hands of our guardian goddess Pallas Athena; it is the desire of gain which will bring us to ruin; the thoughts of our leaders are not honest, and their greed will bring great evils upon them. They cannot be satisfied and enjoy the feast soberly; they rob the people and the gods without fear of justice. Meanwhile many of the poor go into foreign lands, sold as slaves, and burdened with shameful bonds. My spirit bids me warn the Athenians of the evils of misrule. Under a good government all is well

Poverty and wealth at Athens.

The warning of Solon.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 13, 20.

and fair. Order puts the wicked into chains; order makes the rough places plain, brings down the proud, withers mischief in the bud, makes the crooked sentence straight, softens acts of cruelty; order puts an end to faction and the rage of civil strife."[1]

Solon elected Archon.

7. Solon enjoyed the confidence of all parties. Though by birth he belonged to the aristocracy, his fortunes had thrown him among the merchants, that by trade he might repair the damage done to his property by the excessive liberality of his father. Twice he had come forward in a time of public distress and rescued the city from a most serious situation; it was resolved to ask his assistance once more, and in 594 B.C. he was elected archon, with power to mediate between the various factions in the city.[2] To an ordinary Greek such a position would have been merely the stepping-stone to a tyranny. He would at once have enlisted the people on his side, and established himself in supreme power by the overthrow of the oligarchy. Many citizens, and especially his own kindred, urged Solon to take this step; many more despised him for refusing to take it, but neither taunts nor persuasion prevailed on him to go beyond his powers. He accepted office with misgiving, knowing well that the arrangements which might be best for all parties would probably be those which would satisfy none.

The Seisachtheia.

His first measure was the famous Seisachtheia. Every citizen who had been sold into slavery, at home or abroad, was restored to liberty; all debts secured upon the person or landed property of the debtors were cancelled; and for the future no one was allowed to lend money on the security of the debtor's person. "Some authorities, as, for instance Androtion (fourth century B.C.), are of opinion that the Seisachtheia was no more than a moderation of the rate of interest; but the majority assert that it was a cancelling of all contracts alike, and with this view

[1] Sol. *Frag.* 4 B.
[2] Plut. *Sol.* 14.

Solon's words agree." [1] Solon's words are: "In the day of vengeance, dark Earth, mightiest mother of the gods of Olympus, will be my surest witness of this, from whom I removed pillars planted in many places, and whom I freed from her bonds. Many citizens, who had been sold into slavery under the law or against it, I brought back to Athens their home; some of them spoke Attic no longer, their speech being changed in their many wanderings. Others who had learnt the habits of slaves at home, and trembled before a master, I made to be free men. All this I accomplished by authority, uniting force with justice, and I fulfilled my promise." [2] From this it is clear that by some means debtor-slaves were restored to liberty, and lands burdened with debt were relieved of the incumbrance.[3]

Solon's account of it.

8. At the same time Solon made a change in the coinage, introducing into Attica the standard known as the Euboeic in place of the old Attic or Aeginetan (see *supra*, ch. xi. § 22). The difference between the two standards was about 38 per cent.; at least this was the difference assumed by Solon, who recoined seventy-

Alteration of the standard of coinage.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 15.

[2] Sol. *Frag.* 36, 37 B.

[3] It is true that we cannot establish the meaning of "mortgage pillar" for ὅρος by reference to other passages in contemporary literature (Cox, *Hist. Greece*, i. 201) but this, which is the common meaning in legal Greek, appears to be the only admissible meaning here. If we translate ὅροι "boundaries" (as Cox suggests), we must accept one of three explanations:—(1) Either Solon introduced liberty of sale in land, so that properties burdened with debt could be sold and the debt paid; or (2) he introduced a redivision of property (thus removing the boundaries); or (3) he put back into their old place the boundary stones which had been moved so as to encroach on the property of others. The first meaning is against the sense of the whole passage; it would be little better than irony to speak of land as "liberated" which had been sold to pay debts. The second is against the testimony of antiquity; as a redivision of the land was precisely the measure which Solon did not propose. The third sense puts a forced meaning on the word ἀνεῖλον, which means "I took up," or even "I destroyed," without any reference to replacing in a previous position. See Mr. Lang's *Introduction to Aristotle's Politics*, p. 88.

three of the old drachmas into a hundred of the new. This measure has often been regarded as a part of the Seisachtheia; as though the change was intended to be a relief for those who had sums of money to pay. For, by availing himself of the new standard any one who owed a hundred drachmas in the old coinage could pay them in the new, and retain thirty-eight drachmas out of the debt. Those who take this view are compelled to maintain that Solon did not cancel the debts secured on land, but reduced the capital by the sums paid in interest, and provided that the rest should be paid in the new coinage. But as we have seen, this view of the Seisachtheia is not supported by the account of it which Solon himself gives. On the other hand, if all debts on land and person were cancelled, it is difficult to see what debtors benefited by the change in the coinage. It is true that any one who possessed a stock of money, and also owed considerable sums, might save largely by paying his debts in the new currency; but when the laws of debt were so severe, and the rate of interest so high, no one was likely to borrow if he had ready money. And if he had borrowed on the security of land, he was entirely freed from the debt by the terms of the Seisachtheia. The alteration of the coinage, therefore, was merely a regulation intended to facilitate business and trade, not a device for the relief of debtors. At the same time it appeared to increase the wealth of those who had money at the moment when they were called upon to make sacrifices by cancelling many debts that were due to them.[1]

This change not a part of the Seisachtheia.

9. As Solon had foreseen, the measure caused general dissatisfaction. The rich were annoyed at the loss of their money, the poor, who had looked forward to a complete redistribution of property, were discontented with the relief which had been given. In time the evil brought its own remedy. Each party found in the complaints of the other a reason for acquiescing in a measure which, while giving

[1] Plut. *l.c.*; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. xlii.

assistance to the poor, had not impoverished the rich. In a short time Solon stood higher than ever in public estimation. He had averted the impending crisis by an arrangement at once firm and impartial, and he had resisted the temptation of a tyranny. When he laid down his office at the end of the year (July 593 B.C.), he was requested to reform the entire political constitution of Athens. The laws, the offices, the political and social arrangements of the city were committed to him for readjustment and correction. It was a solemn charge, but it was placed in worthy hands.[1]

Solon asked to reform the Constitution and the Laws.

V.—THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON.

10. We are not able to give a complete or accurate account of the constitution of Solon, partly owing to the want of materials, and partly because later writers attributed to Solon legal and political institutions of which he was not the author. But we know the objects which he had in view, and we can trace in outline the method by which he attempted to realise them. As the Seisachtheia had removed the bitter feeling which separated rich and poor, so the new form of constitution was intended to destroy the barrier which separated the privileged and unprivileged classes. Hitherto Athens had been an aristocracy; all the political and judicial power was vested in the noble families, against which all other classes in the state were powerless. This opposition it was necessary to remove. Solon felt that a state was not composed of a single class, but existed by the harmony of all classes; that political power must be granted to all according to the measure in which they were able to receive it. On what basis could such a harmonious relation of classes be organised? Obviously not on the basis of birth, which was a source of dissension rather than union, a barrier which

Object of Solon's constitution to destroy the power of the Gentes.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 16.

could only be removed in two or three generations. A property qualification was the only expedient, for riches were a prize which, with the growth of commerce, seemed to be within the reach of all. The increasing importance of money was being felt everywhere in Greece at this time, and, however much the old aristocracies might struggle against it in the spirit of Theognis, the possession of wealth was becoming the means of access to the higher functions of citizenship. Those who were richest had the greatest power. Solon carried out this system more thoroughly than had been done hitherto in any city of Greece, and what was elsewhere a principle of oligarchy he combined with democracy.

Necessity of a property qualification.

II. He divided the citizens into four classes, according to their annual income. The first class, or Pentacosiomedimni, consisted of those whose annual income amounted to 500 medimni (=750 bushels) or more; the second class, or Hippeis, of those whose income was between 500 and 300 medimni; the third class, or Zeugitae, of those whose income was between 300 and 200 medimni; the fourth class, or Thetes, of those whose income was less than 200 medimni. In this census that income alone was calculated which was derived from landed property, profits of trade or business being excluded, so that all merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, etc., who had no landed property, were included in the fourth class, whatever their wealth might be. It was of course open to any rich merchant, if an Athenian, to purchase an estate and thus raise himself into a higher class; and, conversely, any landholder who was compelled by extravagance or misfortune to sell his property, of necessity sank in the political scale. By this means a scheme was provided which not only enabled those who had a share in the country's wealth to exercise a due influence in the government, but removed restrictions which had hitherto prevented the most enterprising part of the community from acquiring important civic rights. But Solon also insisted that the wealth which con-

The four classes of Solon.

Value of the arrangements.

ferred political rights should be invested in landed property. That was a pledge that the welfare of the citizen was closely united with the welfare of his city.[1]

To each of these classes certain duties were assigned. The three highest classes were expected to discharge without payment the expenses inseparable from the offices of state; and the members of the highest class may also have been required, even at this early period, to contribute as trierarchs to the maintenance of ships of war. From the Hippeis the horse soldiers of the community were selected, the equipment and maintenance of a horse being a matter of considerable expense at Athens. The Zeugitae were the heavy-armed soldiers of the state; it was their duty to provide themselves with the necessary armour, except a shield and lance, which were given to each citizen at the public expense on his attaining his majority. From the Thetes no military service was required, or nothing beyond their appearance in the field as light-armed soldiers. Nor were they eligible to any office of state. But as rowers in the triremes they formed the most important part of the Athenian navy.[2]

Duties imposed on the classes.

12. Having thus removed aristocratical privilege, Solon proceeded to arrange the constitution on the broad principle that every citizen should have a voice in it. Before his time the Ecclesia or General Assembly of the citizens may have had the power of deciding on peace or war; such at least is the probable conclusion, and we have nothing but probability to guide us in forming an opinion. Solon assigned to it the right of electing the public magistrates, and passing sentence on their conduct at the end of their year of office—rights which obviously imply freedom of discussion. By this addition the Assembly was at

The Assembly.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 18; Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, p. 645; Aristotle (?) *Pol.* ii. 12. 6=1274*a*; Pollux, viii. 130. The qualification for the third class is given at 200 drachmas in Pollux *l.c.*, and Plut. *Arist. Cat.* 1; at 150, in Dem. *Macart.* § 54.

[2] Harpocration, *s.v.* Θῆτες; Arist. *l.c.* The law of Antidosis, which implies liturgies, is ascribed to Solon in Dem. *Phaen.* 1.

once raised to an independent position. The people became the sovereign power in the state, so far as the administration was concerned. They elected and controlled the executive. That they should take any part in civil or criminal legislation was hardly contemplated at the moment when Solon was drawing up a code which he hoped would suffice for the next hundred years.[1]

Two qualifications were necessary in every Athenian who attended the Assembly: he must be of full age, which in Athenian law was fixed at the twentieth birthday, and he must be a citizen. But what constituted citizenship? Were those only citizens who were born of citizen parents on both sides—of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother? or was it enough if the father alone were an Athenian citizen? It does not appear that Solon made any change, and we find instances, both before and after his day, in which leading Athenians married the daughter of aliens. Thus Cylon married the daughter of Theagenes of Megara, and in a later generation Megacles married the daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon; and Pisistratus married the daughter of this Megacles. As there is no suggestion that the issue of their marriages were, or would be, debarred from Athenian citizenship—on the contrary, the son of Megacles was Clisthenes of Athens—we must suppose that it was enough that the father was an Athenian citizen. On the other hand, the marriage must be solemnised according to Athenian rites, and the issue registered in an Athenian phratry. "I give my daughter to Megacles to be his wife according to the laws of the Athenians," are the words of Clisthenes of Sicyon in disposing of the hand of Agariste.[2]

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[1] Arist. *Pol.* iii. 11. 8=1281*b*; ii. 12. 4=1274*a*. The power of deciding on peace and war is not specially mentioned in the *Politics*; but as the people composed the army they could hardly be made to serve against their will.

[2] Herod. vi. 130: Τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέϊ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων. For the treatment of *νόθοι* by Solon, see *infra*.

13. It is not probable that the meetings of the Assembly were frequent. The majority of the population of Attica was still agricultural, living at a distance from the city and much occupied with the labours of the farm. Such men would have little time or inclination to make visits to Athens merely for political purposes. Nor were they likely to be efficient as speakers in the Assembly, or to have any special knowledge of current events. A more compact and permanent body was needed for the satisfactory discharge of public business. Solon met the need by the creation of a Council of 400 members, chosen equally from each of the four tribes—a remarkable institution, which was without a parallel at the time in Greece. Unfortunately we know nothing whatever of the qualifications of the members of this Council, the mode of election, or the arrangement of business. We may conjecture that only the first three classes were eligible as councillors; that the election was managed by the Phylobasileis and the heads of houses, and that the Council was divided into committees which attended daily at the Council Chamber for a fixed time. But these are merely conjectures. Plutarch dismisses the Council of Four Hundred in a single sentence: "Seeing that the people were greatly puffed up and emboldened by the remission of debts, he instituted a second council (in addition to the Areopagus) by choosing a hundred men from each of the four tribes; to these he assigned the duty of preparing measures for the people, and they were to forbid anything to be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by them." This was, of course, the duty of the Council in later times; and may have been its duty in the time of Solon; but we cannot suppose that this was the sole or the chief reason for its creation. If, on the one hand, it was a check on the Assembly, it was, on the other, the representative of the Assembly in the transaction of current affairs and in controlling the public officers in the discharge of their duty. Not a single act of the Council has been recorded during the whole period—nearly a century

The Council of Four Hundred.

Its popular character.

—between Solon and Clisthenes. But when Cleomenes and Isagoras wished to overturn the Solonian constitution in the interests of an oligarchy, the Council was the point of resistance, a fact which is alone sufficient to prove the popular and democratic nature of the institution.[1]

14. The archons still continued to be the chief executive in the state, and in this respect Solon did not add to or diminish their functions, or interfere with the existing division of power among them. Whether they were chosen from the first three classes in the Solonian census, or from the first only, has been doubted. In the *Politics* of Aristotle, the first three classes are separated from the fourth, "which had no share in any office," but no distinction is made in the privileges of the first three. Plutarch, however, finds a proof that Aristides belonged to the first class in the fact that he was archon, and this inference, which is not inconsistent with the statement in the *Politics*, is probably right.[2] But the archonship was by no means left unchanged by the constitution of Solon. On the one hand, it was ennobled by the reform of the Areopagus, of which the archons formed a part in their year of office, and for the rest of their lives; on the other, it was limited not only by the action of the Assembly and the Council, but also by the institution of the Heliaea, to which there was an appeal from the judicial sentence of the archons.

The archons.

Probably chosen from the first class only.

15. Solon did not aim merely at the creation of a political machine; he desired to regulate the moral and social, no less than the civic, life of the Athenians. It was not, in fact, possible to separate the two. In the small communities of Greece public and private life were more closely connected than they are now; ethics and politics were necessarily combined, because it was impossible for any

The reform of the Areopagus.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 19.

[2] *Ibid. Aristid* 1; Arist. *Pol.* ii. 12. 6 = 1274*a*. This chapter is of doubtful authenticity.

form of government to exist which was not supported by the good-will of the citizens. That constitution, and that alone, was firmly established which satisfied the aspirations of the people, and had its roots fixed in their affections. With this object in view, Solon established the Council of the Areopagus. We have seen that even before his time the hill of Ares was the most solemn place of judgment in Athens; it may also have been the place of meeting of the old aristocratical Senate. With this ancient and hallowed site Solon identified the Board which he intended to be the supreme authority on all matters touching the social and moral welfare of the state, and by this means he secured for his new Council the force of tradition, and the associations of holy ground. The Council consisted of the archons and ex-archons—*i.e.* of members selected from the aristocracy, but chosen by the people. As the archonship was open to the first class only, and those who offered themselves for it must be men over thirty years of age and of blameless life and character, Solon at one stroke created a Council composed of the best representatives of the highest class of citizens, who in the first instance received their position by the votes of the whole people. The members were elected for life, which enabled them to exercise their power fearlessly, and with the growth of time their numbers became considerable. Allowing twenty years for the average life of the ex-archon, the whole body of the Areopagus would not be less than 200 in number. The Council represented the best practical wisdom, the most tried moral and political worth in the city. It also confirmed the rich in their position, but only when they gained the votes of the community.

Before the Council all cases of intentional homicide, intent to murder, arson and treason were brought for trial. But it received other powers even more important, which enabled it to exercise a paternal control over the city. Even if no formal complaint was brought before it, the Areopagus had the right to make inquiries into the life of the citizens and their means of sub-

Power of the Areopagus.

sistence; its sentence fell on the idle and profligate no less than on the criminal. The members were irresponsible; their decisions could not be revoked, and they appear to have been rarely impugned. "It was the bulwark of the land and city, the like of which no man had seen either in Scythia or in the island of Pelops; a Council incorrupt, awful, and severe; a watchful guardian over those that slept." To the last it continued to retain the respect and admiration of the best citizens of Athens; and, though stripped of its prestige by Ephialtes, it seems to have been restored to a considerable degree of power after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants. The two councils, the Areopagus and the Four Hundred, Solon regarded as the two anchors of the state, and time confirmed his opinion.[1]

16. As the archons were chosen from the first class only, and the Areopagus was composed of archons and ex-archons, the administration of the law was entirely in the hands of the aristocracy. This could not fail to be a serious danger: it was of little use to have one law for the rich and poor, if the administration of it lay in the uncontrolled power of the rich. To remove this difficulty Solon created a Heliaea, or popular court of law. From the citizens of every class, who, being over thirty years of age and of good character, chose to offer themselves for the purpose, a certain number were annually selected and empanelled as a jury, after taking a solemn oath. Before this body those officers of state could be tried whose conduct was attacked at the scrutiny in the Assembly; it was also a court of appeal from the judicial sentences passed by the archons. Any citizen who felt himself unjustly treated could bring the matter before a jury of his fellow-citizens. As there was no distinction of classes in the Heliaea, and as the members were numerous, bribery and influence were rendered almost impossible, and by this means the people were secured against the aristocracy. Though this court was the beginning of the later judicial system of

Institution of the Heliaea.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 19; Aesch. *Eum.* 703 ff; *supra*, p. 308.

Athens, it must not be confounded with it. In the first instance the Heliaea was not concerned with the immediate decision of law-suits, but with cases which came to it from the Ecclesia or the archons, and as the members were not paid, and therefore would not devote more time than necessary to their duties as jurors, the meetings were probably rare.[1]

17. Thus did Solon "mix the constitution," combining aristocratical with democratical elements. The people were supreme in the last resort over all questions of peace and war, over the conduct of the executive, and the administration of law—powers without which they could not rise above the condition of slaves. On the other hand, the executive was in the hands of the aristocracy or the rich, to whom also the way to the Areopagus was reserved. Though the Assembly and the Heliaea were open to every Athenian above twenty and thirty years of age, the Senate of Four Hundred, with which rested the initiative in all matters brought before the Assembly, was probably composed of men whose means allowed them to be absent from their property; and the Archons were chosen from the first class only. But these oppositions were softened by the graduated scale of property qualification, which, while destroying the power of that most dangerous element in a small state—a needy aristocracy, made it possible for every citizen to rise into a higher political position. The constitution of Solon was an admirable structure, at once firm and elastic. Even at this distance of time we are astonished at the genius which formed so accurate an estimate of the strength and the weakness of the elements on which he had to work, and created a constitution such as had never existed in the world before, by uniting the past with the future, and the reverence for prescription with the love of freedom. Solon did not, like Lycurgus, crush every natural feeling in the interest of the state, nor place, like Pericles, the city rabble in a position

Nature of Solon's Constitution.

Its worth and impartiality.

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* ii. 12. 4=1274 *a*; Plut. *l.c.* 18.

of supreme authority; he did not confound government with repression nor liberty with licence. Poet, soldier and statesman, he saw life from every side. By his wise impartiality he won the respect and confidence of his citizens, and what he gained he used for the noblest purposes. To the last his memory was cherished as that of the statesman "who loved the people."

VI.—THE LAWS OF SOLON.

18. A code of laws was a necessary part of Solon's reforms. The ordinances of Draco were not only in a great measure useless owing to the severity of the punishments inflicted, but they were probably quite inadequate to satisfy Solon's views of the office of the legislator. In his judgment laws were not merely a means of punishing crime and checking injustice; they might interfere if necessary in the private life of the citizen, and direct his most intimate arrangements, as well as determine and guide his public conduct. His code was thus of a most comprehensive character, and though we cannot suppose that it included all the laws which were at a later time ascribed to Solon, it was no doubt a larger and more complete body of enactments than had previously been brought together. It is impossible and unnecessary here to pass the whole under review; those provisions only will be mentioned which throw a light on the social or political state of Athens at the time.

Necessity of a new Code.

It is a curious feature of Attic law that many acts which we regard as the private affair of those who are injured by them were made public offences, while others of a far graver character were looked upon as private wrongs. Homicide, for instance, in regard to which Solon took over the laws of Draco without change, remained to the last at Athens a private wrong done to the kinsmen of the dead, and if they did not prosecute, the offender escaped. We must not infer from this that murderers were not punished at Athens. Religious feeling and family pride furnished motives for vengeance, and there was no want of men

Personal and public offences.

willing to prosecute. But it is a proof that the unity of the civic body was imperfectly realised. In order to remedy this defect, and at the same time to defend the weak and helpless against those who might otherwise attack them with impunity, Solon made it legal for any one who chose to come forward as a prosecutor in cases of assault and injury. "That city was the best," he said, "in which those who are not injured come forward in defence of those who are, and punish the evil-doer."

19. From the Greek point of view Solon was more successful than Lycurgus in legislating for the women. We have, it is true, very slight evidence on which to estimate either the morality or the education of Athenian women, but of their political insignificance there is no doubt; and it was impossible that they could exercise any social influence, for they were not allowed to appear in society. Silence was their chief ornament, and their highest reputation to remain unknown. The rules which Solon laid down about them were at once more severe and more lax than we should tolerate. Marriage presents were forbidden: the bride could bring three changes of clothing, and furniture of some slight value into her new home, but nothing more. Wealthy wives led to ill-assorted marriages, in which the old were paired with the young, a union neither beneficial to the state nor likely to bring happiness to the household. No woman was allowed to leave home with more than three changes of clothing, and a very small amount of food, or with a basket more than a cubit in length—a regulation which was no doubt intended to put an end to display at festivals in different parts of the country. Excessive wailing at funerals was illegal; three changes of raiment only could be burned at the funeral pyre; and visits to the tombs of those who were not members of the family were forbidden except for the purposes of burial.

Laws about Women.

It was an ancient rule at Athens and elsewhere in Greece, that the next of kin must either marry an orphan girl who was the last of her family, or provide her with a dowry to enable her to find a husband.

The Heiress.

In the case of rich heiresses this sometimes led to injustice. The next of kin might be old, or incurably diseased, but his legal right was indefeasible. To remedy the evils which might thus arise, Solon, while allowing the kinsman to retain his right, shielded the heiress by a number of regulations which made it difficult and unpleasant for any unsuitable person to insist on his claim. Another law relieved the children of a mistress from the duty of supporting their father. "They owed him nothing for the disgrace he had brought upon them by their birth."

In other respects Solon showed a certain inconsistency. If a husband surprised a paramour, he might indeed slay him on the spot; but for offences with violence the fine was a hundred drachmas, and for seduction it was no more than twenty.

A different class of crimes met with severe punishment. Death or loss of civic rights awaited those who had led infamous lives, or attempted to corrupt others. So suspicious was Solon of this evil that the gymnasia were placed under the most stringent rules in regard to the age of those who kept them, the time of opening and closing, and the admission of strangers.[1]

Public morality.

20. Other laws were intended to protect the State. Any citizen who remained neutral in a sedition, lost his civic rights. To Plutarch this appeared a strange and remarkable enactment, but it is easily explained by reference to the condition of Athens at the time. In a period when party strife ran high, it was necessary for the peace of the community that each section should know the strength of the other. If there was a number of citizens who might suddenly declare themselves on this side or that, either party could hope at any moment to be superior to the other, and out of such a state of uncertainty serious evils would arise. It was also of the first importance that every man should take a part in political life. The Greeks had very little respect for the *idiôtês*, the man of retiring disposition, whose interests did

Law about neutrality.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 20-23; Lysias, i. 32.

not extend beyond himself or his family. Through the state the citizen received not only the means of making a living, but the opportunity of developing his social and political nature, and any one who neglected those opportunities neglected the nobler half of his duties. For somewhat similar reasons Solon laid down a rule that those persons only should be adopted as citizens at Athens who were either exiled for life from their own cities, or came to Athens to settle there, after breaking up their old home. A man was not allowed to be a citizen of two cities; he was not to remain at Athens just so long as suited his interests or convenience, and then return to his original home, perhaps to escape some public burden. He must cast in his lot with his adopted city, and share her weal and woe.[1]

The adopted citizen.

21. Before the time of Solon, the property of a man who died without heirs went to his *gens*. He had no power to dispose of it by will or testament. This arrangement was a survival of ancient rules about property which prevailed at a time when individual ownership hardly existed at all, or at the utmost a man had a life interest in what was regarded as common property. His representatives, if he left any, succeeded to his rights, but it was not in his power to alienate these from his gens, if they could not remain in his own family. This disability Solon removed. A man who died without children was permitted to dispose of his property in whatever way he might think proper. But the disposition must be the act of his own free will; the testament was invalid if procured by compulsion or influence—the influence of women is specially mentioned. The testator must also be of sound mind unaffected by disease or drugs. The rule was a great step forwards in emancipating the individual from the control of the gens, and in this respect it is quite in harmony with the general aims of Solon's constitution. But it is doubtful whether the Athenians made use of the freedom to the full

Powers given to make wills.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 20-24.

extent. Whenever it was possible, a childless man preferred to adopt the son of his relations as the heir of his race and property. Plutarch, influenced perhaps by Roman ideas, speaks of the law as putting friendship in the place of consanguinity, but the most common effect of it was that a man left to an adopted son the property which would otherwise have been divided among his relatives within the recognised degrees of inheritance.[1]

22. Another law forbade the exportation from Attica of any article but olive oil. The regulation is of little importance, but it would be interesting to know with what view Solon established it. Was the exception made because olive oil was produced in quantities beyond the requirements of the inhabitants? Or shall we ascribe to Solon the far-sighted policy of fostering by a favourable enactment the growth of produce for which Attica was peculiarly suited? The Attic olive oil was the best in Greece; jars of it were given away as prizes to the victors at the Panathenaea, and an olive spray, or a jar, or both, are constantly found on the coins of Athens.[2]

Exportation of olive oil.

Solon appears to have encouraged trade and handicraft by every means. Among his laws was one which relieved a son from the duty of supporting his father in old age, if the father had neglected to teach him a trade. With the same object he induced many strangers to settle at Athens. It was the boast of the Athenians that they offered especially favourable terms to the aliens who came to their city. Whether this claim is true or not we are unable to decide; it is, however, certain that the trade of Athens was carried on to a very large extent by foreigners resident in the city, and the regulations which were laid down for the control of commerce at Athens were not more burdensome than those in existence at Venice in the fifteenth century.

Laws for the encouragement of trade.

23. A few more laws may be noticed for the light which

[1] Plut. *l.c.* 21.

[2] *Ibid. l.c.* 24.

they throw on the Attica of the time of Solon. An Olympian victor was rewarded with five hundred drachmas, a sum equivalent to the income of a citizen of the first class (for a medimnus was counted as equal to a drachma); an Isthmian with one hundred. Any one who slew a wolf received five drachmas from the state; and for a wolf's cub, one drachma; the first being the value of an ox, the second of a sheep. Those who lived within half a mile of a public well might use it, but beyond that distance a man must dig a well for himself; yet if no water could be found at sixty feet, he might take four gallons twice a day from his neighbour's well. Olives and figs were not to be planted within nine feet of a neighbour's border; swarms of bees must be settled three hundred feet at the least from an existing hive. No one was allowed to cut down more than two olive trees in the year on his estate under pain of a fine of a hundred drachmas.[1] Miscellaneous laws.

Solon also passed a law preventing any citizen from owning more than a fixed amount of land, and he compelled every one to show how he got his living.[2]

The laws were inscribed on wooden *kyrbeis* or tablets, fastened in square frames of wood, so that they could be turned round, and for that reason they were sometimes called *axŏnes*. Some small fragments of the axones were in existence in the Prytaneum at Athens in Plutarch's time. The language of the laws, judged by a later standard, was archaic, but it seems to have been preserved unaltered to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. The Council, as a body, swore to observe and enforce them, and each of the archons pledged himself to set up a golden statue of the size of life at Delphi, if he transgressed them in any point. Solon fixed a hundred years as the time during which his enactments should remain in force. In this he seems to have made a distinction between his legislation and his constitution, for he also spoke of his The axones and kyrbeis. Change in the laws.

[1] Plut. *l.c.* 23. Dem. p. 1074. [2] Ar. *Pol.* ii. 7. 6 = 1266*b*; Herod. ii. 177.

laws, meaning his political arrangements, as the best the Athenians could receive, not the best which he could have devised, and fixed ten years as the period within which no change should be made. Chilon of Lacedaemon, with characteristic severity, considered it a blot on his legislation, that he contemplated any change whatever.[1]

VII.—LEGENDS OF SOLON.

24. When at length his work as legislator was brought to an end, Solon is said to have left Athens. His regulations met with much criticism; in order to avoid making alterations in them, he bound the Athenians by an oath to observe them for ten years, and then departed. In his travels he reached Egypt, where he associated with Sonchis of Sais, and Psenophis of Heliopolis, priests from whom he acquired information about the life and doctrines of the Egyptians. He also visited Cyprus. The fall of the Assyrian empire at the end of the seventh century B.C. had left the princes of Cyprus more independent; but, on the other hand, the severity with which the second empire of Babylon pressed upon the Syrian coast, in the first years of the sixth century, must have exercised a very depressing effect on the trade of the Phoenicians. By the time of Solon's visit, the Greeks were masters of a great part of the island.

Travels of Solon.

Solon was the guest of Philocyprus of Soli, a prince "whom in his poems he extols above all others." According to Plutarch, Philocyprus dwelt in a city of no great size, founded by Demophon the son of Theseus, on the bank of the river Clarius. Though the site was strong, it was inconvenient, and on Solon's advice the prince removed the city to the subjacent plain, where he rebuilt it on a larger and more commodious scale. Solon assisted him with his advice in making the city as pleasant and convenient as possible. Inhabitants flocked to it, to the envy of the neighbouring princes, and the name of the city was changed from Aepea (*steep*) to Soli, in honour of Solon. Some lines of an elegiac

Philocyprus.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 25; Lysias *in Theomnest.* i. 16 ff.; Herod. i. 29.

poem addressed by Solon to Philocyprus have been preserved. "May you long continue to reign at Soli, over your city and people; and may Cypris of the violet crown send me in a swift ship safely from your far-famed island. For the foundation of this city may she grant me her favour and fair renown, and a safe return to my country."[1]

25. More famous than the sojourn in Egypt or Cyprus is the visit which Solon paid to Croesus, the king of Sardis. Whether such a meeting can have occurred is more than doubtful. At the earliest date, Croesus cannot have ascended the throne of Lydia before 563 B.C., and even if Solon's visit fell at the very beginning of his reign, it is later by ten years than the date at which a ten years' period of travel after the work of legislation came to an end. But at the beginning of his reign Croesus had not yet attained that pre-eminent position which the story ascribes to him. It was not till he had extended the borders of his dominion to the sea, by the conquest of the Greek cities of the coast, that the king of Sardis could regard himself as the most prosperous of men. This difficulty in the chronology cannot be removed; but, as Plutarch remarks, it is not worth while, for the sake of a puzzle which no one can solve, to discard so good a story and one so characteristic of the men. Herodotus has rendered immortal the meeting of the wisest of the Greeks and the richest of the Asiatics; the scene forms a page of history which can never be erased. Croesus received the Athenian gladly, and when he had showed him all his wealth and power he asked Solon who, in his judgment, was the happiest of men. Solon replied, "Tellus of Athens." Born of an honourable race, endowed with sufficient means, when he had lived long enough to see his children in prosperity, and children born to them, Tellus fell nobly in battle for his country at Eleusis. Disappointed of the first place in the rank of the happy, Croesus inquired to whom

Solon and Croesus.

The meeting improbable.

Tellus.

[1] Plut. *l.c.* 26; Herod. v. 113.

Solon ascribed the second prize: "Cleobis and Bito," was the answer. These were Argives who had drawn their mother in a car from Argos to the temple of Hera, a distance of more than five miles. When the Argives were loud in their praises of the young men's strength, and the Argive women rejoiced with the mother in the piety of her sons, she prayed to the goddess that her choicest blessings might descend upon them. Then followed the sacrifice and festival, after which the young men retired to rest in the temple. They never rose again, but died in their sleep.

Cleobis and Bito.

Croesus could restrain his indignation no longer: Was he not second in happiness? Were men of private station to be placed before the monarch of Lydia? Solon answered that the days of man are three-score years and ten, and in this long lapse of time there is no certainty that to-morrow will be as to-day. Life is a "chapter of accidents." "I see that your wealth is great," he continued, "and that you are lord over many subjects; but I cannot call you by the title you claim, till I know whether your life has ended happily. The wealthy man is not happier than he who has sufficient for the day, unless it be his fortune to end his life in prosperity. Wealth is not happiness. It enables us to satisfy desires, or support calamities; but a prosperous man has no need of it, for he is untouched by disease or disaster, and his children grow up round him. If such a man end his life as he began it, he may justly be accounted happy." The calamitous fall of Croesus was a signal proof of the wisdom of Solon's words.[1]

The happy man.

26. In a similar spirit the Greeks could tell of other famous men with whom the great Athenian was brought into contact. When occupied with the reform of the constitution, he was visited by Anacharsis of Scythia, who announced his desire to become Solon's friend and guest. Solon replied that "it was better to make friends at home." "In that case," rejoined Anacharsis, "do you, who

Solon and Anacharsis.

[1] Herod. i. 29 ff

are at home, make me your friend." Solon was pleased with the retort, and for a time entertained him hospitably. Anacharsis, on inquiring into Solon's occupation, thought it absurd that laws, which he compared to spiders' webs, could restrain men from wrong and injustice if they had the power to break them. Solon, in answer, pointed to the respect for law which binds men to fulfil contracts even to their own disadvantage. The issue proved that Anacharsis formed a truer estimate of Athenian character than Solon.[1]

Solon and Thales.

On another occasion Solon is said to have visited Thales, the philosopher of Miletus, to whom the tripod, which the Delphian oracle had assigned "to the wisest," had been returned after passing through the circle of the Seven Sages. Thales was a bachelor, upon which Solon rallied him. Upon this Thales disguised a man as a messenger recently come from Athens, and when Solon inquired the latest news, the supposed stranger replied that there was no news of importance except the public funeral of a youth, the son of one of the leading men in the state, who had been absent from his country for a long time. His name he could not remember, but he was a man distinguished for his wisdom and probity. Solon, with growing anxiety, pressed question after question, until at length he asked whether the young man was the son of Solon. The stranger replied that Solon was the father's name. Then Solon began to wail and lament for his son's death, until Thales checked him, saying that the story was his own invention. "But now you know the reason," he added, "why I have chosen to remain without wife or child."[2]

Little known of Solon.

27. It is doubtful whether anything was known of Solon a hundred years after his death, beyond his laws and constitution, and the incidents and traits of character recorded in his poems. Herodotus tells us of the travels on which he went after his legislation,

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 5.

[2] *Ibid. l.c.* 6.

and his meeting with Philocyprus and Croesus. But the years of travel after the work of legislation is over are an incident common to Solon and Lycurgus, and the meeting with Croesus is a manifest fiction. The diligence of Plutarch has added nothing that can be called historical to the account of Herodotus. The interviews with Anacharsis and Thales are of the same fabulous nature as that with Croesus. How Solon attained his power, what was his real position towards the rich and the poor, and what were the circumstances which made his reforms possible—these are facts which no ancient author has made clear to us. His rise is explained by his success in the wars with Megara and Crisa, though it is obvious that neither of these was brought to a successful issue till the Seisachtheia was passed, and the reforms concluded; nor is there a word in Solon's poems which leads us to suppose that he was a great general.

Though we cannot recover the details of Solon's life, we have the means of tracing an outline of his character. Like Archilochus, Theognis, Alcaeus and Sappho, he still lives in his poems. In these he poured out the thoughts which guided and sustained him in his arduous task, in these he sought recreation in lighter moments. But, whether grave or gay, the poems represent the man. In the political verses we observe his fearless criticism of the richer classes, his denunciation of covetousness and greed, his sympathy with the oppressed. Yet there is no attempt to rouse class against class. "I gave the people such a measure of power as was enough, neither defrauding them, nor offering them more than their share And for those who had influence and wealth I took care that they suffered no wrong. Over both I held a protecting shield, and allowed neither to encroach on the other." Had he followed the wishes of either party he would have been "as a wolf among dogs." He rejected with scorn the suggestion that he should make himself tyrant of the city; the position which he attained by his self-control was far higher. Later in life he urged his

His character seen in his poems.

Political verse.

citizens to be on their guard against Pisistratus, whose graciousness was only intended to lull them into a false security; "out of such a calm there must needs break a storm." For himself he desired prosperity and a good name; he would be the favourite of his friends and the dread of his enemies. Wealth is a blessing, but only when justly got, for justice is more abiding than riches. Zeus beholds all things, and sooner or later his sentence falls on the guilty. Men seek for wealth in their various professions and trades, but the end is hidden from all, and honesty remains the best policy.

His thoughts about wealth.

In another poem Solon divides the seventy years of life into periods of seven. In the first period the child has got his teeth; in the second boyhood is passing away; in the third the hair is on the young man's lip; in the fourth he is in the fulness of his bodily strength; in the fifth it is time to marry and think of the generation to come; in the sixth the mind begins to be stronger than the body; in the seventh and eighth periods (between forty-two aud fifty-six) the intellect is at its best; at sixty-three age is coming on, and the powers of thought and speech are not what they were; and if a man lives to the full term of seventy years death will not come on him before the time. Such was human life in the eyes of the wisest of the Athenians. It is a harmonious picture, broad in conception and calm in tone; each period has its allotted joys and powers; let not youth forestall age, or age regret youth, or the closing scene be troubled with idle wishes to outlive the appointed span. Take the goods which are provided; rejoice in the strength of youth, be happy with wife and child, make merry with a friend or at a festival, listen to the teaching of years; if good changes to evil, evil changes to good; the honest man has the gods on his side, and will not lose his reward.[1]

The ten Septenniads.

[1] Solon, *Frag.* 5, 9, 13, 15, 20, 27 Bergk. For the account given of Solon's reforms in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, see the Appendix at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER XIV.

SPARTA IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

1. The success which had crowned their arms in the struggle with Messenia seems to have inspired the Spartans with a hope of new conquests. After the beginning of the sixth century, when Leon and Agasicles were on the throne, they sent to Delphi requesting permission to acquire the whole of Arcadia. The oracle refused to grant so extravagant a request. "Arcadia I will not grant thee; many are the men of Arcadia, eaters of acorns, who will keep thee from their borders; I will grant thee Tegea for a dancing place, and her fair plain to measure with a cord." In the minds of men who had so recently appropriated Messenia, this response pointed to the conquest and division of the lands of the Tegeatae. Providing themselves with fetters for their prisoners, the Spartans at once set out for Arcadia. Their hopes were doomed to disappointment. Far from conquering Tegea, they met with a severe defeat, many Spartans were captured, and the fetters, which they brought with them, were placed on the feet of the prisoners, whom the Tegeatae compelled to work on measured plots in their fields. Equally unsuccessful were all the subsequent attempts of the Spartans to conquer Tegea, though they were victorious in other wars.[1]

The Spartans attack Tegea.

But without success.

2. Meanwhile constitutional changes were taking place at

[1] Herod. i. 66. These fetters were seen in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, not only by Herodotus, but even by Pausanias, 500 years later (viii. 47. 2). They were much damaged by rust in his time!

Sparta, of which we can perceive the results, though we know nothing of the course of events. Chilon the son of Damagetus, who was numbered among the Seven Sages, and esteemed the wisest of the Spartans, is said to have raised the ephorate to a higher degree of power than it previously enjoyed. He was himself ephor in the Fifty-sixth Olympiad (556–553 B.C.). Unfortunately we have no historical record of this remarkable man. Apocryphal stories are related of him, and a number of apophthegms are put into his mouth, as is the case with the rest of the Seven Sages, but whatever the part which he took in the changes which were now introduced at Sparta, it is certain that the ephorate was far more important at the end of the sixth century than it was at the beginning. Henceforth we shall find the ephors constantly interfering with the royal power, claiming to control even the private life of the kings, and gradually assuming the supreme authority in external as well as in internal politics.[1]

Constitutional changes at Sparta.

Chilon.

3. Leon and Agasicles were succeeded on the throne by Anaxandridas and Ariston. In the reign of these princes (about 550 B.C.), the stubborn resistance of the Tegeatae was overcome. When consulted about the disasters which had overtaken the Spartans in the war, the oracle declared that so long as the bones of Orestes remained with the Tegeatae all attempts to conquer them would fail. The first step towards victory was the acquisition of these sacred relics. But where were they hidden, and how were they to be found?

Conquest of Tegea.

The bones of Orestes.

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[1] Chilon had a heroum at Sparta; Lycurgus a temple (ἱερόν)—Paus. iii. 16. 4, 6. To him are ascribed the maxims γνῶθι σεαυτόν and μηδὲν ἄγαν. He wished that Cythera were sunk in the sea, and quarrelled with Solon because Solon anticipated that changes would be made in his laws. See Plut. *Sep. Sap. Conv.* for an imaginary picture of the man. Almost equally imaginary is the long account given by Duncker (*Gesch. des Alt.*, Bk. xiii. ch. 1) of his reforms at Sparta.

The directions given by the oracle were extremely vague. "Where two winds are blowing with a fierce blast; where there is stroke and counter-stroke; and woe lies upon woe." After a long search the bones were accidently discovered by one of the so-called "Benefactors" of the Spartans. Standing in the smithy of a Tegeate, he watched with interest the work which was going on, when the smith, seeing his astonishment, called to him and said:—"Truly, friend, you would have been amazed if you had seen what I have seen in my court-yard." He then told him that in the yard of the smithy he had found a sepulchre containing bones of a superhuman size. When the report of this discovery was carried to Sparta, it was at once perceived that these were the bones of Orestes. The "winds" of the oracular response were the air forced from the bellows; the hammer and anvil were "the stroke and counter-stroke;" the iron, of which deadly weapons are forged, was the "woe upon woe." The Spartans hired the smithy, and conveyed the bones from it to Sparta. Their armies were now victorious; the Tegeatae were quickly overcome, and compelled to join what we must begin to call the Spartan Confederacy.[1]

4. For Sparta was now the foremost state in Hellas. The Messenians had been utterly crushed, and their rich lands formed a part of her domain. She was on terms of close friendship with Elis; the frontier on the north was secured by the recent conquest. No state within or without the Peloponnesus was a match for her in the battle-field, for there only was there a standing army of drilled soldiers, who made warfare and military tactics the objects of their lives; there were warriors who might indeed fall, but were never known to fly. This position was becoming recognised throughout Greece, and Sparta was looked up to as the head and representative of the

Leading position of Sparta.

[1] Herod. i. 67, 68. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 5, mentions a treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Tegeatae which was engraved on a pillar by the Alpheus.

nation. When Croesus, who ascended the throne of Lydia in 560 B.C., inquired at Delphi whom he should choose for an ally among the Greeks, he was directed to Sparta as the foremost city. Thither his envoys went, and they received a favourable answer, for Croesus had already won the good opinion of the Spartans by an act of great liberality. At this time gold was extremely rare in Greece, and when the Spartans required some for the statue of Apollo at Thornax, they sent to Lydia to purchase it. Croesus, however, would accept no payment, and gave them as much as they wanted. The alliance had not been long concluded when Croesus was besieged in Sardis by the Persians. He sent to the Spartans for aid, which they prepared to furnish; but before the soldiers could be embarked the news came that Sardis had fallen, and help was useless.[1]

Sparta and Croesus Lydia.

5. At this moment the Spartans were ill able to spare men for the assistance of a foreign ally. The old quarrel with Argos about the Thyreatis had broken out once more. The district was now, and had been for some time, in the hands of Sparta (*supra*, p. 232) but Argos, perhaps because she had no longer anything to fear from Periander or Clisthenes, thought herself able to press her claims to the disputed territory. In order to avoid a general engagement, it was agreed that the matter should be decided by a contest betweeen three hundred combatants chosen from each side. The battle raged fiercely until three only of the six hundred were left: Alcanor and Chromius of the Argives, Othryadas of the Spartans. Night came on, and the Argives returned home in triumph. Meanwhile Othryadas spoiled the dead Argives of their weapons, which he carried to his camp, and remained on the field under arms. When the morning broke, the armies of both sides came to ascertain the result. Each claimed the victory; the Argives maintaining that they had two survivors against one, the Spartans that their warrior was in possession

Final contest between Sparta and Argos for the Thyreatis.

[1] Herod. i. 69, 83.

of the field and the arms of the dead. The result was a battle, in which the Spartans were victorious.[1]

6. No sooner was this success attained than a fresh application for aid came from the East. Cyrus was now master of Hither Asia; and the Greek cities of the Anatolian coast, which had refused to join him against Lydia, began to feel the weight of his resentment. In their distress they sent envoys to solicit the aid of Sparta. Clad in a purple robe, in order to attract as large an audience as possible, Pythermus of Phocaea, who was elected to speak for the rest, appeared before the assembly, and pleaded his cause in a long and elaborate speech. His efforts were in vain: neither eloquence nor splendour could move the Spartans to send active assistance. They contented themselves with despatching a number of men in a penteconter to watch the course of events in Asia. On their arrival at Phocaea, Lacrines, the most distinguished member of the commission, was sent to Sardis to forbid Cyrus, in the name of the Lacedaemonians, to do injury to any city in Hellas. Cyrus treated the message with contempt. "Who were the Lacedaemonians?" he asked, "and what were their numbers?" He had no reason to fear a nation which made it a custom to meet in an appointed place in order to forswear themselves and cheat each other. Ere long he would give the Lacedaemonians cause to talk about their own troubles, not about those of the Ionians.[2]

The Ionians apply for aid to Sparta.

Assistance is refused.

Cyrus and the Spartans.

Another proof of the estimation in which Sparta was held in the East is afforded by an event which took place about twenty-five years after the visit of the Ionians. When Cambyses was in Egypt, Polycrates, the

Samian exiles at Sparta.

[1] From this contest the Spartans dated their custom of wearing the hair long. The Argives, on the other hand, cut their locks, and bound themselves by an oath that until the Thyreatis was recovered no Argive should allow his hair to grow, and no Argive woman should wear ornaments of gold (Herod. i. 82). Plut. *Parall.* 3, quotes Chrysocomus to the effect that the matter was finally decided by the Amphictyons.

[2] Herod. i. 152, 153.

tyrant of Samos, sent him a number of Samians as auxiliary troops. On the voyage, it occurred to the Samians that they were sent as exiles rather than as auxiliaries. They returned and landed on Samos. But as Polycrates had effectually prevented the Samians in the island from rendering the least assistance by threatening to burn their wives and children (whom he had already placed in the docks for this purpose), the exiles were defeated and driven back to their ships. They now sailed to Laconia, and appeared before the authorities at Sparta, asking for assistance, and setting forth their wrongs, like Pythermus, in an elaborate speech. Once more the Spartans showed their dislike of eloquence. They bade the Samians put their request into a briefer form; they were unaccustomed to long speeches, and could not remember them. The next day the Samians appeared with an empty sack, and said, "The sack needs meal." Even this speech the Spartans considered unnecessarily long; for the mention of the sack might have been omitted. Nevertheless the request was granted, and a force was sent to Samos. Some successes were obtained, but they were fruitless. After forty days of siege, the enterprise was abandoned, and the Spartans returned home.[1]

The Samians ask help.

Spartan assistance useless.

7. By the end of the sixth century the position of Sparta as a leading state was clearly recognised. She became the head of a confederacy which, without being arranged on any formal basis, was henceforth an established fact. On all hands the cities sought her alliance, either from fear or from policy. This was especially the case in the cities which had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the tyrants, Corinth and Megara, inasmuch as the oligarchs, insecure in

Sparta the head of a confederacy.

[1] A story was current at the expense of the Spartans, who had no gold and silver coinage, that Polycrates bought them off with coins of gilded lead. The expedition falls before the death of Polycrates, in 521 B.C. (Herod. iii. 44 ff., 54 f.).

their position towards the people, looked to Sparta for support and guidance. Corinth was now controlled by a senate of eighty members, chosen from the eight tribes (p. 392), under which the laws were well administered, if we may trust the praises bestowed by Pindar on the order and justice which prevailed in the city. But her empire had fallen with the fall of the Cypselids; as a military power she felt herself unable to stand alone, and in spite of the great interests which she had at stake, and the strength of her navy, Corinth never took an independent line in politics. She was content to follow the lead of Sparta, Argos, or Athens, as the development and protection of her commerce required.

Joined by Corinth

At Megara, in the party conflicts which followed the fall of Theognis, the aristocracy had been succeeded by a democracy which punished and impoverished its oppressors. This violence in time produced a reaction, which brought the oligarchs once more into power. By joining the city of Sparta, which now controlled the whole of the west and south of the Peloponnesus, the restored exiles were enabled to keep their opponents in check, and the alliance was the more necessary as democratic principles found support in the neighbouring city of Athens.[1]

and Megara.

8. Of the personal history of Anaxandridas and Ariston, whose reigns fall in the middle of the century, we know nothing beyond the domestic complications of which Herodotus has given such an amusing and graphic account. Anaxandridas had married his niece, the daughter of his sister. Though the union was childless,

Anaxandridas and his wives.

[1] It is stated by Thucydides (i. 18) that "the most and the last of the tyrants in Greece (except those in Sicily) were deposed by the Lacedaemonians." Plutarch, *De Her. Mal.* 21, mentions the Cypselids at Corinth and Ambracia, Lygdamis at Naxos, the Pisistratids at Athens, Aeschines at Sicyon, Symmachus at Thasos, Aulis at Phocis, Aristogenes at Miletus, and two kings, Aristomedes and Angelus, in Thessaly, as tyrants who were suppressed by Sparta. The Spartans did not put down the Cypselids at Corinth, though they may have supported the oligarchs in doing so. The rest of the statement we are not in a position to criticise. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 4 ff.

he cherished a deep affection for his wife, and continued to live with her. The ephors, in alarm for the succession, bade him put her away and marry another woman, that the race of Eurysthenes might not perish, and when Anaxandridas refused to put away a wife against whom he had no cause of complaint, they bade him take a second in addition to the wife whom he already had. To this proposal he assented, and henceforth he kept two houses, an "arrangement anything but Spartan." Soon after her marriage his second wife bore him Cleomenes, who was her only child; and after the birth of Cleomenes, the first wife, who had hitherto been barren, conceived, and bore three sons in succession: Dorieus, Leonidas, Cleombrotus. On the death of Anaxandridas, Cleomenes, as his eldest son, succeeded to the throne.

Ariston and the wife of Agetus.

Ariston, the contemporary monarch of the Eurypontid line, married a woman who, from being the ugliest child, became the greatest beauty of her time. She had previously been the wife of Agetus, from whom Ariston gained her by an act of perfidious treachery. He had long been on terms of intimate friendship with Agetus, and, in remembrance of their mutual affection, he proposed that each should allow the other to choose what he liked best from his possessions. Agetus agreed to this, and chose what he wished from the possessions of Ariston, but when Ariston's turn came he chose the wife of Agetus—a request which was quite unexpected, for Ariston was already married to a second wife. Ariston however insisted on the terms of the agreement, and Agetus gave way. Ariston put away the wife he had, and took to his house the wife of Agetus. Hitherto he had been childless, but by this wife a son was born to him somewhat before the usual time. He happened to be sitting in the council chamber with the ephors, when a servant announced the child's birth. At the moment he repudiated the paternity in the hearing of those who sat with him, but afterwards he repented the rash exclamation, and acknowledged the child as his own. The name given to the son was Demaratus. The exclamation

of Ariston was not forgotten; in the next generation it became a source of contention and disaster at Sparta.[1]

9. Even from his youth Cleomenes appears to have given signs of an ill-regulated mind and passionate disposition. Nevertheless the Spartans refused to depart from the custom which required that the eldest son should succeed his father; and he became king of Sparta. This gave great offence to his half-brother Dorieus, the eldest son of the first wife of Anaxandridas, who was the most distinguished Spartan of his day, and confidently expected to succeed to the throne. Refusing to be the subject of such a monarch, he requested permission to lead out a colony from Sparta. Leave was granted, but Dorieus neglected to consult the Delphic oracle about a site, and indeed "observed none of the usual customs." Guided by the Theraeans, who had themselves colonised Cyrene, he led his party to the banks of the Cinyps in Libya, "the fairest site in all the country." After a lapse of two years, a combination of the native tribes and the Carthaginians made it impossible for him to maintain his position, and he returned to the Peloponnesus. On the suggestion of Antichares, an Eleonean, who pointed out that the territory of Eryx in Sicily, which Heracles had conquered, was declared in the oracles of Laius to be the inheritance of the sons of Heracles, Dorieus now framed a scheme for colonising Heraclea in Sicily. His failure in Libya was a sufficient reason for consulting the oracle about the new venture, and when it pronounced in his favour, he set sail with the same followers whom he had previously led out to the Cinyps. On his way he aided the Crotoniates against Sybaris, and it was owing to his assistance that they destroyed the city; so at least the Sybarites maintained, though the Crotoniates denied that they had received any help from Dorieus. The colony in Sicily was a failure; Dorieus, and all who had gone with him to

Cleomenes succeeds.

Dorieus leaves Sparta for the Cinyps.

Dorieus is slain at Eryx.

[1] Herod. v. 39 ff.; vi. 61 ff.

join in founding the city, were slain, with one exception, by the Phoenicians and Segestaeans.[1]

10. Another incident which occurred not long after the accession of Cleomenes was the visit of Maeandrius the Samian to Sparta. At the time when Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, left the island on his fatal journey to Magnesia, Maeandrius had been put in charge of Samos, and after the death of Polycrates he became ruler of the city. "It was his desire," Herodotus tells us, "to be the most righteous of men, but he failed in the attempt." On hearing of the tyrant's death, he established an altar and consecrated a precinct to Zeus Eleutherius in the suburbs of Samos. Then he gathered together the Samians, and expressed his willingness to lay down the power with which he had been intrusted, if he might take six talents of the money of Polycrates, and retain the priesthood of Zeus Eleutherius as an hereditary honour in his own family. This condescension met with a most ungracious response. "You rule over us, a base-born wretch, and worthless as base! Better give an account of the money in your hands!"—such was the answer of Telesarchus. Maeandrius, perceiving that if he ceased to be tyrant some other Samian would seize the prize, withdrew into the Acropolis; and, sending for his opponents one by one on the pretext of giving in his accounts, he put them in chains. Subsequently he fell sick. In the impression that he would not recover, his brother Lycaretus put all the prisoners to death in order to secure his own passage to the throne. Such was the position of affairs, when the Persians appeared on the island to restore Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, to the throne, by command of Darius. The Samians made no resistance whatever to the invaders. Maeandrius and his supporters agreed to leave Samos, and though his departure was not without danger, owing to the treachery of a half-witted brother, which greatly incensed the Persians, he

Maeandrius at Sparta.

Troubles at Samos after the death of Polycrates.

[1] Herod. v. 42 ff. On Heraclea, see Stein's note on 43. 3.

escaped in safety. He proceeded to Sparta, where he attempted to purchase the help of Cleomenes by the display of a large quantity of gold and silver plate, which he had brought with him for the purpose. Whenever the king visited Maeandrius, this plate was carefully cleaned and placed in the reception-room, and seeing that Cleomenes, who was unaccustomed to such magnificence, regarded it with admiration, Maeandrius begged him to take as much of it as he chose. But now Cleomenes became the "most righteous of men;" he refused to accept the cups or to allow Maeandrius to tempt the virtue of the Spartans, and requested the ephors to give orders that the Samian stranger should leave the Peloponnesus. Maeandrius was expelled from Sparta.[1]

Cleomenes procures the expulsion of Maeandrius.

11. For some time past the Delphic oracle, with which Sparta always stood in the closest connection, had urged the necessity of expelling the Pisistratidae from Athens. Sparta was indeed the acknowledged head of Greece, and as such it was incumbent on her to deliver Grecian cities from the oppression of a tyrant, but the interest of the oracle in the welfare of Athens was due to the Alcmaeonidae, who were not only very influential at Delphi, owing to the liberality with which they had rebuilt the shrine after the fire of 548 B.C., but even bribed the priestess to give such responses to the Spartans as they wished. The Spartans, who accepted the command of the oracle in good faith, at length sent an expedition against Athens under Anchimolius to carry it out, but the attempt entirely failed, owing to the efficient assistance rendered by the Thessalian horse to the Pisistratidae. A second army, which was despatched under the command of Cleomenes, was more successful. The Thessalians were defeated, Hippias and his party were shut up in the Acropolis, and after a few days' siege a happy accident put the children of the besieged in the power of the Spartans. The Pisistratidae agreed to leave

Expulsion of the Pisistratidae from Athens.

[1] Herod. iii. 142 ff

Athens within five days, and Cleomenes returned in triumph to Sparta. The exiles retired to Sigeum (*infra*, p. 458).

Not long afterwards, on finding that Clisthenes, the Alcmaeonid, was gaining the upper hand at Athens, he demanded his expulsion. Clisthenes retired, but Cleomenes nevertheless visited Athens, and expelled seven hundred Athenians in order to establish the power of Isagoras, the opponent of Clisthenes. When he proceeded yet farther, and attacked the Council, he met with great opposition. He was besieged by the people in the Acropolis, which he had seized, and being without provisions he came to terms after two days, and agreed to leave the city. On his return to the Peloponnesus he collected a force of Spartans and allies, to revenge the defeat which he had suffered. He had reached Eleusis without even telling his army what object he had in view, when the Corinthians, discovering the purpose of the expedition, refused to advance, or to take any part in the invasion of Attica, and as Demaratus, the second King of Sparta, who was present, also abandoned the enterprise, the whole army melted away.[1]

Cleomenes at Athens.

Futile attempt to invade Attica.

12. It was not long before the part which the Alcmaeonidae had taken in influencing the responses sent from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians became known at Sparta. It was now remembered that the Pisistratidae had always been the friends of Sparta, and that the Athenians since their liberation had exhibited no feelings of respect or gratitude. There was no hope of attaching them to the Spartan league as the Corinthians and Megarians had been attached, and by this time perhaps the Sicyonians. Certain oracles also, collected by the Pisistratidae, which Cleomenes had brought away from the Acropolis, informed them that Athens, when free, would be a far more dangerous neighbour than Athens under a tyranny. They resolved to restore Hippias, who was brought to Sparta from Sigeum for the purpose. The allies were summoned

Attempt to restore the Pisistratidae.

[1] Herod. v. 62 ff., 69 ff.

to Sparta, and the matter was laid before them. Once more the Corinthians refused to join in the expedition. In an impressive speech, their envoy put before the assembled allies the miseries which Corinth had suffered under the reigns of Cypselus and Periander, and adjured them not to consent to the restoration of that most bloodthirsty and cruel monster, a tyrant. The rest of the allies supported the Corinthians in their refusal. The subject was dropped, and never afterwards renewed.[1]

Defeated by the Corinthians.

13. At some time when Cleomenes was in the neighbourhood of their city, the Plataeans, who suffered from the oppression of the Thebans, came to him, and expressed a wish to put themselves under the protection of Sparta. Cleomenes pointed out that they were at a great distance from Sparta, and that Plataea might be enslaved several times over before the news could reach the Eurotas; it would be better to apply to the Athenians, who were close at hand. This advice was, of course, intended to embroil the Athenians with the Thebans, and it had the desired effect. The Plataeans put themselves under the protection of Athens—an act which the Thebans never forgave. From this time forwards Athens and Thebes were estranged, and, whenever an opportunity offered, the Thebans revenged themselves by invading Plataea and laying waste her territory (*infra*, p. 474).[2]

Plataea and Sparta.

The Plataeans become allies of the Athenians.

14. Cleomenes also undertook an expedition to Argos, in which, though he failed to take the city, he inflicted an almost irreparable blow upon the power and prestige of the ancient Dorian town. As the oracle had announced that he would capture Argos, he marched with a body of Spartans to the Erasinus, which apparently was at this time the border of the Argive territory, but the sacrifices were so unpropitious that he did not venture to

Cleomenes invades Argos.

[1] Herod. v. 90 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* vi. 108; Thuc. iii. 68. See note at the end of the Chapter.

cross the river. While admiring the loyalty of the Erasinus in refusing to betray his citizens, Cleomenes resolved that the Argives should not escape. He returned to Thyrea, and after propitiating the sea with the sacrifice of a bull, crossed with his troops in Sicyonian and Aeginetan vessels to Nauplia. The Argives came down to meet him, and the two armies lay opposite each other near Tiryns, at a place called Sepea. The Argives had been warned against a surprise, and, in order to guard themselves, they arranged their movements by those of the enemy; whatever command the Spartan herald proclaimed to his troops was equally obeyed by them. On perceiving this, Cleomenes bade his men seize their arms and attack the Argives when the herald gave the sign for the morning meal The attack was of course unexpected; many of the Argives were slain, and many were driven into the sacred grove of Argus, where they were surrounded by the Spartans. Having ascertained the names of the fugitives from some Argives who had deserted to him, Cleomenes sent a herald, and summoned them, one by one, giving the name, and announcing that the usual ransom of two minae had been paid. In this manner about fifty men were induced to leave the shelter of the grove, though each was immediately put to death, for the grove was so thick that those within it could not see the fate of their comrades. At length, one of the fugitives climbed up a tree and ascertained the truth. It was now useless to summon any more; Cleomenes therefore bade his helots pile fagots round the grove and set it on fire. While it was burning he asked to whom the wood was sacred, and on hearing that it was the grove of Argus, he became aware that the oracle had deceived him. The Argus which he had captured was not the Argos which he had hoped to capture. He at once dismissed the greater part of his army, retaining only a thousand of the best soldiers, with whom he went to sacrifice at the great temple of Hera. The priest attempted to prevent him, but Cleomenes bade his helots drag him from

Severe defeat of the Argives.

Cleomenes captures the Grove of Argus, but fails to take Argos.

the altar and scourge him, after which he offered the sacrifice and returned home. No fewer than 6000 Argives are said to have fallen in this disastrous invasion. So serious was the loss of men that the slaves became the masters and managers of everything at Argos, till the younger generation grew up and were able to recover their rights. The slaves then established themselves at Tiryns, where they remained for a time in peace till, on the advice of Cleander, an Arcadian from Phigalea, they resolved to attack the Argives; a battle took place, and after a severe conflict they were defeated and reduced to subjection.[1]

Great distress at Argos.

On his return Cleomenes was put on his trial for failing to take Argos. He defended himself by affirming that the oracle which had been vouchsafed to him had been fulfilled by the capture of the grove, and proceeded to relate what had occurred at the Heraeum. When he was sacrificing there a flame shot forth from the breast of the statue, which convinced him that he had gained all the success which the goddess was willing to grant, for if the utter destruction of the city had been intended, the flame would have appeared from the head. This explanation the Spartans considered to be satisfactory, and Cleomenes was acquitted.[2]

Cleomenes tried and acquitted.

15. Another incident of the reign of Cleomenes was the arrival at Sparta of a number of Scythian envoys. Darius, the Persian king, had invaded Scythia; and the Scythians, eager to revenge themselves upon him, sent to Sparta with a view to an alliance and a concerted attack upon Persia. The Scythians were to advance by the Phasis into Media, while the Spartans marched up the country from Ephesus. This attack, if ever seriously contemplated, was not carried out, and the only result of the visit of the Scythians to Sparta was the ruin of

Cleomenes and the Scythians.

[1] Herod. vi. 76 ff., and with some variations (*Hebdome* for *Sepea*, *perioeci* for *slaves*) Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 7=1303 *a*. See Jowett's note *ad loc.* With the difficulty at the Erasinus, *cf.* Thuc. v. 54, 55.

[2] Herod. vi. 82 ff.

Cleomenes, who contracted a habit of intoxication by drinking unmixed wine with his barbarous guests, a habit so unusual among the Greeks that the subsequent madness of the king was by some attributed to this cause.[1]

16. We have now reached the period at which Aristagoras arrived at Sparta, in the hope of inducing the state to join in the Ionic revolt, and the history of Sparta, as of Greece generally, becomes a part of the Persian Invasion. From the middle of the sixth century Sparta had been steadily gaining in power, and at the end of it she was acknowledged on all hands to be the foremost state in Greece. Already enriched by the conquest of Messenia and the extension of her borders towards Arcadia, the humiliation of Argos and the extinction of the tyrants of Corinth and Sicyon left her without a rival in the Peloponnesus. At the same time her severe discipline and martial training probably gave rise to an exaggerated idea of her power. We do not know how large an army she could put into the field; but, even if other states could provide more men, Sparta could send better soldiers. At Plataea her contingent amounted to 5000 Spartan hoplites, an equal number of heavy armed Lacedaemonians, and not less than 40,000 light-armed; for, in addition to her own citizens, she could assemble the perioeci and the helots, though it must be said of the last that if armed they were a source of danger, and if unarmed of comparatively little efficiency.

Great position of Sparta.

Besides her own forces, Sparta was at the head of a great confederacy. Unfortunately we have not sufficient evidence to allow us to state precisely who the confederates were, or the relation in which Sparta stood to them. We have seen that the Corinthians and Megarians looked to her for support; Sicyon and Aegina furnished ships for the invasion of Argolis, and the Tegeatae served as a part of the Spartan army. We may also assume that Phlius and Epidaurus were "allies" of Sparta. In some

The Spartan Confederacy.

[1] Herod. vi. 84.

instances Sparta appears to have been able to demand the assistance of the allies in spite of older claims on their allegiance; and in his attempt to restore Isagoras, Cleomenes called out the confederate forces without so much as announcing the object of the expedition. Nevertheless Sparta was much at the mercy of the other states of the Peloponnesus. They had the power to reject her proposals, and annihilate schemes which she had greatly at heart. We do not indeed hear of any formal arrangements by which it became necessary to consult the states which furnished soldiers to the Spartan kings, but the failure of the expedition against Athens was not likely to be forgotten. In the next century, when we are able to collect more evidence of the nature of the Spartan confederacy, we shall see that a new line of policy was never adopted without previous consultation of the allies, though the final decision seems to have rested with the Spartan Assembly.

Confederacy a check on Sparta.

Another source of weakness was the double monarchy. When Demaratus decided for the Corinthians against Cleomenes, the invasion of Attica was at once rendered impossible. Herodotus informs us that in consequence of this quarrel it became a law at Sparta that the two kings should never go out together on any expedition. This was certainly the rule at a later time, but it is doubtful when it came into force. For when Cleomenes went to Aegina, after his quarrel with Demaratus, to arrest those who were responsible for giving earth and water to Darius, the Aeginetans pointed out, on the suggestion of Demaratus, that as he had come *alone*, he had come without the public authority of Sparta. The personal quarrel was finally settled by the deposition of Demaratus, as we shall have occasion to relate. But the weakness of the arrangement was manifest, and it could only be removed by reducing the kings to the position of generals in chief of the Spartan forces, acting under the control of the state. And this is in fact what the Spartan kings became. They were

Weakness of the double monarchy.

Consequent decline of the royal power.

generals for life, or, speaking more strictly, so long as they satisfied the demands of the state. Even over so vigorous a commander and so headstrong a man as Cleomenes the state was supreme. Not only was he put on his trial for his failure at Argos, but he subsequently left Sparta to avoid a similar danger. Leotychidas, the successor of Demaratus, ended his life in exile under a judicial sentence. Yet at the beginning of the reign of Cleomenes, so far as we can tell, the two kings, when unanimous, were supreme in foreign policy. They could march out whenever they chose, and no Spartan could prevent them, on pain of the public curse. In domestic matters they were under more restraint. Though released from the training, the king lived the common life, and was expected to consult the good of the community even in his private affairs.

As the power of the kings gradually declined, that of the ephors increased. In the administration of the state they held the foremost place; they could banish strangers, and fine citizens, and from their sentence there was no appeal. The next century will supply instances in which their authority became as great in the control of the foreign policy of Sparta as it already was over the internal government of the city and the domestic life of the citizens.

Growth of the authority of the Ephors.

17. While attaining this high position in politics and the field, Sparta either remained stationary in other respects or fell behind. The sixth century was remarkable for the growth of literature in Hellas. It is true that no poet of this period was ever placed on a level with Homer, or perhaps with Archilochus; yet elegy flourished, and lyric song attained an unique excellence in the Aeolic poets, philosophical thought found expression in the Ionian, Pythagorean and Eleatic schools, the foundations of science and history were laid, and dramatic poetry was attracting attention. In this intellectual stir and spring Sparta took no part. In the seventh century she had been the centre of literature, so far as there was a

Sparta loses her position in the world of letters.

literature in Greece at the time—the chosen home of poets and musicians. Terpander, Tyrtaeus and Alcman had largely contributed to shape the education and form the temper of her citizens. Now all was changed. Her solitary representative in the realms of thought was Chilon, whom we may regard as a man of great practical wisdom, but of whom nothing remains or is recorded beyond a few aphorisms and a short poem. Sparta had acquired as much literature as she needed, and she left it to others to attract the minstrels and singers of the new generation. We may even venture to doubt whether the warriors whose obedience to law was the wonder of the world could read and write! Brevity and expressiveness were the tradition of Sparta, where the eloquence of the Phocaean Pythermus was as ineffectual as his purple robe. Plutarch—if it be Plutarch—has preserved for us a collection of apophthegms ascribed to illustrious Spartans, which are read with greater interest than pleasure, as less remarkable for wit than plainness of speech. But, however low the estimate we have to place upon their intellectual, and in some respects upon their moral virtues, the Spartans were a tower of strength to Hellas. They lived for the state, and not for themselves. They set the example, for the first time in the history of the world, of military discipline which recognises the word of command as beyond dispute, and of courage which prefers death to flight. At the time when the conflict between tyrannies and oligarchies, oligarchies and democracies, was raging round her with terrible ferocity and most disastrous results, Sparta remained without change; her firm government, supported by the martial virtues of her citizens, rendered inestimable services to the cause of freedom.

Brevity and wit at Sparta.

The chronology of the reign of Cleomenes is very uncertain. Thucydides (iii. 68) tells us that the Plataeans had been allies of the Athenians 92 years at the destruction of the city in 427 B.C. This gives 519 B.C. for the commencement of the alliance, which took place in the reign of Cleomenes (Herod. vi. 108), who must therefore have been on the throne at this time. (Grote contests this date on the

ground that Cleomenes was not in Northern Greece before 510 or 509 B.C., and he may be right (see p. 442). The death of Cleomenes occurred at the time when Darius was making preparations for revenging himself on the Athenians, and apparently after the disaster of Mardonius in 492 B.C., but before the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. (Herod. vi. 85, 94). This allows a reign of thirty years for Cleomenes (which seems to contradict the expression of Herodotus, v. 48 : *οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης*, but see Stein's note). As to the events which occurred in his reign, the colonies of Dorieus must be put at the beginning (yet if Dorieus took part in the destruction of Sybaris, his second attempt at colonisation cannot be earlier than 510 B.C.) ; the visit of Maeandrius took place not long after the death of Polycrates, *i.e.* not long after 521 B.C. ; the restoration of the Alcmaeonidae and the expulsion of the Pisistratidae, about 510 B.C. ; the visit of the Scythians took place some time after the invasion of Scythia by Darius, *circa* 515 B.C. The date of the invasion of Argos is very doubtful. Pausanias (iii. 4. 1) puts it immediately after the accession of Cleomenes. But in Herod. vii. 148, the Argives in 481 B.C. say that they have *recently* suffered a severe defeat. Hence Clinton brings the Argive war down to 510 B.C. ; Grote and Stein to 495 B.C. The Tirynthians appear at Plataea in 479 B.C. : we may suppose that they were the *δοῦλοι* who had been driven out of Argos by the younger generation, which had grown up after the defeat by Cleomenes. If we allow twenty years for this, we get 479 + 20 for the defeat, *i.e.* about 500 B.C. With their expelled *δοῦλοι* still unsubdued, the Argives might plead that they could not spare men to fight the Persians. But how this plea is consistent with the fact that in 490 B.C., or soon after, a thousand volunteers went from Argos to aid the Aeginetans against Athens, it is difficult to say (Herod. vi. 92). The oracle (Herod. vi. 19, 77) given to Miletus and Argos in common would come more naturally after the outbreak of the Ionic revolt. [From the first line of this oracle, *ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα*, may have arisen the story of the successful defence of Argos by Telesilla and other women, which is given by Pausanias (ii. 20. 8) and Plutarch (*De Mul. Virt.* Ἀργεῖαι)].

CHAPTER XV.

PISISTRATUS AND CLISTHENES.

1. The name of Solon was cherished with affection, and his laws continued in force so long as Athens remained a free city; but the constitution which he framed was found to be insufficient even in his own lifetime. Though he removed the worst evils which arose from the inequality of property in Attica by forbidding the sale of debtors into slavery, the inequality still remained. The poor citizens were still poor, in spite of the Seisachtheia, and the reform of the constitution. At the same time the admission of the lowest class in the scale of property to the rights of Athenian citizenship, and the authority given to the General Assembly, had thrown a power into the hands of the masses, which filled the more conservative citizens with resentment and alarm. And so the old party quarrels, which had divided Attica before the reforms of Solon, reappeared after them with even greater violence. The men of the plain were led by Lycurgus, the son of Aristolaidas, of whom unfortunately we know nothing more; the men of the shore by Megacles, the Alcmaeonid, who had recently strengthened the position of his family by his marriage with Agariste, the daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon. At the head of the mountaineers stood Pisistratus, a descendant of the royal stock of Nestor, who had recently distinguished himself in the war against Megara. As he possessed property in the neighbourhood of Marathon,

Renewal of party strife at Athens.

Pisistratus may have been intimately known to the inhabitants of the adjacent hills.[1]

Causes of the failure of Solon's constitution.

2. It was a defect in Solon's constitution that it made personal attendance at Athens necessary for the effectual exercise of citizenship. In the Assembly the people were supreme; but it was difficult for the people to meet in the Assembly. For citizens of the poorer classes who worked on their own small plots of land, any regular attendance was impossible. Still less could they come forward as members of the council, or take an active part in the administration of politics. We do not know whether Solon divided the council into sections, each of which was to remain at Athens for a specified time as a standing committee; but on any system a councillor would be kept in the city for at least one month of the twelve, and if the management of affairs was not to fall into the hands of a clique, frequent attendance of all the members would be required. Under such conditions the country farmer, even if he possessed the necessary qualification, found political life impossible, and when it became clear to him that he was being governed by those who had more leisure than himself, he began to look with suspicion on the Solonian reforms. What was the value of institu-

[1] From Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* we learn that in the fifth year after Solon's archonship (589-8 B.C.) no archon was elected, owing to civil strife, and the same "anarchy" was repeated in 584-3 for the same reason. In the next year Damasias was chosen archon, and held the office two years and two months, when he was forcibly deposed. After this, it was resolved to elect ten archons, of whom five were taken from the Eupatridae, three from the Agroikoi (peasants, but the reading is uncertain), and two from the artisans; these ten held office in the year after Damasias. The reason which Aristotle gives for this contention is the great power of the archon, which caused all parties to compete for the office; but how the archon came to have such power he does not explain. The qualification for the archonship in the Dracontian constitution is ten minae only, and though Solon seems to have arranged that the archons should be elected from the richest class, we do not know that he added to the powers of the office.

tions under which the most industrious citizens tended to become the least influential? However true it might be that every citizen, who rose in the scale of wealth, was eligible to the higher offices of state, the boon was of little service to the owner of a few acres of barren soil, upon which, at the utmost, he could hope to maintain himself and his family. The merchant had a career open to him; a fortunate venture would at once enable him to rise in the world, and enjoy the leisure necessary for the administration of the offices now placed within his reach, but such a prospect only increased the discontent of those to whom it was denied.

Solon's opposition to Pisistratus.

3. Solon watched the failure of his hopes with the deepest distress. He endeavoured to recall the leaders of the contending parties to a sense of their duty to the country, and to soothe the bitterness of their followers. With a true instinct he regarded Pisistratus as by far the most dangerous of the three. Pisistratus was an approved general, and the faction which he led was composed of poor men who had nothing to lose; Megacles and Lycurgus were at the head of parties with a great stake in the country. If they succeeded, the worst result would be a return to an oligarchy either of birth or of wealth, but the course of Greek politics had already shown what aims the aristocratical leader of a popular party set before him. By playing the part of the people's friend, Cypselus, the Bacchiade, had become tyrant of Corinth, and Theagenes tyrant of Megara.

Thirty years previously, in a time of a national distress, Solon had attracted public attention by an elegiac poem. He repeated the attempt now. A fragment of the verses has been preserved, in which he warns his countrymen against the flattery of a smooth tongue: "Fools, ye are treading in the footsteps of the fox; can ye not read the hidden meaning of these winning words?"[1] The attempt was in vain. Pisistratus met the vehement expressions of Solon by driv-

[1] Sol. *Frag.* 11 B.

ing wounded into the market-place. The people's friend had suffered in the people's cause; his life was in danger. The incident roused the Athenians to an unusual exercise of political power. Without any previous discussion in the Council, a decree was passed by the people allowing Pisistratus to surround himself with a body-guard of fifty men, and to arm them with clubs. Thus protected, he threw off all disguises, and established himself in the Acropolis as tyrant of Athens.[1]

Pisistratus allowed a body-guard; he becomes tyrant.

4. The two party leaders who had opposed Pisistratus, Lycurgus and Megacles, left the city. Of the citizens who remained, Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, continued to enjoy the influence which was due to his wealth and birth, but he was, of course, without any power in the state; a member of one of the oldest and greatest Athenian families, he was compelled to look idly on, while Pisistratus administered affairs at his own absolute discretion. In his disgust at his position, he was the more inclined to accept an invitation which came to him about this time (560 B.C.) from an unexpected quarter. As he was sitting in the portico of his house, he caught sight of a number of men, whom their dress showed to be strangers, passing along the public road. He offered them the shelter and hospitality which in the heroic age it had been the first duty of a Greek chieftain to extend to an alien. They proved to be Doloncians from the Thracian Chersonese, who finding themselves unable to resist the incursions of their northern neighbours, the Apsinthians, had applied to Delphi for advice. The god bade them choose a Hellene to lead their forces, and when they inquired more precisely about the manner in which their choice should be determined, they were bidden to offer the post to the man who should first show them hospitality after they left the temple. They offered it to Miltiades, who consulted the oracle at Delphi,

Miltiades at Athens.

[1] Herod. i. 59; Plut. *Sol.* 30; *Athen. Pol.* c. 14.

and, on receiving a favourable answer, joined the Doloncians with some adherents of his party. Such was the story told in the days of Herodotus about the beginning of the close connection between Athens and Thrace, and, in spite of the mythical incidents introduced into it, the facts are true. A colony was sent out about the time from Athens under the command of Miltiades, which after some conflicts and disasters secured for the Athenians the possession of the Chersonese.[1]

He retires to the Chersonese.

Undeterred by the tyrant's mercenaries, Solon continued to oppose Pisistratus to the utmost of his power, but when at length he found that his appeals to the people were in vain, he laid down his weapons in the street before his door, and called the gods to witness that he had done his best in the cause of his country and her laws. Pisistratus not only allowed him to remain at Athens undisturbed, but attempted to win him over to the altered position of affairs. The aged lawgiver remained obdurate. He refused to be reconciled to the tyrant who had enslaved Athens, and withdrew into privacy till his death, which must have taken place not long after the usurpation of Pisistratus. The story was told, and believed by Aristotle, that after his death, his ashes were scattered over the island of Salamis, that no one might collect and remove them from the land which he had chosen to be the place of his burial.[2]

Solon's unavailing opposition and death.

5. Herodotus tells us that Pisistratus was a just and moderate ruler. He did not alter the laws or remove the existing forms of government. The Council was still elected, the Assembly continued to meet, though it is improbable that either the one or the other was allowed to extend its functions beyond domestic affairs. The archons still continued to be the executive magistrates of the city, and cases of murder were tried, as of old, at the Areopagus. The tyrant contented himself with occupying

Mild rule of Pisistratus.

[1] Herod. vi. 35, 36.

[2] Plut. *Sol.* 32; *Athen. Pol.* c. 14.

the Acropolis with his troops, and securing important posts in the administration for his family or his adherents.[1] Yet in spite of his caution he was unable to keep the position which he had gained or prevent the coalition of his opponents. When Lycurgus and Megacles once more united their forces, Pisistratus was unable to resist the combination, and found it necessary to leave the city. Whether he was driven out of the country, we are not informed; he may have retired to his estates in the neighbourhood of Marathon, where he would be surrounded by his party and safe from attack.

Pisistratus expelled.

6. The coalition formed against him did not last. After the lapse of about four years, Lycurgus and Megacles quarrelled. We may conjecture that the Alcmaeonids had not forgotten the sentence passed upon them by the aristocratic party in the matter of the Cylonian atrocity, and that the aristocrats were jealous of the power of the wealthy and ambitious family which owed so much to the tyrants of Sicyon and Sardis. Whatever the cause, Megacles now offered to support Pisistratus in returning to Athens, and the interests of the two leaders were to be consolidated by the marriage of Pisistratus with the daughter of Megacles. The offer was accepted. The combination of the two parties was strong enough to disarm all resistance, but it was necessary to veil the personal motives which had caused the opposing elements to unite. A plan was invented for giving a divine sanction to the return of the tyrant, which, though Herodotus regards it as an instance of barbarian simplicity discreditable to cultivated Greeks, and most of all to Athenians, was eminently successful. A tall and beautiful woman named Phya was clad in the armour of the goddess Athena, and placed in a chariot with Pisistratus at her side. The chariot was drawn to Athens, where a proclamation had been made that the goddess was in person

Pisistratus and Megacles unite.

Return of Pisistratus.

[1] Herod. i. 59. *Cf. Athen. Pol.* l.c.

conducting her favourite to reign over the city which she loved. Let all men receive him gladly. The proclamation was obeyed, and Pisistratus became a second time tyrant of Athens.[1]

When established on the throne, Pisistratus went so far in fulfilling his engagement with Megacles that he married his daughter. But his sons by an earlier union, Hippias and Hipparchus, were by this time grown up, and as he had no intention of disinheriting them in favour of any child which might be born from this second marriage, he gave his young wife no hope of offspring. As soon as this came to the knowledge of Megacles, he was greatly enraged at the insult offered to his daughter, and at the failure of his hopes of securing the tyranny for his family. He renounced all connection with Pisistratus and returned once more to his old associates, the men of the plain. The combination of forces was again successful; Pisistratus was driven out of Attica, and so low were his fortunes brought that, when his property was put up for sale, Callias the son of Phænippus purchased the whole.[2]

Pisistratus is again expelled.

7. On leaving Attica Pisistratus retired to Rhaecelus in the neighbourhood of the Thermaic Gulf, whence he migrated to the region round Mt. Pangaeum. Here he was able to acquire considerable property, which he spent in hiring mercenaries from Argos. He also induced the Thebans to supply him with money, and thus supported he returned to Eretria, in Euboea, a convenient point for communication with his partisans at Marathon. He is said to have consulted with his sons, and on the advice of Hippias he determined not to abandon the hope of regaining the throne of Athens. His influence with the poorer population of Attica was probably as great as ever, and he was now in a position which enabled him to assume an independent attitude towards other powers. Meanwhile he was encouraged and supported in his

He establishes himself at Eretria.

[1] Herod. i. 60; *Ath. Pol.* l. c. [2] Herod. i. 61; vi. 121; *Ath. Pol.* c. 15.

design by Lygdamis of Naxos, who like himself had retired to Eretria with his adherents after a fruitless endeavour to found a tyranny in his own city. For ten years he remained in exile, silently preparing to return to Athens, and establish a power which the combined forces of the oligarchical factions should be unable to destroy. The enterprise was far from hopeless. His opponents in the city, over-confident in their strength, made no attempt to anticipate his plans. Neither his dangerous proximity to the part of Attica most devoted to him, nor his wealth, nor his proved ability as a soldier, excited alarm. Such extraordinary negligence is perhaps to be explained by the jealousy of the rival parties, which, while they combined against the common foe, retained so much of their old animosity, that each was not displeased to see a power at hand which could certainly prevent the other from becoming dominant.

His preparations for return.

8. When at length the long-delayed opportunity came, Pisistratus crossed over to Marathon, and there encamped with his adherents round him. The Athenians now took alarm, and at once marched out to oppose him. The two armies met at Pellene. Whatever the relative strength of the forces may have been, the commanders of the Athenians were no match for Pisistratus in strategy. He had himself led an Athenian army, and knew that it was the habit of the soldiers, when in camp, to rest or amuse themselves after the morning meal. Selecting this moment for his attack, he suddenly threw his mercenaries on the enemy. The scattered and disorganised forces of the Athenians fled at the first onset, but as an indiscriminate slaughter would have embittered the feelings of those over whom he wished to rule, Pisistratus bade his sons ride after the fugitives, calm their fears, and assure them that no harm would happen to them.[1] No further resistance was offered. The defeated Alcmaeonids retired from the

He returns for the third time.

[1] Herod. i. 61 ff.; *Ath. Pol.* l.c.

city, and from the other leading families which chose to remain at Athens, or were unable to escape, Pisistratus took four hundred hostages as security for their submission. He also retained a number of his Argive mercenaries in his service as a bodyguard. Thus for the third time he became tyrant of Athens, winning the throne on this occasion, not by fraud or collusion, but by open force.

9. In spite of the hatred which the name of Pisistratus excited in democratic Athens, it is clear from the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides that the city prospered under his rule. At home and abroad there was peace, broken only by an unimportant war with Mitylene for the possession of Sigeum, if such a war took place. For though it is certain that Pisistratus established his natural son Hegesistratus at Sigeum, it is doubtful whether Herodotus is not mistaken in asserting that the son had to maintain his position by force of arms against Mitylene. The war which broke out between Mitylene and Athens was brought to a conclusion by the decision of Periander of Corinth, who assigned Sigeum to the Athenians. Periander died in 585 B.C., and therefore the statement of Herodotus cannot be true unless we suppose that the city had been subsequently lost to the Mitylenaeans, and had now to be reconquered by the Athenians. This is not very probable. After the subjugation of the Anatolian coast by Cyrus, Sigeum could not belong to Athens or to Mitylene, except in name. If not actually acquired by the Persian king, it was in his power, and the tyrant of Sigeum, equally with the other tyrants in the Asiatic cities, was a vassal of Persia. And in this fact we may find the key to the situation. Pisistratus sent his son to Sigeum—perhaps against the wishes of the Mitylenaeans, who perceived his intentions, and were jealous of them—not because he wished to establish him in an independent principality, but in order that he might be brought into contact with the Persians. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of the plan. When the Pisistratidae were expelled from Athens, they retired to

Pisistratus and Sigeum.

Sigeum, and thence entered into communication with Darius, in order to obtain his help in their restoration.[1]

10. The friendly ties which Pisistratus had contracted, when in exile, with Argos and Thebes were doubtless drawn still closer after his usurpation, and even the more distant countries of Thessaly and Macedonia were invited to enter into alliance with the monarch of Athens. When the Spartans first attempted to expel Hippias, they were defeated by the Thessalian cavalry, which came to his aid, and after his final expulsion, a home was offered to him both in Macedonia (at Anthemus) and in Thessaly (at Iolcus). These relations with the north of Greece probably stood in some kind of connection with the acquisition of those domains on the Strymon, from which we are informed that the tyrant derived a part of his revenue.[2]

Connection with Argos, Thessaly and Macedonia.

One of the first acts of Pisistratus after his restoration was the establishment of Lygdamis on the throne of Naxos, and when Lygdamis in turn aided Polycrates in acquiring and maintaining his power in Samos, the Aegean was controlled by men who were pledged to support a tyrant's rule. He was also on very friendly terms with Sparta, for though his obligations to Argos were great he did not go so far in requiting her services as to assist her against Sparta; and, if at Athens he had crushed the oligarchs whom Sparta favoured, he allowed the democracy, which Sparta hated, no opportunity of rising to power. By this policy and these alliances his position was firmly established from without, and at the same time he secured himself from domestic attack, partly by placing the four hundred children, whom he had taken as hostages from his opponents, with Lygdamis at Naxos, and partly by

Allies and friends of Pisistratus.

[1] Herod. v. 94, 95.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 64. *Cf. Ath. Pol.* c. 16. Pisistratus married an Argive wife, by whom he had Iophon and Hegesistratus, and a thousand Argives came to his help at Pallene.

surrounding himself with a body-guard of mercenary soldiers. In order to provide means for the payment of these, and for all other expenses of war and peace, he appropriated to his own use the ordinary revenues of Athens, no less than the rents of the silver mines at Laurium, and even imposed a tax of 10 per cent. on the produce of the land. This tax was afterwards regarded as an instance of tyrannical oppression, but taxation was certainly a more just and equitable method of raising money than the ordinary Athenian system, by which the expenses of the fleet fell almost exclusively on the rich. If the poorer citizens complained that they were taxed at all, the richer escaped a disproportionate burden, and Pisistratus was so far the gainer that the entire control of the fleet (if the trierarchies were for the time abolished) was now in his own hands.[1]

11. It was not the wish of the tyrant that the Athenians should concern themselves with politics. With this object in view he allowed the Solonian constitution to continue in force, but took care to administer it in his own interest. The form of the government was a matter of no moment so long as the real power rested with him. And as he knew that such a fiction of popular government could only be tolerated while the people were prosperous, he was careful to encourage trade and industry. More especially did he aim at diminishing the population of the city and increasing that of the country; his own adherents were the shepherds and herdsmen of Attica, and he was aware that the dangerous democratic spirit which dethrones tyrants is nursed in cities, not in fields. He appears to have remitted the tax on small or poor farms, and to have advanced money, or to have given seeds, to those who required such assistance. With the same object in view he established δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους that the citizens might settle their quarrels without coming to the city. Nay, he went on circuit himself, and the story was told how

Pisistratus encourages trade and agriculture.

[1] Herod. i. 64; Thuc. vi. 54.

he came upon an old yeoman, who was digging in his farm on Hymettus. Seeing him at work on the stony ground, he asked what was the crop. "Toil and trouble," was the answer, "and of this Pisistratus must needs take the tithe." Pisistratus was generous enough to allow the peasant to possess his ground henceforth free of tax. Above all he maintained peace, and the Attic yeomen tilled their lands unmolested by the claims of foreign service. There were times when the spirit of the Athenian people reached a nobler height, but we may doubt whether there was ever a period when Attica enjoyed greater prosperity than during the reign of Pisistratus. Yet the historian is justified in speaking of the nation as held down and dispersed by the Pisistratids: the spirit of freedom was sternly repressed as intolerable to tyrants; the leaders who could have given effect to that spirit were exiles in distant lands.[1]

Prosperity of Attica at this time.

12. The tyrants in the earlier half of the century, Clisthenes of Sicyon and Periander of Corinth, had shown themselves very zealous in the worship of the gods. Pisistratus followed in their steps. As the monarch of the chief Ionian city, he purified Delos, the sacred island of the Ionian Apollo, the centre of the Ionian worship of the God of light. All the sepulchres were removed from the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, that they might be out of sight of the deity who had no part in sorrow and death.[2] In honour of Athena, the goddess to whom he had once owed his restoration in a special sense, the Panathenaea were improved and extended. Gymnastic games had been introduced in the archonship of Hippoclides, six years before Pisistratus first acquired the tyranny. Pisistratus went further, and arranged that every fourth year the festival should be celebrated with unusual splendour. A long procession swept

Support given to public festivals, etc.

Purification of Delos.

[1] Herod. i. 59; *Ath. Pol.* 16, f.

[2] Herod. i. 64; Thuc. iii. 104.

from the Ceramicus to the citadel, accompanying the scarlet robe or shawl (πέπλος), woven with figures of the monsters and giants which Athena had slain; after the presentation and the sacrifices there were dances in chorus, games and horse races. It was the chief festival of Athens; the Great Panathenaea.[1] Though it never reached the eminence of the national games, it was a point of union for all the Athenians, a scene of splendour and magnificence which was worthy of the city of Pallas. Equal attention seems to have been paid to the worship of Dionysus. The god of the vine was the god of the rustic population, in whose honour they celebrated their harvest festivals, and in Attica he was specially worshipped in the deme of Icaria, not far from Marathon; he was thus in a particular manner the deity of the hill people, who had so long and faithfully supported the tyrant. To the festivals at which the bounty of the god was celebrated at Athens, the Lenaea and Anthesteria, Pisistratus may have added a third —the city-Dionysia, which in time was destined to eclipse the rest. That he favoured the dramatic representations so inseparably connected with the worship of Dionysus may be inferred from the success which Thespis of Icaria achieved about this time, by coming forward as an actor, and personating character—thus laying the foundation of that drama, which equally on its serious and its comic side became in the next century the most splendid memorial of Athens. Plutarch tells us that Solon was induced by his love of learning to be present at a performance given by Thespis. When it was ended he sent for Thespis, and asked him whether he was not ashamed to tell such monstrous lies before so large an audience; Thespis answered that he saw no harm in what he had said or done; "it was mere amusement." "Amusement," cried the old man, smiting heavily with his staff on the ground—"if these are our amusements, we shall

The Panathenaea.

The Dionysia.

[1] *Schol.* Arist. p. 323 D.

soon find the effect of them in our business." The story, whatever its truth, is some indication of the popularity and of the date of Thespis.[1]

13. Even in the days of Solon, as we have said, the need was felt of some form of doctrine which should carry men beyond the limits of their earthly existence, or relieve them from the oppressive sense of guilt which was the necessary concomitant of the growing elevation of the moral sense. The demand was quickly met. Epimenides, with whose aid the public distress created by the Cylonian atrocity had been removed, was followed by a host of imitators, partly of alien, partly of native origin, whose labours were principally directed to three ends:—(1) the creation of a mystic religion, accompanied by a ritual more or less elaborate, by purification, abstinence, and other forms of asceticism, unknown to the earlier Greeks; (2) the composition of a number of poems, chiefly fathered on Orpheus, developing the myth of Dionysus Zagreus, who having been torn to pieces by the Titans was re-begotten by Zeus, and perhaps identifying this Dionysus with the Iacchus of the Eleusinian mysteries; and (3) the collection or invention of "oracles," which enabled the possessor to foretell the future and shape his conduct in public or private by the knowledge thus acquired. The institution of an ascetic life is closely connected with the appearance of the Pythagoreans in the cities of Magna Graecia; it was there carried to the greatest extent, and forms the chief feature in the domestic history of Croton and other towns. In Greece proper, among a number of "mysteries," some of which were perhaps relics of older forms of faith, while others were introduced as the need of them was felt, the Eleusinian worship of Demeter and Persephone, the Madonna and Child of ancient Greece, began about this time to take the foremost place. We cannot describe the

Mystic power of worship.

The Eleusinian mysteries.

[1] Plut. *Sol.* 29.

ritual of the festival with accuracy; what was seen was probably of more importance than what was heard or said. If in the best account which has been given of them, the rites appear to have been childish and absurd, we may indulge the reflection that all religious ceremonies, when the spirit in which they are instituted is forgotten, are without force and meaning. To the Greeks at any rate, the mysteries were often the foundation of brighter hopes, if they did not mark the beginning of a better life.[1] Among the composers of Orphic poems, a place must be assigned to Onomacritus, whom we know to have been retained in the service of the Pisistratidae. It was he who threw into its most popular form the story of Dionysus Zagreus, and we may with confidence ascribe to him and his associates a large part of the so-called Orphic literature. He also arranged the oracles of Musaeus, and for some time he was in disgrace with his employers, who had detected him in interpolating a forged oracle into the collection. When the Pisistratidae retired to Persia, they took Onomacritus with them, and availed themselves of his somewhat equivocal talents in order to persuade Darius to undertake the cause of their restoration. Those oracles which promised well for the Persians, he repeated; what boded ill he concealed.[2] Nor was this the only instance in which Pisistratus and his sons turned the current belief in oracles (which they may have shared) to a good account. It was on the advice of Amphilytus, the Acarnanian seer, that Pisistratus joined battle with the Athenians at Pellene, and when Hippias abandoned the Acropolis of Athens to Cleomenes, he was careful to leave behind a collection of oracles which went far to diminish the elation of the victorious Spartan (*supra*, p. 441).[3]

Onomacritus.

Prophecies and predictions: Musaeus.

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[1] In the year 480 B.C., as many as 30,000 persons took part in the Eleusinian mysteries; such at least is the inference to be drawn from Herod. viii. 65. On the subject see Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*.

[2] Herod. vii. 6.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 62; v. 90. *Cf. ib.* i. 64: Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων.

14. Of the public library which Pisistratus is said to have founded we have not, and never shall have, any trustworthy evidence. The story is, doubtless, a fiction of some Alexandrian grammarian, who ascribed to the Athenian tyrant the love of books which distinguished the prince under whom he lived.[1] A similar anachronism has given rise to the famous legend that Pisistratus caused the poems of Homer to be collected for the first time into the two epics in which we now read them, a task which was accomplished by a committee of four persons, Onomacritus (*supra*, p. 464), Zopyrus (of Heraclea), Orpheus (of Croton), and Epiconcylus (a name which seems to be a corruption of ἐπικῶν κύκλος!) That a committee should succeed in combining scattered ballads into epic poems, which are acknowledged masterpieces, would be a feat without a parallel in the history of literature; and when the committee is composed of men otherwise almost unknown—with the exception of Onomacritus, a detected forger—it is impossible to accept the story without the most cogent evidence. But the evidence is by no means cogent. The earliest authority for the statement, to whom we can assign a date, is Cicero, who tells us that "Pisistratus is said to have arranged the books of Homer, which were previously in disorder, in the sequence in which we now have them." This famous sentence, upon which the theory of the Pisistratean origin of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was first erected, is perhaps a translation, and not a very careful translation, of an epigram, which is almost certainly a forgery. In one of the "Lives of Homer" we are told that the following lines were written on the base of a statue set up in honour of Pisistratus at Athens :—

Library Pisistratus.

His supposed edition of the Homeric poems.

> Τρίς με τυραννεύσαντα τοσαυτάκις ἐξεδίωξεν
> δῆμος Ἀθηναίων καὶ τρὶς ἐπηγάγετο,

[1] Aul. Gell. *N. A.* vii. (vi.) 17.

τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον
ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον.
ἡμέτερος γὰρ κεῖνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιήτης,
εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἐπῳκίσαμεν.

It is highly improbable that a statue in honour of Pisistratus ever existed at Athens, for even if one had been set up in the lifetime of the tyrants, it would not have remained after their fall. And if the statue had existed, this epigram could not have been written upon it. The lines are at once false in fact and improbable in sentiment. Pisistratus was not thrice expelled from Athens, and neither Pisistratus nor his friends could have thought it worth while to record on his statue as the crowning work of his tyranny the collection of the Homeric poems, an encomium which can only have proceeded from a literary critic, or student of Homer.

He re-arranged the recitation of Homeric poems.

And lastly, even if the words represent a historical fact, they do not support the theory which has been reared upon them. They tell us that Pisistratus "collected Homer," which had previously been sung in disconnected pieces; and the statement merely means that Pisistratus caused the poems to be sung continuously, from end to end—not piecemeal, as the preference of the rhapsodist might suggest. Solon may have provided for the recitation of the Homeric poems at Athens; Pisistratus may have gone a step further in the same direction, making the recitation continuous, so that the whole of the poems were recited, not of course at one and the same performance, nor by the same person, but at the same festival, the Panathenaea. The continuity of the poems was thus established, interpolations became less easy, and there was less fear that any part would perish. This is as much as can be ascribed on this evidence to Pisistratus. There is no trace in antiquity of a Pisistratean text of Homer; and Aristotle, who repeatedly quotes the poems of Homer, and criticises them, never mentions Pisistratus in connection with the authorship. Had he been aware of the Pisistratean origin of the *Iliad* and

Odyssey, he must have mentioned the fact, when calling attention to the superior unity of these poems in comparison with the Cyclic epics, which were the work of single and individual authors.[1]

15. Pisistratus remained in undisturbed possession of the throne till his death in 527 B.C. He was succeeded by his eldest son Hippias, with whom Hipparchus and Thessalus, his younger sons, were associated in the government. The brothers had stood beside their father in the years of exile; it was in fact due to the advice of Hippias that Pisistratus resolved upon a last attempt to recover the throne of Athens. They were now men of experience, in the prime of life. For a time they conducted affairs as Pisistratus had done before them; they were wise and moderate, careful of their money, and zealous in the worship of the gods. They also sought to make Athens the home of art and literature. Lasus of Hermione and Simonides of Ceos now resided in the city, and Hipparchus sent a ship to convey Anacreon from Samos to Athens.[2] The political connections into which Pisistratus had entered were maintained: Hippias was on excellent terms with the Aleuadae of Thessaly and with Amyntas the king of Macedon. To all appearance the tyranny was as firmly established in the hands of Hippias as it had been in those of Pisistratus.

Death of Pisistratus.

But the dynasties of Greek tyrants never lasted. The oppression of the ruler was more keenly felt by the people as the evils from which he had delivered them faded from remembrance. The sons of a tyrant, born to the inheritance of a throne, forgot the arts by which their father had gained and secured the affections of the people. The oligarchs found more support in their desire to overthrow a tyrant than they could gain when attempting to establish the privileges of their own order. For these and other similar reasons a tyrant's power

Greek tyrannies never permanent.

[1] Nutzhorn, *Die Entstehungsweise*, etc., p. 15 ff.; Monro, *Iliad*, p. xxvi. f.
[2] Herod. vii. 6; Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228; Thuc. vi. 54-56.

rarely lasted to the third generation. The Pisistratidae formed no exception to the rule. Jealousy and lust impelled them to actions which not only revived old feelings of hostility among their political opponents, but added to these an intense passion of hatred in the hearts of some of their subjects.

The sons of Pisistratus.

Cimon, the half-brother of Miltiades, who had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, was the owner of famous mares which were three times victorious in the chariot race at Olympia. On the second occasion, at the request of Pisistratus, he caused the tyrant to be proclaimed as the owner, and was in consequence allowed to return home. The third victory occurred after the death of Pisistratus. This proud distinction provoked the envy of Hippias and his brothers; to be a victor in the chariot race at Olympia was to be known throughout Hellas as a man of wealth and position. A wise ruler would regard the success and prosperity of a subject as the best evidence of the mildness and justice of his rule. Hippias, on the contrary, regarded Cimon as a rival in distinction, and perhaps suspected him of designs against his throne. He caused him to be secretly assassinated. The body was buried in the "Hollow," and over-against the tomb a grave was dug for the famous horses.[1]

Hippias and Cimon.

16. The conduct of Hipparchus was even worse. Unable to induce Harmodius, a youth of the race of the Gephyreans, to listen to his proposals, he revenged himself by a public insult to his sister. When arranging a procession, in which he had invited the maiden to take a part as a "Basket Bearer," he rejected her as unworthy of a place, and declared that she had never been invited at all. Harmodius and his friend Aristogiton determined on revenge, and a conspiracy was formed to destroy the tyrants. Though the number of the conspirators was small, it was thought that the act would be well received, and command

Hipparchus and Harmodius.

[1] Herod. vi. 103.

universal sympathy. The time selected for the attempt was the festival of the great Panathenaea. On this occasion it was the custom for the Athenians to appear with lance and shield, in order to take part in the procession, and the conspirators hoped that they might find support in the armed crowd against the soldiers of the tyrants. While Hippias, with his body-guard round him, was in the Ceramicus arranging the procession, Aristogiton and Harmodius, who, like the rest of the conspirators, had daggers concealed under their garments, watched him at a short distance, intending to attack him. To their alarm, they saw one of their fellow-conspirators enter into close conversation with the tyrant. They supposed that he was giving information of their plans. Regarding themselves and the rest of the conspirators as doomed, they determined to strike a blow before the fatal moment came. If Hippias was beyond their power, they could still be revenged on Hipparchus, the immediate author of their disgrace. As they returned into the city they met him near the Leocorium, and without a moment's delay stabbed him to death. Harmodius was at once cut down by the guards in attendance, but Aristogiton escaped for a time.[1]

Murder of Hipparchus.

When Hippias was informed of his brother's death, he gave no outward sign of grief or alarm. He merely requested those Athenians who were standing near to put down their arms and follow him to an adjacent place. Such an order was not remarkable, for it was the custom of the Athenians to lay aside their arms when summoned to a meeting. Hippias at once directed his guards to seize the weapons. The citizens were then searched, and all who were found with concealed daggers were arrested. Erelong Aristogiton was discovered, and put to the torture, but he refused to disclose the names of his associates.[2] Not even from his mistress Leaena, whom Hippias did not hesitate to torture also, could any

[1] Thuc. vi. 54 ff. *Cf.* the account in *Ath. Pol.* 18 with Justin, ii. 9.

[2] Thuc. vi. 58; Diod. *Exc. de virt.* p. 557=x. 16. *Cf.* Appendix at the end of the volume.

evidence be wrung.[1] Hippias felt himself to be the object of a conspiracy, of which he could not ascertain the extent or the cause. Hitherto he had courted popularity, and laid himself open to approach; now he became suspicious, secluded, and morose. He proceeded to severe measures in order to rid himself of all whom he suspected of disaffection to his rule, and entrenched his power more firmly behind a host of mercenary soldiers.[2] To provide himself with means for this object, he is said to have put up for sale the outer staircases and other projections of the houses at Athens, which the inhabitants were, of course, compelled to repurchase. He also depreciated the coinage, and allowed some of the richer men to purchase exemption from those state burdens which might fall upon them (514 B.C.).[3]

Severity of Hippias.

17. The oppressive measures of Hippias aroused new hopes in the breasts of those who longed for the expulsion of the tyrants. Since the final accession of Pisistratus to power, the Alcmaeonids had remained in exile, without any prospect of returning so long as his family remained on the throne. The difficulties of their position were increased by the curse which had been pronounced upon them owing to the murder of the Cylonians—a curse which must be removed in one way or another if they were to command a strong party in Athens. With this object in view the Alcmaeonids connected themselves closely with Delphi. When the temple was burnt down in 548 B.C., the Amphictyons decreed that it should be rebuilt out of funds to be provided by all Hellas. Not less than 300 talents were to be spent (about £60,000), of which the Delphians pledged themselves to find 75 talents. Some years elapsed ere such a sum could be collected, but when at last the contract could be let, the Alcmaeonids came forward and offered to undertake it. Their offer being accepted, they displayed the greatest liber-

The Alcmaeonidae in exile.

Rebuilding of the temple of Delphi.

[1] This story is perhaps apocryphal (Paus. i. 23. 2).
[2] Herod. v. 55, 62; vi. 123; Thuc. vi. 53, 59.
[3] Arist. *Oecon.* ii. 2. 5=1347 *a*.

ality in carrying it out. Instead of using ordinary limestone for the pronaos, as they were allowed to do by the terms of their contract, they built it of Parian marble. Such lavish expenditure in the decoration of the national sanctuary won for them a high reputation throughout Hellas. So far from being "the accursed," they became conspicuous for piety, and the whole influence of the Delphic priesthood was on their side. Even the God himself took their part, and insisted on their restoration to Athens (*supra*, p. 440).[1]

Clisthenes.

The Alcmaeonidae were now led by Clisthenes, the grandson of the tyrant of Sicyon, and the inheritor of his wealth. It was doubtless his foresight which brought about the connection of the exiled family with Delphi. His ancestors on either side had taken a leading part in the Sacred War to which Delphi owed her independence. He was also aware that Sparta was hostile to the existence of tyrannies. She had recently expelled Lygdamis from Naxos, and restored the government of the island to the oligarchs. By the influence of Delphi—which was very great on the Eurotas—he might hope to induce Sparta to act in the removal of the Pisistratids. His means appear to have been placed beyond the reach of the Athenian tyrant. Whatever property his family held in Attica must have been confiscated at the return of Pisistratus; but it was possible to store up funds in various temples, which in ancient Greece were often used as banks; for no power, however great, could pillage a temple without incurring the guilt of sacrilege.

Hippias and Aeantides.

18. Thus Hippias found himself between an external danger, the magnitude of which he was too wise to underestimate, and a secret hatred of which he could not ascertain the extent. He endeavoured to strengthen his position by marrying his daughter Archidice to Aeantides, the son of Hippoclus, the tyrant of Lampsacus, who at this time stood high in the favour of Darius,[2] and and fortified Munychia in the Peiraeus. At length

[1] Herod. ii. 180; v. 62; Paus. x. 5. 13.

[2] Thuc. vi. 59.

the Alcmaeonidae, believing that a favourable moment had arrived, ventured to enter Attica and take up a position at Lipsydrium, on the southern slopes of Mount Parnes (513 B.C. ?) But however popular their cause might be, they found themselves unable to make head against the tyrant's forces, and they were driven out with considerable loss.[1]

Affair of Lipsydrium.

The Spartans now took up their cause. Delphi had long urged them to assist the Alcmaeonids to return; but with their accustomed slowness, and also because they were on good terms with the Pisistratidae, they disregarded the divine command as long as they dared. When further delay became impossible they sent the force under Anchimolius to expel the tyrants from Attica (*supra*, 440). This was defeated, but a second expedition was more successful. Hippias was expelled, and after thirty years of exile the Alcmaeonids were once more in Athens (510 B.C.).

The Spartans expel Hippias.

19. It is impossible to ascertain, and difficult even to conjecture, what were the projects entertained by Clisthenes when he returned to his native city. He may for a moment have cherished the hope of establishing himself on the throne of Pisistratus. At a later time, when his position at Athens was seriously threatened, Clisthenes himself did not hesitate to invoke the aid of Persia; and after the battle of Marathon his family were generally accused of giving a signal to the Persians for an attack on the city. But the day of the tyrants was over; the last years of Hippias had cancelled the services rendered to the people by his father; and Sparta was the declared enemy of tyrannies. Or we may suppose that the aristocratical party were only superficially reconciled to him. They were content that he should aid in the expulsion of the tyrant, but they did not wish him to become the leader of a united oligarchy. Whatever the reason, Clisthenes found his position untenable. He

Clisthenes at Athens.

He takes the people into partnership

[1] Herod. v. 62; Aristoph. *Lys.* 665, schol.; Aristot. *Frag.* 394 R.

must either go forward in the direction of democracy or abandon the hope of remaining in Athens. The people, in the free exercise of their rights, were the only secure defence of Athens against the factions of the noble families. With their aid the power of the privileged class must be broken beyond repair; the city must be emancipated from those influences which had done so much to render the provisions of Solon ineffectual.[1]

Clisthenes endeavoured to realise these objects by reforming the constitution in three directions. (1) He separated the political arrangements from the social, by instituting new tribes, and connecting them with demes, or local centres, not with phratries, or family groups; (2) he excited in the country people a greater interest in politics by the institution of little councils and petty officers in the various demes; (3) he increased the power of the "demos" by enrolling a large number of new citizens, slaves and resident aliens, the majority of whom no doubt lived at Athens. But before his plans were matured, still less carried out, the aristocracy made an attempt to recover their position. The party was at this time led by Isagoras, a man of whose descent Herodotus could discover nothing beyond the fact that his ancestors sacrificed to Carian Zeus. Isagoras was on terms of intimacy with Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and he applied to him for assistance at this juncture. The Spartans were not unwilling to respond. They had no sympathy with democracy, and it was now clear to them that they had been made the tools of the Alcmaeonids. The old cry of the curse was revived—a Spartan herald appearing at Athens to demand the expulsion of the family. Clisthenes retired from the city; but Cleomenes nevertheless marched to Athens at the head of a small force, and in connection with Isagoras began to arrange the constitution as he pleased. Isagoras was elected archon (508 B.C.); seven

Plan of his reform.

Isagoras and the aristocracy.

Clisthenes compelled to leave Athens.

[1] Herod. v. 66.

hundred families, who had shown their democratic sympathies, were expelled from the country; an attempt was made to dissolve the Council (of Four Hundred) and elect a Senate of 300 in its place. The Council, however, refused to submit, and when the citizens came to their aid the small force which Cleomenes had brought with him was quite insufficient to expel them. The Spartans and Isagoras were driven into the Acropolis, and being unable to endure a siege, Cleomenes left the city on the third day, after securing a safe passage for himself and the Spartans. Isagoras also was able to escape; but the rest of the party were thrown into prison and condemned to death. Clisthenes and the exiled families now returned to Athens (*supra*, p. 441).[1]

Clisthenes soon returns.

20. The attempt of Isagoras had been foiled, but the difficulties of the Athenians were by no means at an end with the suppression of the nobles. Enemies to the young democracy sprang up on every side, for it was now clear that a power had been established in the Hellenic world which must form a centre of opposition to the existing aristocratic and oligarchical constitutions. The Thebans, who were enraged at the recent secession of Plataea to Athens (p. 442), attempted to recover their authority, and both sides took the field. Before coming to an engagement, it was agreed to leave the matter to the decision of the Corinthians; but when they pronounced in favour of the independence of Plataea; the Thebans, on finding the sentence against them, did not stand by the terms of the agreement. They fell suddenly on the Athenian army as it was returning home. Though quite unprepared, the Athenians not only defended themselves, but inflicted a severe defeat on their assailants, and, by fixing the southern boundary of Boeotia at the Asopus, acquired additional territory for Plataea and their own frontier at Hysiae. These successes were short-lived. When the Spartans appeared with an army of their confederates at Eleusis, the Athenians

War with Thebes and Chalcis.

[1] Herod. v. 72-74; Thuc. i. 126; Aristoph. *Lysist.* 273, schol.

were unable to direct their attention elsewhere. Hysiae and Oenoe fell into the hands of the Boeotians; and the Chalcidians from Euboea effected a landing on the coast of Attica. Meanwhile Hippias was in Asia, endeavouring to obtain aid from Persia. So serious was the danger that the Athenians sent an embassy to Sardis, to ask for alliance with the Persian king. Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, who was at the time satrap of Sardis, agreed to grant the prayer of the envoys on the condition that earth and water were sent from Athens to the Great King, as a sign of submission. The terms were accepted, but they were at once repudiated by the Athenian people, who were greatly displeased at the conduct of their envoys.

Only when it became known that the allies of Sparta would not join her in the attempt to restore Isagoras, was Athens free to deal with her enemies in the north. She then attacked the Boeotians, and severely defeated them. Seven hundred were brought as captives to Athens. On the same day the army crossed the strait and attacked the Chalcidians, and here also the Athenians were victorious. The city fell into their hands; the oligarchical Hippobotae were deposed, and the rich Lelantian plain, so long the source of contention between Chalcis and Eretria, was divided among 4000 Athenian citizens. The seven hundred Boeotian prisoners were soon afterwards ransomed at two minae (about £7) each. Thus on every hand prosperity attended the efforts of Athens to establish her independence.[1] The Thebans, however, were resolved to avenge their defeat. On consulting the oracle, they were bidden to bring the matter before their public assembly, and to request the aid of their "nearest." This response created no small astonishment, for the Tanagraeans, Thespians and Coroneans, who seemed to be the nearest neighbours, had been their allies in the late

Cleruchi at Chalcis.

Thebes and Aegina.

[1] Herod. v. 74, 77; vi. 108; Diod. *Exc. Vat.* 36=x. 24. 3. Simonides celebrated this victory; *Frag.* 132 B.

disastrous conflict. But it occurred to some one present that Aegina and Thebe were sisters, and that the Aeginetans might be the "nearest" as being next of kin. To Aegina, therefore, they applied for aid. At this time the island was in great prosperity, and, as she had a long-standing quarrel with Athens, neither the power nor the will were wanting, if by any means she could injure the city. Without any proclamation of war she began the attack by laying waste Phalerum and other districts on the sea-coast of Attica. When the Athenians were about to retaliate, they received an oracle, informing them that if they waited for thirty years and in the thirty-first consecrated a precinct to Aeacus, everything would go as they wished; if, on the other hand, they attacked at once, their fortunes would vary, though in the end they would be successful.[1] The Athenians at once consecrated the precinct, but they could not defer their revenge for thirty years. For a moment they were checked by the news that the Spartans intended to restore Hippias, but when this danger passed away a desultory warfare seems to have raged between the two cities, in which, so far as we can see, the Athenians had not ships to injure the Aeginetans, nor the Aeginetans men to invade Attica with any hope of success.[2] Meanwhile the Boeotians abandoned hostilities on the news of the decisive part taken by the allies of Sparta in refusing to restore Hippias. At any rate the Thebans were unable to extend their power beyond the Asopus into the territory of Plataea.

Aegina attacks Athens.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CLISTHENES.

21. Solon had founded his arrangements of the Council on the ancient division into tribes; the four hundred members being furnished in equal shares by the four tribes. We do not

[1] Herod. v. 79-81.

It was in this war that the Athenians borrowed ships from the Corinthians (Herod. vi. 89; Thuc. i. 41).

know how or where the election of the councillors took place, whether in the country or in the city, but it is reasonable to suppose, in the absence of any other information, that the existing divisions and organisation of the tribes were turned to account. The phratries were accustomed to meet, and could easily be adapted to the purpose of nomination or election. It is obvious that such an arrangement would throw a great deal of influence into the hands of wealthy families. Moreover, many of the Attic villages (demes) have names which are patronymics—which implies that they were at one time or another the home of some family of note; and we have already seen what a power Pisistratus could exercise over the mountaineers who dwelt in the neighbourhood of his estates. Under these circumstances the elections to the Council could be easily controlled by the oligarchs; and at the same time the Assembly could only be reached, so far as the initiation of measures went, through the Council. Here, then, was a difficulty which a reformer must at once remove, if the people were to act independently of the families which had so long ruled them.

The tribes under Solon.

Family influence.

Clisthenes determined to separate the old tribe and phratry from politics. In the opinion of Herodotus he removed the Ionic tribes owing to his contempt for the Ionians, and in imitation of his grandfather Clisthenes, who had humiliated the Dorian tribes at Sicyon.[1] This is, of course absurd. It was natural that Clisthenes of Sicyon, in his desire to break down the Dorian element in his city, should call the Dorian tribes by opprobrious names, but the situation of affairs at Athens was quite different. Clisthenes of Athens could not intend to insult the Ionian population of Attica at the very moment when he was desirous to raise them to power. He had other motives for the changes which he now introduced. In the place of the four Ionic tribes he created ten new ones,

Clisthenes establishes Ten Tribes.

[1] Herod. v. 67; *supra*, p. 373.

named after ten heroes, Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion and Aegeus, the four ancient kings of Athens; Oeneus, a son of Pandion; Acamas, a son of Theseus; Hippothoon, whom Theseus had established at Eleusis; Ajax of Salamis, who ranked as an Attic hero; Leos, who was said to have sacrificed his daughters to save Athens; and Antiochus, the son of Heracles. Statues of these heroes—the Eponymi as they were called, because they gave their names to the tribes—were set up in the market-place at Athens. Each tribe had an overseer or governor and a treasurer; a common shrine and a festival; from time to time, as occasion demanded, all the members of the tribe were convened at Athens for the despatch of business.[1]

22. In each tribe, according to the arrangement of Clisthenes, there were ten "demes," or villages. These demes were not a creation of Clisthenes, for they were the existing villages and towns of Attica, but he seems to have been the first to apply the name *deme* universally to them, and to have arranged them in a manner which suited his political plan, for we cannot suppose that there were precisely a hundred villages in Attica at this time. Like the tribe, each deme had a hero, and a sanctuary, at which all the members worshipped. The inhabitants of the deme were enrolled in lists, which were kept by the demarch or governor. He also presided at the meetings, where affairs which affected the community, such as the management of common lands, or the amount to be raised in order to defray expenses, or any other important matter, were discussed. He was elected by his fellow-demesmen, and held office for a year. The position was one of importance in a limited sphere, for the demarch kept the register of citizens who were of age to bear arms; through his agency crews were chosen for ships of war, and money collected. At the end of his year of office he was doubtless compelled to give in an account of his

The Demes as arranged by Clisthenes.

[1] Herod. v. 66; Pollux, viii. 110; Paus. i. 5, 2 ff.; Demosth. *Epitaph.* § 27 ff.

management, and answer any attack which might be made upon it.[1]

23. This change transformed the political status of the Athenian citizen. The old family ceremonies and meetings continued to exist, but only for private life; and a new religious influence arose out of the forms of worship which bound every one to his deme and his tribe. At the same time a new interest in politics had been created by the establishment of local centres in which every inhabitant could find a place and play his part. But if Clisthenes had stopped here he would not have emancipated the Athenians from territorial influence. Families which had been dominant in their districts under the old system would have been dominant still. Clisthenes saw what was required, and made arrangements to secure it. In the first place he enrolled a large body of citizens by extending the franchise to a number of emancipated slaves and resident aliens. These new citizens would swell the population of the city, where no doubt they chiefly congregated, and the "resident aliens," who were for the most part engaged in trade, would be quite independent of the Athenian families.[2] Next he arranged the demes which formed a tribe in such a manner that they were not contiguous—at any rate in every case. Demes from the north of Attica were combined into one tribe with demes from the south.[3] By this means the strength of local influence was greatly impaired; and, as Athens itself was the meeting-place for the tribes on important occasions, no inconvenience arose from the dispersion of the demes of which they were composed. And though we are not precisely informed, we may be sure that Clisthenes

Enfranchisement of slaves and aliens.

Arrangement of the demes.

[1] Herod. v. 69; Harpocration, Δήμαρχος; *Athen. Pol.* c. 21.

[2] Arist. *Pol.* iii. 2. 3 = 1275 *b*, πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους, where see the commentators.

[3] See the Appendix at the end of the volume for some additional particulars from the *Constitution of Athens.*

availed himself of election by lot to secure the free action of the people. Of those citizens who were eligible for the post of councillor, two appear to have been elected for each vacant place. If the candidate who obtained the first place died during his year of office, or was found unworthy on examination, or was expelled from the Council for misconduct (ἐκφυλλοφορία), his place was taken by the second. We are not told that any minimum of property was required as a qualification for a councillor, but it is improbable that the poorest (Solonian) class would be able to give the time which the duties of the office required.[1]

Introduction of the lot in elections.

24. The new Council was reorganised in accordance with the basis upon which it was founded. Instead of four hundred members, five hundred were now chosen, fifty from each of the ten tribes. As this was too large a body to be retained permanently at Athens, it was subdivided into ten tribal divisions of fifty each, and at the same time the year was divided into ten presidencies. During each of the ten presidencies the members of one of the ten tribes remained continuously at Athens, in the Council Hall, that they might be in readiness to transact the business of the hour, and while in office these were called the Presidents, and their tribe the presiding tribe. The Council met daily, and, as before, nothing could be brought before the General Assembly without previous discussion in the Council. It is also probable—and unfortunately we cannot get beyond probability in speaking of the proceedings of Clisthenes—that the Assembly was now more frequently convened than formerly. Such a change was necessary in order to assure the citizens of their power, and even more so for the transaction of public business. Not only had the overthrow of

Arrangement of the council.

[1] Whether Clisthenes introduced the lot in the election of archons is doubtful, though Herodotus (vi. 109) says that the polemarch at Marathon was elected by lot; but we never hear of any other arrangement in the election of the Council.

the tyrants removed the medium through which foreign affairs had been transacted, but in the years which immediately followed the reforms of Clisthenes Athens was involved in numerous wars; she had to fight hard to preserve her new freedom; and in such anxious times the meetings of the Assembly would no doubt be frequent and animated.

Boards of Ten.

25. Among the institutions which are obviously connected with the creation of the Ten Tribes must be placed a number of boards consisting of ten members, and charged with the superintendence of various departments in the state. Of these the most important were the Ten Strategi, or Generals, who, together with the Archon Polemarch, were the commanders-in-chief of the army and the fleet.[1] The naucraries were also increased from forty-eight to fifty by Clisthenes, for the old number could not easily be brought into any relation with the new tribes. If each naucrary supplied a ship, the navy of the Athenians is now to be estimated at 50 triremes; and if each naucrary continued to furnish two mounted soldiers, as before, the cavalry would amount to no more than 100 horse.[2] But the evidence for this is of very doubtful value.

Ships and cavalry.

Ostracism.

26. Lastly, Clisthenes is said to have introduced the remarkable institution of ostracism.[3] This was a device for removing any citizen whose presence in the city seemed to threaten the unity or harmony of the state. The presidents of the Council came before the Assembly (in the sixth Prytany of the year) with the question, whether it was necessary that any citizen should be sent into exile. If the question was answered in the

[1] Ten generals and polemarch at Marathon, Herod. vi. 109.

[2] Photius, *Lex.* Ναυκραρία. Fifty ships in the war with Aegina, Herod. vi. 89. The paucity of the cavalry is remarkable, when we remember that Solon named one of his classes Hippeis, and that the Athenians worshipped Poseidon Hippius, Athena Hippia. But οὐκ ἱππασίμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική (Herod. ix. 13). *Cf.* Westermann in Pauly's *Encycl.*, sub voc. Ἱππεῖς. See Appendix.

[3] Philoch. *Frag.* 79 *b*, M.; Plut. *Arist.* 7.

affirmative, a day was fixed, in the eighth Prytany, to vote upon the subject. In the presence of the Archons and the Council, the people met, not as usual in the Pnyx, but in the market-place, and gave their votes by placing in urns small tablets of earthenware, on which they wrote down the name of the person whom they wished to banish. If six thousand votes were given against any one person,[1] he was compelled to leave the city for ten years. Neither his property nor his civic rights were touched; he was in no sense regarded as a criminal. Ostracism was merely the assertion of the people that a single citizen had acquired such power in the city that it was expedient for all to be rid of him for a time. Though much has been said in favour of the institution as a safeguard against civil strife or the rise of a tyrant, it has never been proved that it contributed to the welfare of Athens. However honourable it may have been to Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon to go into banishment, it was not honourable nor expedient for the city to banish them. Ostracism made it possible for the rabble to rid themselves of the man who controlled them, at the time when they most needed control, and to deprive a statesman of political power, who pursued a policy of which they disapproved, no matter how wise and just the policy may have been. Under any circumstances Athens was weaker and less efficient when deprived of the services of her ablest men.[2] Ostracism is said to have come to an end with the banishment of Hyperbolus in 418 B.C. Party spirit ran high between Alcibiades and Nicias; ostracism was demanded in order to expel one or other of the disturbing elements, but while Nicias and Alcibiades escaped, the

Calculated to do more harm than good.

[1] Such appears to be the meaning of the passage in Philochorus, and so Grote understood it. Others think that a majority in an assembly of 6000 citizens is meant. See Fränkel, *Die Attischen Geschworenengerichte*, Esp. p. 92, note. But is not a *large* majority essential in this case?

[2] Ostracism, or some equivalent, existed at Argos, Megara, Miletus, and Syracuse without producing any beneficial effects whatever, so far as we can see.

sentence fell on the unfortunate dealer in lamps.[1] Such a result was thought to have proved the institution to be useless; and though that is true, it is obvious that the people acted far more wisely in getting rid of a noisy demagogue, than they would have done in leaving either Nicias or Alcibiades without a rival in the state.[2]

27. It is impossible to give any clear account of the means by which Clisthenes was enabled to carry out such extensive reforms. Herodotus, who is our sole authority, merely informs us that Clisthenes, finding himself overpowered by the nobles, took the demos into partnership, and by this means became far stronger than his opponents.[3] Nor do we know in what capacity he brought forward his numerous proposals. Was he placed by the people in a position analogous to that of Solon in 594 B.C.? Or did he propose his measures in the Council and Assembly, and pass them by decree of the people? The changes were clearly the result of careful consideration: it was not any partial amendment; it was an entire reform of the constitution, which Clisthenes set before him. They were also carried out, so far as we know, without alteration. For these reasons we may assume that, after the failure of Isagoras, Clisthenes was allowed to take up an autocratic position in order to give a new constitution to the city.

How did Clisthenes carry out his reforms?

28. After the collapse at Sparta (p. 441), no further attempt was made to restore the Pisistratidae. Hippias, however, exhibited something of his old tenacity, and would by no means accept the change in his fortunes as final. On leaving Sparta he returned once more to Sigeum, whence he entered into communication with the satrap of Sardis, endeavouring by every means in his power

Hippias in Asia.

[1] Thuc. viii. 73; Plut. *Aristid.* 7.

[2] Grote writes at great length on the good which ostracism was intended to do; but when he comes to relate the good that it did, the account is meagre indeed.

[3] Herod. v. 69. Pausanias indicates that the authority of Delphi was employed in establishing the tribes, x. 10. 1.

to traduce the Athenians, "and make Athens subject to himself and Darius." The Athenians sent envoys to counteract his influence; Artaphernes, however, bade them take Hippias back on pain of incurring the king's displeasure. Nothing daunted, the Athenians, when the proposal was laid before them, rejected it with contempt, though they understood that the rejection was equivalent to a declaration of war with Persia.[1]

29. Nothing is known of the later life of Clisthenes. He is said to have been ostracised; but whatever his fate he could point with a just pride to the results of his labours. Henceforth we hear no more of the old factions of the Hill, the Plain, and the Shore. The state was at length united, and penetrated with a single spirit. Every one felt himself a part of the whole; in fighting for his city, he was fighting for a society in which he had equal rights and privileges. He was impelled to take an active part in politics by the feeling that he could sensibly influence the welfare of the state, with which his own welfare was indissolubly connected. A spirit of independence was alive in the heart of every Athenian, prompting him to play his part beside his fellow-citizens. It might be difficult or irksome to attend the frequent meetings of the Assembly; but the Assembly was now a real power. To leave the labour of the farm, or the occupations of trade for service in the field demanded as great a sacrifice from the Greek as it does from the Frenchman or German; but the Greek was fighting his own battles; he did not lay down his life at the bidding of a master. He felt that he must bear his part in the defence of his country, for, if he failed in that, he was guilty of treachery to his fellow-citizens. From every one great efforts were expected, for freedom was a possession difficult to win, and more difficult to keep. Under such conditions political life became a moral influence of the

Criticism of the reforms of Clisthenes.

He made the democracy a reality.

The democratic spirit.

[1] Herod. v. 96.

highest kind. It generated and developed the highest virtues of which man is capable: the love of freedom, devotion to a common cause, self-respect, and self-control. In such a state a good citizen could be pronounced a good man, and nothing that was visionary or morbid, the life of the recluse, together with the qualities which serve for virtues in such a life, could find a place in it. Men were willing to sacrifice their lives, but they did not despise them; on the contrary, they cherished their bodies "as the dearest thing they had," if only they could use them in the service of the state. Nor was the domestic life forgotten in the political. It was in his own home that the duty of the citizen was most clear. To preserve his property intact, to keep up family traditions of worth and honour, to breed sons and daughters who would carry on the race undeteriorated—this was as much a part of the Athenian's duty as attendance at the Assembly, or service in the field. In the same large spirit the Athenian learned to live for others while living for himself. If he amassed wealth, it was his desire to spend it, not in selfish indulgence, but in a manner which would bring him credit with his country. That was hardly his own which had been gained under the protection of the community and the gods. The increase of the field and the flock was a gift of the heavenly powers, not to be taken without recompence and thanksgiving. To add splendour to their festivals was at once a pious duty and the best means of securing their good-will and blessing. Temples rose and festivals were adorned with processions and contests, not to gratify the pride or ambition of a single man, but as an expression of the piety and thankfulness of the people.

In the city.

In the home.

Public spirit at Athens.

In the time of Clisthenes the Athenians were free from many of the evils which appear in the democracy of the next century. They were a people, not a rabble, a state, not a city; they were animated by a noble public spirit, not by a selfish greed; they desired liberty, not aggrandisement. But the elements of decay were not wanting. It was impossible

to prevent the political power from falling into the hands of the city. The best and soundest part of the population, the owners and tillers of the soil in Attica, could not be so regular in their attendance at the Assembly as the inhabitants of Athens, who were always at hand. The introduction of the lot in elections was a security against influence, but it was no security against incompetence and dishonesty. For a time these evils were hidden. The enthusiasm which followed the triumphs of the Persian war carried the democracy successfully through another generation, but only to increase the mischief which it delayed. The men who "fought at Marathon" passed away; and what Aristides had begun with the noblest motives, Ephialtes and Pericles completed in the interests of a party. The meaning of the change was veiled at first by the splendour of the new city; an Athens arose which was the wonder of the world. The beauty of the Acropolis, the magnificence of the Dionysia seemed to be outward and visible signs of the prosperity and happiness of Athenian life. But national culture, even when attained, is a poor compensation for the loss of national honesty. Art and poetry can introduce a subtle charm into society, but they cannot supply that civic virtue on which alone democracy, the most exacting of all forms of political life, can safely rest.[1]

Seeds of decay already sown.

[1] Isocr. *Areopag.* § 17-30. For the chronology of the Pisistratidae see Aristot. *Pol.* v. 12. 5 = 1315*b*—δὶς ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων ἐτυράννευσεν, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Herodotus (v. 65) gives 36 instead of 35 years. They fall between 560 and 510 B.C.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GREEKS IN THE EAST.

1. The history of the Greek cities in Asia Minor is in many particulars a repetition of the history of the cities in Europe. There were the same minute subdivisions of territory, the same conflicts of city with city, the same forms and changes of government on both sides of the Aegean. In the east as in the west men sought for riches on distant shores, and though the colonies in the Euxine were not so famous as those in Sicily and Magna Graecia, they were hardly less numerous, and were planted in more barbarous and inaccessible regions.

The Asiatic Greeks resemble the European

But however great the resemblance between east and west in isolation, in party strife and instability of government, in enterprise and navigation, the Asiatic Greeks differed widely from the European. The climate which they enjoyed, the soil which they cultivated, were superior to the climate and soil of their European home. On the Anatolian coast the heat of summer and the cold of winter were tempered by the neighbourhood of the Aegean, and the force of the arid winds which swept the deserts of the interior was broken by a sheltering wall of mountains. The soil was deep and fertile to an extraordinary degree, while the slopes of the mountains provided pasture for sheep or, if clothed with wood, furnished an inexhaustible store of timber for ship-building. These natural advantages exercised a great influence on the character of the colonists who enjoyed them; especially on the Ionians, who became at once the most intellectual and the most

yet differ from them.

The Climate and soil.

Oriental of the Greeks. The rich abundance of products and the softness of the climate inclined them to a degree of luxury unknown in the mother country; the leisure, which their wealth permitted, enabled the nobler minds to indulge in speculative curiosity, and pursue the pleasures of intellect.[1]

Oriental influences.

Along with the influence of climate and soil other forces were also at work of still greater potency and more important in their effects. On the continent of Asia, the Greeks were brought into contact with nations whose civilisation was widely different from their own and in some points in advance of it. The mountains which fringe the Anatolian coast are pierced by four considerable rivers; the Caicus, the Hermus, the Cayster and the Maeander. At or near the mouths of these lay the most important of the Greek cities, and though the position may have been chiefly recommended by the richness of the alluvial plains which these rivers form, there were other causes which helped to determine the site. It was through these river valleys that all communication between the coast and the interior was carried on; the great road which connected Mesopotamia and the west passed through Phrygia into the valley of the Hermus, and finally struck the sea at the mouth of the Cayster. A distance of seventy miles brought the Greek from Ephesus to the capital of the Lydian empire at Sardis, and a much shorter distance was needed to put him in contact with some of the most important features of Asiatic life and character. Often he lived face to face with them. It was on the ruins of Carian or Lelegian cities that his new home was built; he worshipped under Greek names deities which were not Greek; reared temples to them with the aid of Lydian or Egyptian treasures, and carved their statues under foreign influence

Religion.

[1] For the climate and soil of Asia Minor see Herod. i. 142-149; for the effect of climate, Hippocrates, *De aere*, etc., §§ 12 and esp. 16, Littré, *ὅτι ἀπολεμώτεροί εἰσι τῶν Εὐρωπαίων οἱ Ἀσιηνοὶ καὶ ἡμερώτεροι τὰ ἤθεα αἱ ὧραι αἴτιαι μάλιστα, οὐ μεγάλας τὰς μεταβολὰς ποιεύμεναι, οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ θερμὸν, οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν, ἀλλὰ παραπλησίως.*

—influence so deeply felt that it was quickly transmitted to the west. Before Solon's death the temple of the Great Mother may have been seen at Athens; in the Eleusinian myth of Demeter there are elements which seem to have been borrowed from the story of Cybele and Attys; and the poet Sophocles, a Hellene of the Hellenes, allows his Grecian mariners to appeal to the all-nurturing mountain goddess, whose shrine was washed by the golden stream of Pactolus. Greek logographers discovered that the old Lydian dynasty of Sardis was descended from Heracles no less than their own Spartan kings; Assyria and Egypt were connected through Perseus with the royal line of Argos. And with religious rites and legends came knowledge of a more sober and lasting nature. The accumulated stores of the east were brought within the touch of western genius. By 585 B.C. Thales was able, no doubt with the help of Chaldaean tables, to foretell an eclipse of the sun, and the same interest in physical causes led to other speculations out of which arose the germs of natural philosophy. Men began to ask—and they have gone on asking ever since—What was the cause of life and growth? Was it water, from which all things proceeded, as the old poets seemed to hint when they spoke of Ocean and Tethys as the parents of the gods? Or was it fire, for which everything is changed, as goods for gold, and gold for goods? Stimulated by Phrygian and Lydian modes music and poetry assumed new forms among the Asiatic Greeks, in which the fire of love and the fierceness of political strife or personal hatred found adequate expression. The records of past ages, the manners and habits of distant nations, began to attract intelligent attention, and the Muse of history took her place beside the deities of melody and song. It was the dayspring of western thought,

Musical art.

Nos ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis

—and gladly would we breathe the fresh morning air. The conditions which made such great achievements possible, the

causes which prompted them, the state of manners and society in the cities of Ionia and Aeolis, the personality of the philosophers and poets, of Thales and Heraclitus, of Archilochus and Sappho, can never cease to excite our curiosity. But the history of eastern Hellas in the period between the First Olympiad and the Ionian Revolt, is, if possible, a record still more broken and obscure than that of the peninsula. Once or twice in the course of a century, the light falls on an island or a city, but ere we can fix the picture the gleam is gone. A fragment of a lyric or elegiac poet, a chapter in Herodotus, a story out of the Apocrypha of the Greek tyrants—these are the materials from which we have to construct an account of cities where, for two centuries, the Hellenic genius was most active and fruitful, of men whose words are an immortal possession.

Scanty records of the Asiatic cities.

THE GREEK CITIES IN ASIA MINOR.

2. About the beginning of the seventh century a movement took place among the barbarous tribes which roamed through the vast territory that extends to the north and east of the Caspian Sea. A nation whom the Greeks called Scythians, but who called themselves Scoloti, pressed forward to the west, into the territory lying immediately above the Black Sea, and expelled the Cimmerians, who for some time had been settled there, and had given their name to what was called the Cimmerian Bosporus. In search of new homes the Cimmerians crossed the sea, and fell upon Asia Minor, where for the next hundred years they continued to be a source of trouble and danger. They conquered the Milesian colony of Sinope, and held it for two generations; they invaded and destroyed the flourishing kingdom of Phrygia (696 B.C.); they captured Sardis, "except the citadel," and under their chief Lygdamis they burned the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Magnesia on the Maeander was utterly destroyed by them; and in spite of

The Cimmerians in Asia Minor.

defeats by Assurbanipal of Assyria and Gyges of Lydia, they were not expelled from Asia Minor till the reign of Alyattes, in the beginning of the sixth century.[1]

3. Soon after the appearance of the Cimmerians in Asia Minor, a change occurred in the dynasty which reigned at Sardis, the capital of Lydia. For many generations (twenty-two according to Herodotus) the throne had been in the possession of a family whom the Greeks called Heraclidae, because they claimed descent from the sun-god of Lydia, who was identified with Heracles. The last two or three sovereigns of this race appear to have exercised little authority in the kingdom, and to have been governed in turn by two powerful families, the Mermnadae and the Tylonidae. At length Gyges, the head of the Mermnadae, entered into relations with the wife of the reigning Heraclid, whom Herodotus calls Candaules, and others Sadyattes, and with her assistance or connivance, he assassinated the king and usurped the throne. Such a step naturally excited the opposition of the Lydians, and especially the Tylonids; and in order to secure the prize which he had won, Gyges was compelled to ask the assistance of the Carian king Arselis. The contention was finally settled by an appeal to the oracle at Delphi, which decided in favour of Gyges (*c.* 685 B.C.).[2]

Change in the royal dynasty at Sardis.

King Gyges.

4. The accession of the Mermnadae was an event of the greatest importance to the Asiatic Greeks. Hitherto the kings of Sardis had left them unmolested, not caring to secure for themselves the obvious advantages which would

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[1] For Sinope see Herod. iv. 12. The new colony was founded in 630 B.C. (Euseb.) Midas, Euseb., *Vers. Arm. ad* Ol. 21. 2. Africanus gives 676 B.C. as the date. Sardis, Herod. i. 15. For the connection of Assyria and Gyges, see Gelzer, *Das Zeitalter des Gyges*, 256 ff.

[2] For the last of the Heraclids, see Nicol. Damasc. *Frag.* 49 M. The names there given for the last five monarchs are Ardys, Adyattes, Meles, Myrsus, Sadyattes. For the rise of Gyges, Nic. Dam. *l. c.*; Herod. i, 8-13; Plato, *Rep.* ii. ch. 3. All the evidence for the history of the Lydian kings has been collected by R. Schubert, *Die Könige von Lydien*, Breslau, 1884. See also Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* vols. i. iii.

follow from the possession of the towns of the sea-coast, but with the usurpation of Gyges a different policy was set on foot. Though he owed the undisputed possession of the throne to the decision of the Delphian oracle, he was no sooner settled on it than he began a series of attacks on the Greek cities Smyrna, Colophon, and Miletus. The Smyrnaeans defended themselves with the utmost vigour, and apparently with success; of the attack on Miletus no account has been preserved; at Colophon Gyges was victorious. This success was, however, more than counterbalanced by the defeats which he suffered at the hands of the Cimmerians—defeats so serious that he was only able to save himself by consenting to become the vassal of Assurbanipal of Assyria. Assurbanipal sent an army to his assistance, which inflicted severe chastisement on the invaders, but Gyges was no sooner extricated from his difficult position than he threw off his allegiance, and even sent mercenaries to Psammetichus of Egypt, who was openly at war with Assyria. But the Cimmerians, though defeated, were not crushed; another battle took place, in which Gyges was slain and the Lydians suffered so severely that Ardys, his son, who succeeded him on the throne, found it necessary to place Lydia once more under the protection of Assyria (*c.* 650 B.C.).[1]

Effect of the change on the Greeks.

Gyges attacks the cities of the coast.

Gyges and the Cimmerians.

5. Ardys renewed the attack upon Miletus, but met with no better success than his father. Yet he captured Priene, a city which at that time lay on the sea-coast, on the north shore of the Latmian Bay, and was charged with the superintendence of the Panionian festival at Mycale. Then the Cimmerians advanced once more, on this occasion penetrating even to the suburbs of Sardis, and

King Ardys.

[1] For Gyges, see Herod. i. 14; for the attack on Smyrna, Paus. iv. 21. 5. In the account given by Dositheus, the Smyrnaeans had little to be proud of (*Hist. Gr. Frag.* iv. p. 401 M.). For the death and defeat of Gyges, see Gelzer, *l.c.* Colophon no doubt recovered her independence at this time.

Ardys was compelled to relinquish his conquests in Ionia. At his death he was succeeded by Sadyattes, who in a brief reign of five years resumed the now traditional policy of making war upon Miletus, but resumed it without result (*c.* 615—610 B.C.).[1]

Sadyattes.

6. At this time Miletus was under the control of a prince, Thrasybulus by name, who had made use of his position as prytanis of the city (p. 340) to establish a tyranny. Of the manner in which he obtained his power, exercised it, and lost it, we are ignorant; we only know the advice which he gave to Periander (p. 385) about the management of a city by a tyrant, and the scheme by which he is said to have rescued Miletus from the attack of Alyattes the son of Sadyattes. That prince had no sooner ascended the throne than he engaged in a war with the Ionian city. At first the Milesians ventured to meet him in the open field, but after severe defeats at Limeneum, and on the Maeander, they remained within the city walls, and left their territory at the mercy of the Lydians, who being without a navy could not cut off the city from the sea. Year by year the harvests were carried off or destroyed, and Miletus was entirely deprived of the supplies which she drew from the fertile land round the mouth of the Maeander. A scarcity of food began to be felt in the city when a happy accident gave a new turn to the situation. During an invasion of the territory of Miletus, the Lydian soldiers had set fire to the temple of Athena at Assessus, and when Alyattes subsequently sent to Delphi to ask advice about an illness from which he was suffering, he was informed that no answer would be given till this temple had been restored. On this he requested leave to send a herald to Miletus to negotiate a truce during which the temple could be rebuilt.

Miletus under Thrasybulus.

The war with Alyattes.

[1] For Ardys and Sadyattes, Herod. i. 15. Herodotus allows a reign of twelve years to Sadyattes, and asserts that six of them were occupied with the Milesian war. But Eusebius gives only five years for the entire reign, and this seems to be the more correct account. See Gelzer, *l.c.*, p. 239. Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* iii. 415, note

Thrasybulus, who had been informed by Periander of the oracle, resolved to entertain the herald in a manner which would convince Alyattes that the Milesians were quite indifferent to the desolation of their country. All the corn in the city was brought out into the market-place for the occasion, and the inhabitants were bidden to feast and keep holiday. When Alyattes heard of such abundance in a city which he imagined that he had reduced to famine, he at once abandoned the war and came to terms with Miletus.

7. Thus the greatest of the Ionian cities was ranged on the side of the Lydians. Colophon also, though we do not know why, placed her famous cavalry at the disposal of the Lydian king, who, if we may trust the account given in Polyaenus (vii. 2. 2), did not hesitate to massacre them, and make a treacherous though unsuccessful attack on the city. In an attempt on Clazomenae the Lydians suffered a severe defeat, and Priene held them at bay; but the city of Smyrna, which had offered a successful resistance to Gyges, was captured, her walls destroyed, and the inhabitants dispersed into villages. This conquest placed Alyattes in posession of the lower valley of the Hermus, and brought the Lydian empire down to the sea-coast. As he had also succeeded in ridding Asia Minor of the Cimmerians, he was able to bequeath to his son Croesus a power far greater than any which had yet been swayed by the sceptre of a Mermnade.[1]

Conquest of Smyrna.

8. These attacks on the Ionian cities seem to have caused

[1] For the rise of Thrasybulus, see Arist. *Pol.* v. 10. 6 = 1310 *b* ("The Ionian tyrants acquired the tyranny by holding great offices"), and *ib.* v. 5. 8 = 1305 *a*. For the war with Alyattes, Herod. i. 16 ff. Smyrna is not mentioned in Athenian tribute lists, nor by Thucydides. Strabo, p. 646, says that the Smyrnaeans, after the destruction of their city by the Lydians, lived κωμηδόν for 400 years till restored by Antigonus (see Schubert, *l. c.* pp. 48 f.). The war with Priene may be a fact in spite of the silly stories in Diog. Laert. i. 83. The chronology is exceedingly doubtful. The account of Herodotus places the war between Alyattes and Miletus at the very beginning of his reign, *i.e.* in the seventh century.

no change in the relations between Miletus and Sardis. At no time was there anything which could be called "solidarity" existing between the Asiatic Greeks; even the members of the same tribe had no link to bind them together except the worship of a common deity. And for half a century or more after the tyranny of Thrasybulus, the Milesians were distracted by the most cruel domestic factions; at one time the people got the upper hand, and trampled the children of their opponents to death on the threshing-floors; at another the oligarchy, who retaliated by covering their opponents, old and young, with pitch and burning them alive. The state of affairs became so intolerable, that wealthy men removed their property, so far as possible, out of the country, and the power and reputation of the city were very seriously injured. At length, in order to put an end to conflicts from which both parties suffered, the Milesians called in the assistance of the Parians, and begged them to settle their quarrels. The Parians adopted a very sensible and simple plan of establishing a wise government; passing through the territory of Miletus, they noted every estate which seemed to be flourishing and well managed, inquired the name of the owner, and placed him on the governing body of the city. The constitution thus established was neither an oligarchy nor a democracy; merchants and traders were disregarded, and the possession of land became, as at Athens under Solon, the qualification for office. Under this government Miletus remained till the Persians for their own purposes established a tyrant in the city.[1]

Want of cohesion among the Asiatic Greeks.

Factions at Miletus.

9. At the death of Alyattes in 560 B.C. the Lydian empire extended from Smyrna to the Halys; the Cimmerians had been finally expelled from the country; the Lydian cavalry

[1] For the factions and the Parians, see Herod. v. 28, 29; he is there speaking of the period just before the Ionian revolt. For the cruelties of the factions, of which, however, the date is not specified, Heraclides Ponticus, in Athenaeus, p. 524; and for the removal of property from Miletus, the story of Glaucus in Herod. vi. 86.

were probably the best-mounted troops in existence; and the monarch of Sardis was absolute owner of a treasury with which nothing in the western world could enter into comparison. He was succeeded by his son Croesus, then thirty-five years of age, a prince of great ambition and capacity, who resolved to make the most of his splendid inheritance. This object he pursued with such success that in ten years he had not only reduced all the Greek cities to dependence, but had also conquered the "barbarian" tribes which had not hitherto acknowledged the Lydian supremacy. The Phrygians and Mysians, the Mariandynians, Chalybes and Paphlagonians, the Asiatic Thracians and the Carians, the Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians were now subjects of Sardis; only the brave and civilised Lycians and the Cilicians in the south maintained their independence. This rapid elevation of the Lydian monarch to a position of supreme importance in Asia Minor, ending as it did in sudden, unexpected and irretrievable ruin, was an event which deeply impressed the ancient world.[1] The rise and fall of Croesus was a signal instance of the instability of fortune: and in the minds of reflective Greeks, who were beginning to feel and uphold the sanctity of moral law, it was a proof that wealth was by no means the first of blessings; that unscru-

Croesus.

His conquests.

[1] Herod. i. 26 ff. For the Lydian cavalry, *ibid.* 79; for the cause of Croesus' fall, *ibid.* 91. All that is known about Croesus is collected by Schubert, *l.c.* Besides Herodotus, we have the account of Nicolaus of Damascus, who is thought to have used the Lydian history of Xanthus. No Lydian inscriptions are now in existence, though Herodotus speaks of such, i. 93. According to Herodotus the character of the Lydian nation entirely changed in the time of Cyrus; from being warlike it became effeminate. The Lydians were the first to coin money, and pursue retail trade; they invented most of the games known in Greece, *dice, knuckle-bones, ball*, etc.; their music was soft, their manners dissolute; and Herodotus could find nothing to admire in the country except the tomb of Alyattes (i. 93 *hodie* Bin Bir Tepeh). From this I infer that the *old* temple of Cybele was not of great size or splendour, and that the remains described by Cockerell (Leake, *Asia Min.* 342 ff.) belong to a later date.

pulous ambition and greed of conquest incurred the anger of the gods, and brought down their vengeance upon men.

10. On his accession to the throne Croesus turned his arms against Ephesus, which, after the fall of Smyrna and the alliance with Miletus, was the most important Greek city now independent of Sardis. Ephesus appears at this time to have consisted of two communities, which, though living amicably side by side, were separate from each other. On the slopes of Mt. Coressus and the adjacent hills, lay the Greeks, governed perhaps by a moderate oligarchy, but allowing the posterity of Androclus, the founder, to bear the title of king, to wear purple, carry a staff, and administer the rites at the temple of Eleusinian Demeter. In the low land at the mouth of the Cayster was the temple of Artemis, with its hierarchy, surrounded by the unwholesome rout of male and female acolytes which was generally to be found in Phoenician and Asiatic temples. It was equally the interest of both communities to develop the trade of the city, and improve her position as the key of communication between the eastern and western world; but while the Greeks looked to the sea, the temple held to the land. The deity which was worshipped there was not an importation from Greece, but the Astarte of old Phoenician visitors combined with the Cybele of Hither Asia (*supra*, p. 132). The name of Artemis, which Homer had associated with virgin purity and grace, was here given to a goddess whose functions as a nursing mother and patroness of birth were clearly indicated by the numerous breasts carved upon her monstrous statue. Her high priests were eunuchs, a form of asceticism which, however degraded and insane, commanded respect among Asiatic nations. The custom was also a safeguard against the growth of an independent priestly dynasty; it completely cut off the temple from the civic life which surrounded it, and gave a pledge to the worshippers who came from Phrygia or Lydia or Syria that the old rites of their native goddess would not be sacrificed to Hellenic prejudices or ambition. On these

Ephesus.

The city.

The temple.

grounds the temple might claim to be a mediator between the Asiatics and the Greeks, and this is in fact the position which it took up when Croesus attacked Ephesus. The hierarchy had nothing to fear from the invader. The deity which they worshipped could be identified with the goddess under whose blessing Croesus had set out from Sardis, and the priests probably came to terms with him at once. The Greeks, on the other hand, under their commander Pindarus, resisted for a time, but when they found themselves unable to continue the defence they placed the city under the protection of the temple, and the better to mark the connection they carried a cord from the walls to the shrine —a distance of seven stades. This concession, though it saved the Greeks from destruction, seems to have greatly injured the city. The settlers were compelled to leave their position on the heights and dwell round the temple; the hierarchy became the guiding power in the politics of Ephesus; and from this time onward we find the city in sympathy with Asia rather than with Greece.[1]

Croesus at Ephesus.

The city submits.

II. Thus the Asiatic hierarchy triumphed over the Hellenic city, and Croesus became master of the route which the great emporium had so long commanded. With the fall of Ephesus all further resistance on the part of Ionia was at an end; the Aeolians and Dorians were now attacked and conquered, under one pretext or another, by the ambitious monarch, whom Herodotus regards as the beginner of the quarrel between the Greeks and Asiatics. The conquered cities had to acknowledge the

The empire of Croesus.

[1] Herod. i. 26; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 26; Polyaen. vi. 50. E. Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, Berl. Akad. 1873; id. *Ephesos Ein Vortrag*, reprinted in *Alterthum und Gegenwart*, vol. ii. Curtius thinks that Ephesus was treated as Smyrna had been treated by Alyattes, but less severely; the city was broken up into villages in accordance with the wishes of the priests, who found stone walls and civic interests a great hindrance to their authority. Strabo, p. 640, says:—*μέχρι μὲν τῶν κατὰ Κροῖσον οὕτως ᾠκεῖτο, ὕστερον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείου καταβάντες περὶ τὸ νῦν ἱερὸν ᾤκησαν μέχρι Ἀλεξάνδρου.*

authority of the king, to pay tribute, and perhaps to supply forces, but on these conditions they enjoyed his protection. Croesus was not a conqueror of the barbarous type whose instinct is only to destroy; he appears to have had a personal liking for Greeks and Greek civilisation; and his policy led him to form an alliance with the leading city of European Greece. That his rule was not oppressive is proved by the fact that the Ionian cities refused to listen to Cyrus when he invited them to revolt from Sardis.[1]

12. Croesus was now without a rival in the territory which extends from the Halys to the Aegean, but he had scarcely reached the summit of his ambition, when he found himself confronted by a new and unexpected danger. The last seventy years had seen great changes in the Mesopotamian valley. About the time when Alyattes ascended the throne of Sardis—when Athens was distracted between the Megarian war and the "Cylonian pollution"—Media and Babylon combined in an attack upon Nineveh, whose power had been recently shaken by an invasion of the Scythians. The attack succeeded, and Nineveh fell; the mighty city, so long the terror of nations, was cut down at a single stroke, and perished from the face of the earth.[2]

Fall of Nineveh.

13. The empire was divided between the conquerors. The territory to the north and east of the Tigris fell to Media; the south, from Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, formed the new kingdom of Babylonia. By this partition the kingdoms of Lydia and Media became conterminous, and as the boundaries were unsettled, it was inevitable that a war should break out between Alyattes and Cyaxares the Median king (in 590 B.C.). After five years of indecisive warfare the conflict was

[1] Herod. i. 76. The army which Croesus led to Pteria was composed of mercenaries.

[2] E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Al.* § 481. The story of the fall is also told by Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* iii. ch. 12. The Medes were led by Cyaxares, the Babylonians by Nabopolassar. The date of the fall is uncertain: it is after 608 B.C., but not long after.

brought to a sudden close by an eclipse of the sun (May 28, 585 B.C.), and through the intervention of the kings of Cilicia and Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar) it was agreed that the Halys should be the boundary between the two nations. To confirm the arrangement the daughter of Alyattes was married to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares.

But within a few years of the fall of Nineveh a tribe of Persians issuing from Pasargadae, their home on the east of the Persian Gulf, acquired the ancient kingdom of Elam in Southern Mesopotamia, where they chose the city of Susa as their capital. This conquest appears to have been achieved by Teispes about the year 595 B.C. He was followed on the throne by Cyrus I., and Cambyses I., whose son was Cyrus II., the founder of the great Persian Empire, a monarch who may claim to hold the foremost place among all the conquerors of the East. He ascended the throne in 559 B.C., and after eight or nine years he found himself in a position to attack the Median king Astyages. We have no trustworthy account of the war, but there is reason to suppose that Cyrus was joined by the soldiers of Astyages. However gained, the victory was complete, and Media was added to the Persian Empire. By this success Cyrus became the neighbour of Croesus, who saw with alarm his brother-in-law Astyages replaced by an ambitious and successful conqueror.[1]

The Rise of Persia.

14. Croesus resolved to be first in the field in the conflict which he perceived to be inevitable, and his first step was to arrange a combination of forces against Cyrus. Nabonetus the king of Babylon was naturally willing to enter into an alliance, having no less reason to fear the growing power of Persia then Croesus himself; even Amasis of Egypt promised assistance, and, as we have seen,

Croesus and Cyrus.

[1] See E. Meyer, *l.c.* §§ 466, 486, 501; Herod. i. 122 ff.; Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* v. 335 ff. The latest writer on the subject, Fr. Hommel, thinks that the Persians came from Parsua (in the north-east of Mesopotamia) and conquered Persis from Elam; Iwan-Müller, *Handbuch*, iii. 89.

Sparta was pledged to send help to the king of Lydia (*supra*, p. 433). Unfortunately Croesus gave these auxiliaries no time to assemble. Confident in his own forces, which had hitherto been uniformly successful, eager that the glory and the profit of the conquest should be his own, and supported by the answers which he had received from the oracles of Delphian Apollo and Amphiaraus, he crossed the Halys in the spring of 546 B.C., and declared war upon Cyrus. He was able to lay waste a considerable part of Cappadocia, and to acquire the strong city of Pteria, operations which seem to have consumed the whole of the summer, but with the appearance of the Persian army in the autumn his successes came to an end. Defeated, or at least not victorious, in the battle which took place, he retired to Sardis with the intention of renewing the contest in the ensuing spring, against which he summoned his allies to meet him. But Cyrus made war in a manner which did not admit of such convenient delay. In spite of the advanced season he followed Croesus to Sardis, and after a brief siege of fourteen days, he took both the city and the king. Croesus was treated with the generosity which Cyrus extended to all his captives, and after appointing a viceroy to complete the subjugation of the newly acquired kingdom, the conqueror returned to the East.[1]

Defeat and fall of Croesus.

15. The fall of the Lydian empire did not affect Miletus, which had already come to terms with Cyrus, nor had the inhabitants of the islands much to fear, as the Persians were without any fleet whatever. The case was otherwise with the cities of the coast, which, as they had previously refused the overtures of the conqueror, were now exposed to his resentment. They endeavoured to conciliate him by offering submission, and at the same time to secure for themselves the favourable terms which they had enjoyed under the supremacy of Croesus.

Cyrus and the Asiatic Greeks.

[1] E. Meyer, *l.c.*, § 502, 503. The authorities are Herodotus, Ctesias, *De rebus Persicis*, 4, and Nicolaus of Damascus, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, M., vol. iii. The story of the pyre is a fiction.

Cyrus, on receiving the request, reminded the envoys of a certain piper, who piped to the fish in the hope that they would come to him out of the water, but on finding that they did not, he took a net and caught them, and when he saw them struggling on the ground, exclaimed: "Have done with your dances; when I piped, you would not dance at all." The meaning of this apologue was not to be mistaken; on the return of the envoys the Ionians collected at the Panionium, where it was resolved that they should fortify their cities and send to Sparta for assistance (p. 434).[1]

Revolt of the Lydians.

16. The Lydians did not succumb to their new ruler without a final struggle. They found a leader in Pactyes, who with the aid of the forces which he could collect on the coast was enabled to drive Tabalus, the viceroy left by Cyrus in charge of Sardis, into the acropolis of that city. But the movement was without any organised support, and on the approach of Mazares, the general whom Cyrus sent to quell the rising, Pactyes fled. After wandering from place to place in the hope of obtaining a refuge, he was finally surrendered by the Chians, who received in return the territory of Atarneus, which lay in Mysia, opposite the island of Lesbos, an act of treachery which even the Chians regarded with mixed feelings. Mazares then reduced Priene to slavery, and desolated the plain of the Maeander, selecting perhaps this part of Ionia for his first attack, because it lay nearest to the Panionium. On his death Harpagus was sent to complete the work of subjugation. As the cities were surrounded by walls, it was necessary, in the infancy of engineering science, to raise mounds of earth against them till the besiegers were on the same level as the besieged, and by this laborious method of attack the whole of the Ionian cities were taken. Even the Ionian islands were frightened into submission. Though the sea was open to them, the inhabitants chose to remain and become the

Conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by the Generals of Cyrus.

[1] Herod. i. 141, 142.

subjects of Persia, with the single exception of the Phocaeans, the greater part of whom abandoned their city for new homes in the Tyrrhenian sea (*supra*, p. 348).[1]

17. In this crisis of their fortunes, when all hope of resistance was at an end, a proposal was made to the Ionians, which would have given a new course to the history of Greece. Bias of Priene, one of the Seven Sages, advised his countrymen to abandon altogether the cities on the Asiatic coast, and seek new settlements in Sardinia. The Phocaeans had already founded a colony in Corsica, from which it is probable that the Greeks received exaggerated ideas of the wealth of the neighbouring island; and as an unknown country, in the hands of the Etruscans and Phoenicians, it was the prize on which every adventurous Greek cast longing eyes. Had the Ionians followed the advice of Bias and established themselves in force on Sardinia, the dream of a western empire which fired the imagination of the Athenians in 416 B.C. might have been anticipated. Even at an earlier period, when the cities were still in prosperity, Thales of Miletus, who was also one of the Seven, and reputed to be of Phoenician descent, had advised the Ionians to break up the separate existence of their cities, and unite in a common council-chamber at Teos, the centre of Ionia. This chamber, he proposed, should direct the affairs of the nation, and be supreme over the various members, as a city is supreme over its component demes. Such a plan, which would have brought Teos into the same relation to the cities of Ionia as Athens occupied to the demes of Attica, was greatly at variance with the Greek view of the city. For though it was a custom to worship common deities, and to unite in Amphictyonies for this purpose, a strict distinction was made between religious and political union. In the eyes of the citizen isolation and independence were inseparable, and no Greek community would acknowledge that any

Bias of Priene.

Thales.

Isolation of the Greek cities.

[1] Herod. i. 154.

power without her walls could have the right to direct or control her action. On these principles the suggestion of Thales was disregarded, though the alternative was submission to Persia on such terms as she chose to dictate.[1]

18. When Cambyses, who succeeded Cyrus in 529 B.C., invaded Egypt, he compelled the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks to furnish contingents to his army, "for he regarded them as slaves bequeathed to him by his father," and after his death (522 B.C.) they furnished both ships and men to Darius in his invasion of Scythia (about 515 B.C.). By this time we find that a change had been made in the internal constitution of the cities; tyrants in the interests of Persia being established in the place of the old oligarchies or democracies. In the fleet which Darius took to the Danube we hear of Daphnis of Abydus, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, Strattis of Chios, Aeaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, Histiaeus of Miletus, Aristagoras of Cyme. These tyrants were compelled to attend with their ships in order to make a bridge across the river. When Darius was absent in Scythia the question was raised among them by the Scythians, supported by Miltiades, the second tyrant of the name in the Chersonese (p. 453), whether they should not seize the opportunity to destroy the bridge, which they had been left behind to guard, and allow Darius to perish. But Histiaeus pointed out that they were far too insecure in their own position to adopt such a course. They were tyrants in the interest of Persia, and held their thrones by the terror of the Persian name; if this were removed, the cities would prefer a popular to a despotic government. This opinion, which gained the day, is a striking indication of the nature of the authority which the Persians had set up. Yet we may observe that the tyrants were in all cases Greeks, not Medes or Persians; it was through the Greek passion for independence that Cyrus

Tyrants established in he Greek cities.

[1] Herod. i. 169, 170. Bernays, *Phokion*, p. 24.

had reduced the Asiatic cities; it was by the Greek love of absolute power that Darius kept them under control.[1]

19. The Scythian campaign of Darius was a signal failure, involving the loss of many thousand soldiers. The disaster revived the hope of freedom in many of the Asiatic cities, especially in those which lay in the north of the Aegean. Some failed to send soldiers to supply the place of the slain, some plundered the defeated army. It was necessary to reduce the rebellious cities to submission; even Lemnos and Imbros, in spite of their insular position, were now to be made subject to Persia. For this purpose a Persian army under Otanes, the son of Sisamnes, was left behind by Darius on his return to Asia. He lost no time in subduing the cities on the mainland, and then proceeded with the help of the fleet of Lesbos to attack the islands. The Lemnians fought bravely but unsuccessfully; they were conquered, and Lycaretus, the brother of Maeandrius of Samos, was made tyrant over them. After this final subjugation "there was for a time a respite from misfortunes" in Asia Minor—a peaceful condition of affairs which continued till the Ionian cities were induced to revolt by Histiaeus and Aristagoras.[2]

Revolt of the Greek cities.

20. Of the Dorian cities on the mainland there is little to relate. On the approach of Harpagus the Cnidians attempted to save themselves by cutting off their city from the mainland, but when they were warned to desist by an oracle, they made no further resistance, and submitted without a blow. Halicarnassus seems to have done the same; at least Herodotus is discreetly silent on the conduct of his city on this occasion; and we hear nothing of it till it appears as a part of the domains of the Carian Artemisia, a vassal-queen of Persia. Very

The Dorian cities.

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[1] Herod. iv. 137, 138. This Miltiades was the second son of Cimon, the half-brother of the first tyrant.

[2] For the Ionians in the Scythian invasion, Herod. iv. 89, ff; for the final subjugation and the *ἄνεσις κακῶν*, v. 25, 28.

different was the conduct of the brave inhabitants of the valley of the Xanthus. Seeing the desolation of their territory, which they were unable to prevent, they gathered their wives and children, their slaves and all that they possessed, into the acropolis of Xanthus, and burned them; after which, binding themselves by the strongest oaths, they met the Persians in battle, and perished to a man. Eighty families, which for some reason happened to be away from home at the time, were the sole survivors of the nation.[1]

The Lycians.

THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

21. The fortunes of the Greek islands were to a great extent independent of the cities in Asia. Even those which lay near the Asiatic coast preserved their freedom till the time of Darius, either intact, or on the condition of supplying ships to the Persian fleet. And as stepping-stones from east to west, as convenient centres for union, or lying in the trade routes which connected the north of the Aegean with Syria and Egypt, these islands acquired great celebrity and power. Some became distinguished as the homes of great men, others for their high civilisation; in others successful tyrants acquired a world-wide reputation; others were the seat of religious festivals, or remarkable for their laws and institutions.

Importance of the islands.

Lesbos.

22. The inhabitants of Lesbos, the most important of the Aeolian islands, present a striking contrast to their countrymen on the opposite shore, being as famous for their skill in music and song as the Cymaeans for their want of common

[1] Herod. i. 174-178. The Dorians are not mentioned by Herodotus as joining in the Egyptian expedition of Cambyses, and in the Dorian cities there were no Greek tyrants, so far as we know.

sense. Among her citizens Lesbos could claim Lesches, the only epic poet who can with certainty be traced to an Aeolian city; Terpander, by whose genius the music of Asia was brought into the service of Hellenic art; and Arion, from whom the dithyramb received new life and splendour. By their position the Lesbians were free from the attacks of the Mermnadae of Sardis; they carried on a considerable trade, the soil produced excellent wine, the climate was healthy. In the seventh century B.C. we may assume the existence of a rich aristocracy in the island, in which the women enjoyed a free and influential position. Alcaeus and Sappho, whose names have become immortal among the lyric poets of Greece, were members of this privileged class.

Intellectual eminence of the Lesbians.

Prosperity of the island.

23. Alcaeus, like Archilochus of Paros, was at once a poet and a soldier, and like Archilochus he was a better servant of the Muses than of Mars. He could describe in stirring verse the hall resplendent with armour, the sword, the shield, the horse-plumed helmet, the linen corslet in which the Lesbians went out to battle, but his courage failed him on the field. He "hid his honour in his necessity," and was not ashamed to confess what he had done. Wine was the favourite theme of Alcaeus, and perhaps he devoted greater powers to this subject than any poet before or since. By birth and temper an aristocrat, he could not endure to see Lesbos under the rule of a demagogue, and we must give him full credit for the tenacity with which he opposed the tyrants, and the sacrifices which he made in the cause of his order. That he despised the low-born Pittacus, and found his authority unendurable, is no more than we should expect from one who cherished such prejudices in favour of birth; that he ridiculed any peculiarities which offended his aristocratic sense was inevitable in a Greek. His love of wine and good company removed him widely from the man who considered drunken-

Alcaeus.

The Poet of wine.

His opposition to tyrants.

ness to be an aggravation of crime, and was content to dine alone in the dim evening. Little did the cavalier poet imagine that his name would be for ever written side by side with that of the "shambling, shabby, swag-bellied braggadocio" whom he so heartily hated and despised.[1]

24. Among the poetesses of Greece—and they were numerous—Sappho holds the foremost place. To the Greeks she appeared a creature almost superhuman, a "world's wonder;" and modern readers, to whom nothing remains of her poems but two odes, one of which is imperfect, and a number of short fragments, have never failed to repeat the praises of antiquity. It is impossible by translations or criticism to convey any adequate sense of the charm of her language; what has been said of Shakespeare—that his words cannot be hidden—applies with equal force to Sappho. Her poetry bears the stamp of an imperishable genius, capable of giving complete expression to the thoughts and feelings which men are always and everywhere striving to utter. A vivid imagination carried her through all the regions of human passion; the fervour of the lover in the presence of his beloved is expressed as strongly as the despair of the forsaken maiden. Not less striking are her womanly dignity and intellectual pride, her maternal tenderness and solicitude. Unlike many literary women, she exercised a great influence over her own sex, and, so far as we can understand a connection which later writers misinterpreted, she gathered round her a society of women whom she guided and encouraged in the cultivation of song. These were her "companions," of whom she sometimes spoke with the extravagant affection natural to her highly wrought temperament. To us the existence of such a society, so far from indicating anything extraordinary or repellent, is a proof that a rational liberty was allowed to women in Aeolis

Sappho.

Her companions.

[1] Diogenes Laertius, *Vita Pittaci*, esp. § 9; Alcaeus, *Fragmenta*, in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, vol. iii.

at this time. But the different position of women is one of the most remarkable of the peculiarities which distinguish the tribes in Greece. Among the Ionians, in the peninsula and in Asia, at Athens and Miletus, we hear of no female poets, nor were women expected or allowed to take any part in society; but at Sparta and Elis, as we have seen, and still more among the Aeolians, women were both influential and cultivated. From this difference of manners arose many of the charges brought by Attic writers against the women of Dorian and Aeolian cities.[1]

25. Lesbos did not escape the curse of domestic strife, which afflicted the cities of Greece. Towards the close of the seventh century, the rule of the aristocracy became intolerable to the people, who organised a rebellion under their leader Melanchrus. The rising was successful, and for about ten years Melanchrus was tyrant of Mitylene. His severity seems at length to have provoked even his own party, a number of whom, under the command of Pittacus, joined the nobles in attacking him. Melanchrus was defeated and slain, but his death did not bring about a peaceful settlement of the factions in the city. A new demagogue named Myrsilus rose to power, but only to fall a victim to the nobles, who, however, were not secured in their old position by his fall. New leaders of the rabble came forward, and defeated the aristocrats. At length, weary of the strife, the people of Lesbos put the government in the hands of Pittacus; he was chosen *aesymnete* or umpire to arrange the constitution in a manner which would satisfy the claims of both parties.

Party strife in Lesbos.

Melanchrus.

Unfortunately we can give but a vague account of this remarkable man, the Solon of Lesbos. Though his origin was humble, he showed himself a consummate statesman, and he shares with Solon the glory of refusing the temptation of a tyranny. He left no constitution behind him, and of his laws nothing was

Pittacus.

[1] Sappho, *Frag.* 28, 52, 68, 85, B.

preserved worthy of notice but the remarkable statute that a man who committed a crime when intoxicated, so far from being excused on that account, should suffer double punishment. That he was a brave soldier is clear from his conduct in the Sigean war. The Greeks allowed him a place among the Seven Sages, and to him, as to the rest, a number of wise maxims are assigned. The character which Diodorus has preserved (perhaps from Ephorus), describes him as one whose like Lesbos never had seen, and never would see again, "let her wine be never so much better and more plentiful." Easy of access, yet not without reserve, devoted to the welfare of his citizens, and inclined to overlook their misdeeds, a prudent statesman and a wise lawgiver, he delivered his city from three great evils—tyranny, civil strife, and foreign war.[1]

26. This "foreign war" was a contest in which Athens and Lesbos were engaged for the possession of Sigeum in the Troad. The Lesbians claimed the opposite shore of the mainland, which was in fact chiefly occupied by their colonies; but the Athenians under their commander Phrynon, who had won the prize in the Pancratium at Olympia, succeeded in expelling them from Sigeum; the Lesbians retaliated by building Achilleum, a fortress at the mouth of the Scamander, to serve as a base of operations against the Athenians. The war went on for some years with varying fortune. On one occasion, Alcaeus, the aristocratic poet, only saved himself by leaving his helmet in the possession of the enemy. A signal success was gained for Lesbos in 606 B.C., when Pittacus, whom Phrynon had challenged to single combat, defeated and slew his enemy. At length both combatants agreed to refer the decision of

Contest between Athens and Lesbos for Sigeum.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 12. 13=1274 *b*; iii. 14. 9=1285 *a*. Diod. *Ex. Virt.* 552=ix. 11. Diog. Laert. *Vita Pittaci.* In the account of Diogenes, Pittacus is said (on the authority of Clearchus, *c.* 300 B.C.) to have taken exercise by grinding at a mill. Hence, perhaps, the ditty:

ἄλει μύλα ἄλει, καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει,
μεγάλας Μιτυλάνας βασιλεύων.

the quarrel to Periander of Corinth, who pronounced that each of the claimants should keep what they had got. Thus the Athenians remained in possession of Sigeum, while the Mitylenaeans held Achilleum and so much of the coast of the Troad as was secured by their colonies.[1]

Paros.

27. The island of Paros, which may be described as a mountain of marble surrounded by a flat fringe of marshy but fertile soil, still retains the traces of the numerous population which was once spread over the Cyclades. In prehistoric times the Carians were in possession of the island, from which they were dislodged by the Ionians in the course of their migration to Asia. Colonies were afterwards sent out from Paros to Thasos and Parium—the second in conjunction with the Milesians, who also called in the friendly aid of the Parians to put an end to the quarrels of their citizens (p. 495); and at a later time we shall have to record the visits of Miltiades and Themistocles to the island. But Paros has a another and a far greater claim to the notice of the historian as the birth-place of Archilochus, whose name marks an epoch in the growth of Greek poetry.

Archilochus.

He was the son of Telesicles by a slave, and was born about the middle of the seventh century. In 709 B.C. he went with his father to the colony in Thasos, but the venture brought him neither wealth nor reputation. Whether the mines of the island were for the time exhausted, or whether they were appropriated by other colonists, we do not know, but Archilochus found it necessary to join in an attack on the Thracians of the coast, in the hope of obtaining a share of the rich gold mines in their possession. The attack failed entirely; Archilochus threw away his shield, and ran for his life. He returned to Paros, where he

Visits Thasos.

[1] Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 43.3=606 B.C., for Phrynon's death. For the war and Periander, Herod. v. 94 f. The date of Pittacus' dictatorship is placed in 590-580 B.C. See Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, Ol. 47. 3.

found himself as unsuccessful in love as he had been in war. He wished to marry Neobule, the daughter of the aristocratic Lycambes, but for some reason Lycambes, after giving his consent to the match, withdrew it. Archilochus was not the man to overlook an insult, or to be scrupulous in his way of resenting it. He attacked both Lycambes and his daughters with libels so savage and scandalous, that according to the common story father and children hanged themselves for shame and vexation. Disappointed of the hope of this marriage, Archilochus became a mercenary soldier; he took service in Euboea, and at length fell by the hand of Calondas, a Naxian.

Slain in Euboea.

28. While the lyric poets of other nations have thrown themselves into ideal attitudes and striven to express ideal passions, the Greeks were occupied with their own thoughts, feelings, and circumstances. There is no attempt to conceal love or hate by the use of feigned names or any other illusion of poetic art; it is not Lalage, or Lesbia, or Cynthia who appears in the lyrics of Alcaeus and Archilochus, but the dark and bright-eyed Sappho, or Neobule(?) shaded by her hair, with a wand of myrtle in her hand. This expression of personal feelings in verse began, as we saw, in Hesiod, and it reaches its greatest height in Archilochus, to whose influence this characteristic of Greek lyric poetry is largely due. Every incident of his eventful life, every mood of his passionate nature, was reflected in verse, while his great gifts of language and music enabled him not only to clothe his thoughts in vigorous words, but also to invent metres suitable to every theme. Before his time the hexameter and pentameter were the only forms of verse in use; but his restless genius refused to be confined within such narrow limits; he invented the iambic, the tetrameter or trochaic, and a number of more varied and elaborate lyric measures. Thus poetry became in his hands an instrument of the widest range; his song of victory was chanted at Olympia when the athlete went up to receive his crown; his abuse of Lycambes was the foundation

Greek lyric poetry

greatly developed by Archilochus.

of satirical poetry. We have glimpses of the incidents of his soldier's life: he kneads his bread with the spear, and drinks his wine spear in hand; he calls for wine on board ship to sustain him in the watch. But, though he bears himself as a soldier, his love of satire is deeper than his love of glory: "Some Saïan is happy with that shield of mine. A right good shield it was, and I will get me another like it!" "We were a thousand warriors, and each of us had slain his man, yet the corpses were but seven!" We go with him to Thasos, the hateful island which rises "like an ass's back out of the sea;" or we listen to his description of the good leader— Reality of his poems.
"no lanky, long-haired, straddling fop for me,
but a tight little bandy-legged hero, firm on his feet." At one moment he bids his spirit be patient in the hope of better things; at another he reminds himself that sorrow will not cure his misfortunes, nor rejoicing aggravate them; at another he rolls out a dithyramb "with the thunder-stroke of wine upon his soul." In the judgment of the Greeks Archilochus ranked next to Homer; and though the fragments which we possess by no means support such an estimate, we can trace even in what remains the outline of a character more vehement than that of our own Landor, of a genius which imparted a new impulse to Greek literature, and furnished it with new forms of expression.[1]

Samos.

29. The first notice which we have of Samos after the colonisation of the island by the Ionians is the statement of Thucydides that Aminocles the Corinthian built four triremes for the Samians about the year 704 B.C.; and, though

[1] For Paros, see Thuc. iv. 104; Strabo, p. 487. For the ancient population, Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 373. For the Parians at Miletus, Herod. v. 28, 29. The mines at Thasos were not exhausted at the time of Darius (Herod. vi. 46). For what remains of Archilochus, Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Graeci*, vol. ii. The metrical inventions of Archilochus are enumerated in Plut. *De Musica*, c. 28.

we do not know the particular causes which prompted the step, it is a proof of the enterprising spirit of the Samians at the time. A hundred years later we hear of the removal of a king, Demoteles, and the establishment of an oligarchy of Geomori or land-owners, under whose rule a colony was sent out to Perinthus on the Thracian coast, in the hope of obtaining a share of the commerce of the Black Sea. A collision with Megara was the inevitable result of this step, and in the hostilities which followed we obtain a glimpse of the domestic history of Samos. Victorious in the battle, the Samians returned home with no fewer than 600 prisoners, bound in the fetters which had been brought from Megara to enchain the Samians. But on the voyage, the captives and the crews, who were united by their common hatred of oligarchs, entered into a conspiracy to put an end to the government of the Geomori. Orders had been given that the prisoners should appear in their fetters before the governing body in the council-chamber at Samos, and this opportunity was seized by the conspirators for carrying out their plans. The fetters were arranged to allow the prisoners to move freely; they were provided with daggers, and when brought before the notables, they at once massacred all who were present (*c.* 565 B.C.). The government of Samos now became a democracy, but how long the people remained in power we do not know; when we next hear of the island, the oligarchs are at the head of the state.[1]

War between Samos and Megara.

Revolution at Samos.

30. But their rule was destined to be again suspended, and this time the disturbance was due to one of their own order, who, following the example of Pisistratus, Lygdamis, and others, came forward as a tyrant. Herodotus informs us that Polycrates was the son of Aeaces, that he rose and got possession of Samos, and became "master over men who were his equals." At first he

Rise of Polycrates

[1] Thuc. i. 13; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 57. Herod. iii. 59 speaks of an Amphicrates, king of Samos, but his date is unknown; in his reign the Samians attacked Aegina.

divided the city into three portions between himself and his brothers Syloson and Pantagnotus, but afterwards he put Pantagnotus to death, and expelled Syloson from the island, which now fell into his uncontrolled power.

Thus seated on the throne of Samos, with the resources of the island at his disposal, Polycrates exhibited all the strength of his vigorous nature, and in a short time became the greatest power in the Aegean. "Wherever he turned his arms, success attended them. He robbed and plundered every one alike, saying that his friends were better pleased when he restored what he had taken than if he never took it at all! He seized many of the islands, and a number of towns on the mainland, and when the Lesbians came out with all their forces to aid the Milesians he conquered and captured them." "No Hellenic tyrant, except the princes of Syracuse, can be compared with Polycrates in splendour." This sudden rise to eminence, which fell in the last years of the reign of Cyrus, was rendered easier by the absence of the great monarch in the eastern part of his dominions and the insignificance of the Persian fleet. With the defeat of the combined forces of the Milesians and Lesbians, Polycrates removed the only naval power which could be brought against him in the interests of Sardis.[1]

Empire of Polycrates.

Lying close to the Asiatic shore, and almost commanding the approach to Miletus and Ephesus, the island of Samos possesses conspicuous advantages of position, which Polycrates did not fail to turn to account. He invented a new kind of vessel for the conveyance of merchandise; his swift penteconters, which were little better than pirates' junks, issuing from the sheltered creeks of the island, levied contributions on the vessels which sailed into the ports of Asia, and especially Miletus, the wealthiest of them all. At the same time he improved the native products of the

Resources of Polycrates.

[1] Herod. iii. 39. 125 With his account may be compared Polyaen. i. 23. 2. Lygdamis of Naxos is said to have assisted Polycrates.

island, by importing sheep from Miletus and Attica, and goats from Scyros and Naxos. With him money made the man. By money he had gained his position; by money he kept it; and by the hope of money he was enticed to his ruin. His name was handed down to posterity as one of the tyrants who had impoverished and oppressed his subjects by erecting great buildings; but of the three monumental works which distinguished Samos, the conduit of Eupalinus seems to have been completed before Polycrates came to the throne, and the other two, the mole in the harbour and the temple of Hera, were at least begun. His care was mainly for himself. He spent money on his ships, erected docks and arsenals, and strengthened his city with fortifications; he built himself a magnificent palace, and maintained a splendid court. Everything that was rare and costly was purchased for Polycrates; every artist of superior ability was attracted to Samos by the highest pay. Democedes of Croton, the physician who afterwards became famous at the court of Darius, was induced to leave Athens by a yearly salary of two talents (£450); Anacreon of Teos and Ibycus of Rhegium took up their abode at the Samian court—poets who could impart elegance to a life of dissipation, and amuse a tyrant's leisure by throwing a veil of beautiful language over the most repulsive features of the Hellenic Eros.[1]

His buildings.

His Court.

31. From the day that he had ascended the throne of Samos, everything had prospered with Polycrates; he had succeeded in all his undertakings, and his good fortune seemed to be secured with a charm which could not be broken. Deeply impressed with the spectacle of such prosperity, and at the same time penetrated with the feeling that the gods were envious of the happiness of men, Amasis of Egypt, as Herodotus informs us, sent Polycrates a word of friendly warning: "Let him throw away what he considered to be the most priceless of his possessions, and by

Polycrates and his ring.

[1] Aristot. *Pol.* v. 11. 9=1313 *b*; Athenaeus, 540 E.; Suidas, *Ibycus.*

this loss escape the jealous wrath of heaven." Polycrates was moved by the advice; he selected a ring, the work of the famous artist Theodorus, as the choicest of his possessions, and cast it into the sea; by this sacrifice he thought that he would be removed from the list of those whose lot exceeded the limits of human felicity. But his precaution was in vain; the ring was swallowed by a fish; the fish was caught and presented to Polycrates, who, on recovering his jewel, was struck with the mysterious turn which events had taken, and wrote a full account of the whole matter to Amasis. The Egyptian renounced all further intimacy with Polycrates; a man so prosperous must needs be visited by the wrath of the gods, and he wished to escape the painful sight of a friend's calamity.[1]

These apprehensions were realised. By a single false step Polycrates was brought from the summit of his prosperity to a most disastrous end, perishing "unworthily of himself," and by a death so miserable that Herodotus will not relate it. The satrap of Sardis at the time, which was shortly before the death of Cambyses (in 522 B.C.) was Oroetes, who, either owing to an insult which he had received from Polycrates, or because he had been taunted by the satrap of Dascyleum with the independence of Samos, conceived a deadly hatred to the tyrant, and resolved on his destruction. With this object he sent to Samos, requesting permission to convey himself and his treasure to the island, out of the reach of Cambyses, by whom, as he pretended, he was in danger of being put to death; how great the treasure was Polycrates might ascertain by sending to inspect it, and a part would willingly be given as the price of safety. Polycrates, who was greatly in need of money, at once fell into the trap. In spite of the warning of his daughter, he crossed over with some Samians to Magnesia. No sooner had he arrived than he was seized and put to death, in some indescribable manner, and even his

Death of Polycrates.

[1] Herod. iii. 39-43.

corpse was crucified. The Samians with him were dismissed uninjured, and reminded that they owed their freedom to Oroetes; the retinue were kept as slaves, and among them was Democedes.[1]

32. It is easier to kill a tyrant than to dispose of his power. On the death of his master, Maeandrius, who was in possession of his palace, assembled the notables of Samos, and proposed that the government should be restored to them, making at the same time some limitations in his own favour; but the proposal was rejected, and Maeandrius was compelled to maintain himself as tyrant (*supra*, p. 439). Not many years elapsed before Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, who had once gratified Darius by the present of a scarlet cloak, was restored to Samos, with the help of Otanes and a force of Persians. When Otanes arrived at the island no one attempted to offer any resistance, and even Maeandrius was willing to retire. But his brother Charilaus, who was partly insane, urged Maeandrius to attack the Persian soldiers while off their guard in expectation of the peaceable cession of the island, or at any rate to give him the command of his mercenaries. Maeandrius was base enough to listen to this proposal; his own retreat from the island was secure; he reflected with pleasure that Samos would not pass unscathed into the hands of Syloson. He withdrew to the sea-shore by a secret passage, and meanwhile Charilaus threw open the gates of the Acropolis, and fell upon the unsuspecting Persians. He succeeded in cutting down a number of picked men, but when the rest of the force came up he was driven with his soldiers into the Acropolis. Otanes now determined on revenge; the instructions of Darius, that he was not to kill or enslave any Samian, and to place the island uninjured in the hands of Syloson, "he forgot while bearing them in mind," and commanded his soldiers to slay every citizen—man or boy.

The Persians in Samos.

Treachery of Charilaus.

The island is netted.

[1] Herod. iii. 120-125.

Samos was "netted" after the Persian manner, and delivered over to Syloson, "empty of men." The tyranny thus re-established for Syloson passed to his son Aeaces, who was reigning at the time of the Ionian revolt.[1]

Delos.

33. For reasons which we can only conjecture—perhaps owing to its central situation, perhaps because from its very barrenness it could never be a coveted possession, or from some immemorial worship connected with the place —Delos became the sacred island of the Ionian tribe, the birth-place of the Ionian Apollo, where, reclining on Mount Cynthus and clasping the first-grown palm, Leto brought forth her glorious son. Thucydides tells us that in "ancient days" there was a great gathering of the Ionians and neighbouring islanders at Delos; thither they brought their wives and children to be present at the Delian games, at which musical and gymnastic contests were held, and the cities celebrated choral dances. A picture of the festival has been preserved for us in the Hymn to Delian Apollo, from which indeed Thucydides quotes his description. We can see the Ionians in their long sweeping robes of white, their hair fastened into a knot with golden grasshoppers; such was their splendour, so brave the show, that "one who looked thereon would say that they were immortals who knew not age." "There is also another marvel, whereof the glory will never perish," the chorus of Delian maids, who sang first of Apollo, of Leto and Artemis, and then took up the praise of famous men and women of old; so charming was the song that all around 'stood tranced to hear,' "for they imitate the tones and gestures of all, and every one seems to be speaking with his own lips." "Fare ye well, maidens," the minstrel prays; "speak of me also in the after-time, whensoever a wayworn

The Delian festival.

The minstrel of Chios.

[1] Herod. iii. 139-149; vi. 13. At a later time Otanes introduced new inhabitants into the island.

pilgrim shall come hither from afar and ask,—'O maidens, who of all the men that visit you is the sweetest singer? In whose lays take ye most delight?' Then softly answer ye one and all with heedful mind: 'The sightless bard, whose home is in rocky Chios.'"

Thucydides seems to have believed that this blind minstrel was no other than Homer himself, and in this case the "ancient days" would carry us back to the ninth century B.C. at the latest. Modern criticism has, however, compelled us to abandon the idea that the Homeric hymns were the work of the authors of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and there appears to be no evidence by which we can fix the date of the Hymn to Apollo.[1] But the antiquity of the Delian festival is supported by the sacrifices and chorus which the Messenians sent to it in the generation which preceded the first Messenian war (*i.e. circa* 770 B.C.)—on which occasion the hymn was composed by Eumelus of Corinth (*supra*, p. 261). Two centuries later the prosperity of the Ionian cities of Athens and Samos added new splendour to the great Ionian festival. Pisistratus purified Delos by removing all the tombs which lay within sight of the temple, and Polycrates presented the adjacent island of Rhenea to the deity. But the disasters which subsequently overtook Ionia owing to the extension of the Persian empire led to a decline of the great Ionian gathering; and for some time before it was resuscitated by the Athenians in 426 B.C. the festival fell into comparative neglect.

Antiquity of the Festival.

CRETE.

34. Lying to the south of the Aegean, about equidistant from Malea and Rhodes, Crete formed the extreme limit of insular Hellas. The position was admirable both for trade and empire: the island formed a stepping-stone on the journey from Syria to the west, and it was the first land

[1] *Hym. Del. Apoll.* 145 ff.; Thuc. iii. 104; Paus. iv. 4. 1.

sighted by the mariner after leaving the Libyan shore; it also commanded the Aegean, round which the Greek cities were planted. Even in Homeric times Crete was a well-known landmark of the Phoenician sailor; and the empire of Minos had then been established for two generations! Our earliest picture represents the island as containing one hundred cities, all of which are in the control of a single monarch. A genealogy was invented by which Minos became the father of Deucalion, whose son was Idomeneus, the leader of the Cretans at Troy. But what we know of Crete in historical times by no means corresponds to this description. The monarchy has disappeared, and in the place of the hundred subject cities are a number of independent communities, inhabited by Dorian Greeks, and governed by institutions which appear to have been almost identical in every city. The Greek historians and philosophers of the fourth century B.C. regarded the Cretan institutions as the oldest in Hellas, and it was the general opinion that Lacedaemon, whose laws were the admiration of all, had obtained at least the germs of her polity and her training from the colony of Lyctus.[1]

Antiquities of Cretan history.

The Cretan institutions.

35. The Cretan institutions present a curious mixture of equality and exclusiveness, of a people who were trained to live in common, and of nobles who were able to set laws at defiance. The chief executive officers were the ten Cosmi, who if chosen by the whole people were chosen only from certain privileged families. The length of time during which they held office is uncertain, but as we hear of suspensions and resignations it is reason-

The Cosmi.

[1] We do indeed hear of a king Etearchus at Oaxus, or Axus, in Herodotus (iv. 154), but we do not know that the historian is using the word "king" in the sense of "monarch" (Hybrias says that he is called "a mighty king," *infra*, p. 526). There were subject cities in Crete into which the Dorian institutions never penetrated (ὑπήκοοι, see *infra*). For the Cretan seamen, see Herod. iv. 151, and the proverb, ὁ Κρὴς ἀγνοεῖ θάλασσαν; and for the commanding position of the island, Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10=1271 *b*, with Newman's notes.

able to suppose that the tenure was more than annual. The Cosmi were not only the chief rulers of the state, but also the generals-in-chief of the community. From those who had been Cosmi were chosen the *Gerontes* or elders, who formed the Council, which therefore consisted of men taken from privileged families. Of the Councillors we only know that they held office for life, that they were not required to give any account of their office (ἀνυπεύθυνοι), and were uncontrolled in their decisions (αὐτογνώμονες). The mode of election, the age of admission, the numbers, the duties are unknown. These exclusive elements in the Cretan institutions were balanced by a popular assembly composed of all the free citizens of full age, before which important questions were brought for confirmation. The citizens might accept or reject (?) the proposals brought before them by the Cosmi and Gerontes, but no discussion was allowed; no citizen had the right to speak in the Assembly.[1]

The Council.

The Assembly.

When we compare these arrangements with the Lacedaemonian constitution, we find that the Cretan Cosmi united the military and political functions which at Sparta were divided between the kings and the ephors. But while the kings were hereditary, the Cosmi were elected; and while the ephors were chosen indiscriminately from all the Spartans, the right to become a Cosmos was restricted to certain privileged families. The Cosmi, like the ephors, are spoken of as 'chance persons' (οἱ τυχόντες), which implies that no special qualification was required for the office; but the evils which we should have expected to arise out of such elections were obviated partly by the very limited scale on which the Cretan Cosmi were called upon to act as generals, and partly by the training which enabled every Cretan to be at least an efficient soldier, if not a competent general. In fact, the

[1] See Arist. *Pol.* ii. c. 10, with Newman's notes. There is the same doubt about the Cretan Assembly which we have noticed at Lacedaemon (*supra*, p. 202).

Cretan system was so far superior to the Lacedaemonian that the Cretan generals were at least elected, while the Lacedaemonian kings were hereditary, and the heir to the throne was released from the training. The restriction of the councillors to those who had been Cosmi is at first sight a striking distinction between the Lacedaemonian and Cretan constitution, yet the hereditary right of the Spartan kings to sit in an assembly which was otherwise elective offers a certain resemblance to the Cretan arrangements which confined the privilege of being elected to a few families.

36. As in Sparta, so in Crete the constitution was supported by a system of training and common meals. The principle in both was the same; there was to be a complete separation between the military and the productive classes, every citizen was to be a soldier and to live for the state; but the details of the arrangements were different. The systematic training did not begin at Crete till the age of seventeen, though fathers took their sons at a far earlier age to the common dining-halls, where they sat on the floor and listened to the conversation of their elders, or waited upon them at dinner. At seventeen the boys were formed into troops, not, however, in any fixed numbers, but every youth of distinction was allowed to form as large a "troop" as he could get together; and the troop so formed was placed under the supervision of the father of the youth who had collected it. The members of the same troop had common sleeping-places, and took their meals together. The training went on for ten years, and consisted chiefly in running, in learning the use of arms and the bow; in scanty fare and clothing; in hunting on the hills of Crete; in conflicts between the various troops, in which the combatants, marching to the sound of music, fought with their fists, or even with steel. A certain number of youths were also trained as mounted soldiers, for in Crete the "knights" had horses, though the Spartans had not! When the training came to an end the youths, who were now in their twenty-eighth year, became full citizens; all

The training at Crete.

those who passed out of a troop at the same time were expected to marry at once, though they did not take their wives home till they were of an age to manage household affairs. After marriage, as before, the men dined at common tables.[1]

The common meals.

The common meals at Crete were not furnished, as at Sparta, by the contributions of the individual members, who lost their citizenship if unable to provide the quota, but by the state. The public funds were divided into two halves, of which one went to the support of the temples and payment of state services, the other to the Syssitia. At the common meal rich and poor were on the same footing; no one could be deprived of his franchise by a failure of crops, or the invasion of an enemy. Even the wives and children of the citizens were supported at least to some extent from this fund. This arrangement, however communistic it may appear, by no means excluded the existence of unequal private property at Crete. It was only the public funds, arising from the cattle fed on public lands, or from the contributions of subjects, which were thus applied; the private estates of the citizens were entirely within their own control.[2]

The serfs at Crete.

37. Like the Spartan, the Cretan system of common meals and training rested on the distinction between a dominant and a conquered race—between those who owned and those who tilled the soil. The serfs, who were known at Crete as Mnoitae if they tilled the public land, and as Clarotae or Aphamiotae if they worked

[1] Ephorus, in Strabo, p. 480 ff.; Heracl. Pont. 3. It would appear that the Cretan girls married very young; twelve years was fixed as the marriageable age, but it is possible that the arrangement mentioned in the text was intended to put a restraint on early married life. The Cretan women are said (Plato, *Laws*, 780 E.) to have been ἀνομοθέτητοι, like the Spartan.

[2] Dosiadas in Athenaeus, p. 143 A; Aristotle, ii. 10, with Newman's notes. The statements of Dosiadas and Aristotle about the contributions to the syssitia do not agree. The mention of δυνατοί in Crete implies difference in influence, which in turn implies difference in wealth.

on private estates, corresponded to the Helots of Sparta. Like them they were *adscripti glebae*, and bound to furnish a certain amount of the produce of the soil to the owner; like them they were not allowed to wear the arms of the freeman, the lance, the sword and the shield (though they might serve as bowmen). In other respects they enjoyed a far better position than the Helots, and those who were the serfs of private masters appear to have succeeded under certain circumstances to a share of the property. On the other hand there was no class in Crete which exactly corresponded to the Perioeci of Sparta. For in Crete there was no sovereign city, but a number of cities which had been acquired by gradual colonisation; the country had never been subdued from one end to the other by a conquering people, as Laconia was subdued by the Spartans. The towns which had not received Dorian institutions in the island seem to have governed themselves, paying a fixed amount of tribute to the Dorian cities; their position resembled that of the Magnetes or Perrhaebians in Thessaly; they were not, like the Perioeci of Sparta, embodied in the Dorian states and without an independent existence.[1]

38. The intellectual training of the Cretans was of the very slightest nature. The boys were taught to read and write (γράμματα), and instructed in the elements of what was known as "music" in Greek education. To march in time and sing a few warlike songs was a part of their martial exercise, and when taken to the dining halls by their fathers the boys could hear the discussion of public business and the praises

Intellectual training of the Cretans.

[1] Arist. *Pol.* ii. 5, 19 = 1264 *a*. That the slaves in Crete were on the whole well-treated is clear from Arist. *l.c.*, and Athenaeus, p. 263 F. Their statements are confirmed by what we find in the Law of Gortyn. Besides the serfs the Cretans had household slaves, χρυσώνητοι, who stood on a less favoured footing (Schömann, *G. Ant.* i. p. 300). Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10 = 1271 *b* ult. gives the name "perioeci" to the Cretan slaves (*cf.* 1272 *b*, 18); but Sosicrates distinguishes them (Athenaeus, p. 263 E.): τὴν μὲν κοινὴν δουλείαν οἱ Κρῆτες καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους.

of those who had done great things for the city. Beyond this their ambition did not soar. We hear of Thaletas as a poet who aided greatly in the development of the training in Crete and Sparta; but the only fruit of Cretan poetical genius which has come down to us is the song of Hybrias:

The song of Hybrias.

"Sword and spear are to me a mine of wealth, and the goodly buckler, my body's defence: with this I plough, with this I reap, with this I trample the sweet wine from the grape; by this am I known as a Lord of the Serfs. But they who have nor sword nor spear, nor a goodly buckler, the body's defence, crouching to my knee, worship me as lord, and call me mighty king."[1] The moral character of the Cretans was such as we might expect it to be from their intellectual stagnation. The Cretan prophet Epimenides (*supra*, p. 403) spoke of his countrymen as "always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies;" Aristotle observes that they avoided the difficulties arising from over-population by affording opportunities for unnatural vice; and in the time of Polybius the Cretans were notorious throughout Hellas for their treachery and greed. In that historian's opinion it was absurd to compare the institutions of Sparta and Crete, for institutions are known by their fruits, and who would compare a Spartan with a Cretan?[2]

Moral character of the Cretans.

39. The objects for which the Cretan and the Lacedaemonian institutions were founded were the same; both were intended to ensure the safety of an immigrant race in the midst of a subject population reduced to the condition of serfs. But owing to differences in the institutions themselves, and still more to differences in the circumstances of Crete and Lacedaemon, it was inevitable that the principles should have different results in the two countries. Firstly: At Sparta the ephorate and the

Crete and Sparta compared.

[1] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. 651.

[2] Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψευσταὶ, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10. 5 = 1272 *a*; Polyb. vi. 47.

monarchy existed side by side as elective and hereditary offices, the one growing, the other declining with the growth of democratic and the decline of aristocratic prejudices; and whatever resistance the kings may have offered, the arrangement was firm and durable. But the office of the Cosmi at Crete, who were at once elective and hereditary, was too exclusive to answer to the wishes of the whole community. We hear that the magistrates were sometimes suspended by a party of powerful nobles who wished to escape the penalty of their misdeeds, or that they resigned before the term of office was complete. In these periods of suspension the character of the government was changed, and what was nominally a "polity," or a government conducted in the interests of all, became the rule of a family in its own behalf, which the Greeks called a "dynasty." Secondly: At Lacedaemon there was one city only, in Crete there were many; and as they were often at war with each other, Crete was disturbed by domestic hostilities from which Sparta was entirely free. These conflicts might have ended in the entire ruin of the Dorian communities had it not been agreed by common consent that arms were never to be placed in the hands of the serfs. Thirdly: The Cretan serfs could not, like the Helots, seize the opportunity of their masters' absence in foreign wars to rise against them; owing to the number of the cities they were broken up into smaller groups; every town aided its neighbour against the common enemy, and no one city had such a force of rebels to repress as Sparta. Fourthly: In an island, which could neither make nor mar among the neighbours, bribery by foreign states was unknown among the high officials. Greedy as the Cretans were, and eager to make money by any and every means, the Cosmi seem to have been free from the stain, perhaps because they never enjoyed the opportunity, of selling the interests of of their country. Fifthly: Though the insular position of Crete was thought by Aristotle to have provided a natural equivalent for the "expulsions of strangers" so common at Sparta, it is obvious that an island situated in the highway

of trade is less cut off from intercourse with the world than a city hidden in a remote mountain valley. The Cretans certainly did not discourage the visits of strangers, and special arrangements were made in the dining-halls for the reception of guests. But this hospitality never drew them into the circle of Greek politics; they lived apart, often sending out troops of mercenary archers, but neither entering into alliances, nor attempting conquests.[1]

CYRENE.

Battus I.	631 B.C.
Arcesilaus I.	591 „
Battus II.	575 „
Arcesilaus II.	?550 „
Battus III.	?540 „
Arcesilaus III.	murdered after 522 „

40. After the foundation of their city on the mainland of Libya near the spring of Apollo, the Cyrenaeans continued to flourish under Battus and his son Arcesilaus without any new accession to their numbers. But in the reign of the third monarch, Battus II., surnamed the Blest, they invited the Greeks to join them in colonising Libya, and the appeal was supported by the oracle at Delphi. Great numbers of colonists flocked to the city and provided themselves with estates at the expense of the natives. The Libyan king, whose name was Adicran, unable to maintain his ground against the invaders, put himself

New colonists at Cyrene.

[1] Herodotus (iv. 151) mentions μέτοικοι in Crete. Thucydides (ii. 85) speaks of a quarrel between Cydonia and Polichna. For the dialect of Crete see Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyn*, and for the alphabet, which is very interesting owing to the retention of older forms, Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 48 ff. For Cretan coins, see Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 382 ff. "No region of the Greek world affords a more suggestive series of silver coins than this rich and beautiful island of Crete." But there are no coins "which can be safely ascribed to an earlier date than the first half of the fifth century." In the older Cretan inscriptions, values are reckoned not by staters or drachmas, but by "cauldrons" and "tripods." (Roberts, *l.c.*, p. 52 ff.).

in the hands of Apries, king of Egypt, who despatched an army to his assistance. But when the forces met at Irasa, the Egyptians were so severely defeated that few survived to carry the news to Egypt, and instead of restoring Adicran to his possessions, Apries found himself abandoned by his Egyptian soldiers, who suspected that they had been sent to destruction in order to increase the power of the Ionian mercenaries now domiciled in Egypt (*infra*, p. 535). Battus was succeeded by his son Arcesilaus II., surnamed the Cruel. A quarrel between this king and his brothers led to the foundation of Barca by the discontented princes, who also caused the Libyans to revolt from Cyrene. Arcesilaus attempted to suppress the rebellion. For a time the Libyans retreated before his army, but on reaching a place called Leucon, they turned and attacked their pursuers. The Cyrenaeans were totally defeated; no fewer than 7000 hoplites being left on the field. After this disaster Arcesilaus fell ill, and when suffering from the effects of a drug he was smothered by his brother Learchus, who was in turn treacherously assassinated by Eryxo, the wife of Arcesilaus. The throne now passed to the son of Arcesilaus, Battus the Third, who was lame. To men so sensitive of bodily defects in their rulers as the Greeks, this seemed an aggravation of misfortune, and in their distress the Cyrenaeans applied to Delphi for advice. They were bidden to put their affairs in the hands of a citizen of Mantinea in Arcadia, whence a leading citizen named Demonax was sent to be the legislator of Cyrene. His reforms were democratic. He arranged the citizens in three tribes, of which the first included the Theraeans and perioeci; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans, and the third the rest of the islanders. Battus was allowed to keep the royal domain and the priesthoods, but the political powers which the kings had enjoyed were transferred to the people.[1]

Egyptians in Libya.

Barca.

Demonax at Cyrene.

[1] Herod. iv. 159-161. Diodorus, viii. 30, speaks of Demonax as the τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων στάσεως διαιτητής, but unfortunately his account

41. The reformed constitution continued to exist during the reign of Battus III.; but on the accession of his son Arcesilaus III. new troubles arose. The king was not content to remain a king in name only; he wished to recover the old prerogatives of the throne. Defeated in this attempt, he went into exile at Samos, while his mother Pheretima, who supported him in his ambition, retired to Cyprus. At this time Evelthon was king of Salamis, and to him Pheretima applied for help; but her application was in vain. Evelthon was willing to give her anything but an army, and at length, when she still persisted in her request, he sent her a golden distaff and spindle, "and a supply of wool," as the gifts most suitable for a woman. Arcesilaus was more fortunate at Samos; he was able to collect a considerable force by holding out the prospect of a division of land at Cyrene, and, encouraged by an ambiguous oracle, he led his forces to the city, from which he succeeded in expelling his opponents. In his victory he forgot the warning of the oracle, and proceeded to acts of cruelty, which when too late he foresaw would bring upon him the wrath of the deity. In order to avert the impending evil he retired from Cyrene to Barca, leaving his mother regent in his stead. His wife was the daughter of Alazir, king of Barca; to him, therefore, he might confidently look for protection. But when walking in the market-place he was recognised by some Cyrenaean refugees, who, with the aid of the Barcaeans, fell upon him and slew him. Alazir also was assassinated. When Pheretima heard the news she left Cyrene for Egypt, where she sought the assistance of Aryandes, who now governed that country for the Persians. Arcesilaus had rendered homage to the Persian king and agreed to pay him tribute; it was therefore the duty of the satrap to avenge him. Aryandes put the

Arcesilaus III. and Pheretima.

The Death of Arcesilaus.

of the reforms is lost. Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii. 229, thinks that the ephors mentioned by Heraclides Ponticus (*Frag.* 4, 5 M.) as administering law, may have been established by Demonax. Plutarch, *De Virt. Mul.* 25, gives a full account of the murder of Learchus, whom, however, he calls the "bad friend," not the brother of Arcesilaus.

whole of the forces of Egypt both on land and sea at the service of Pheretima; the army was commanded by Amasis, the fleet by Badres; but before despatching the expedition he sent to Barca and demanded the surrender of the murderers of Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans replied that they were all equally implicated; the king had been justly punished for the numerous acts of oppression of which he was guilty.

The Persian army now arrived at Barca, and when a second demand for the assassins was met by a second refusal, it at once invested the city. The siege went on for nine months; the mines of the Persians were discovered and destroyed by counter-mines; their attacks were constantly repulsed; and at length Amasis, finding every effort in vain, pretended a wish to come to terms. After digging a wide trench and covering it over with soil, he took his stand upon this manufactured ground, and agreed with the Barcaeans that they should pay tribute to the king, but remain otherwise unmolested, so long as the earth upon which they stood remained the same. On this the Barcaeans opened their gates, and received the Persians into the city, who no sooner found themselves in possession of the walls than they broke in the soil upon which they had stood when concluding the treaty, and declared the agreement void! Those who had taken a leading part in the murder of Arcesilaus were given up to Pheretima, who impaled them outside the city walls, to which she also affixed the breasts of their wives. The rest of the Barcaeans, except the Battiadae and those who supported them, were enslaved by the Persians; Pheretima left her friends in command of the city.

The Persians at Barca.

On their return the Persians were allowed to pass through the city of Cyrene. Badres, who of course could render no assistance at the inland town of Barca, attempted to make up for his enforced inaction by urging Amasis to seize the place, but Amasis refused to commit a new act of treachery; he was sent against Barca, not against Cyrene. After he had passed through the city he repented of the lost opportunity, and requested permission to enter it a second time, but the

Cyrenaeans refused his request. A panic now fell upon the army. Amasis retreated to a hill about seven miles from the city, but had hardly reached it when he received orders to return to Egypt. On the way his forces were attacked by the Libyans, who slew many of the stragglers, attracted by their dress and armour. The captive Barcaeans were sent to Darius, who planted them in Bactria at a place to which they gave the name of their old city Barca (*circa* 515 B.C.)

"But Pheretima did not bring her life to a happy close. On her return to Egypt from Libya after taking vengeance on the Barcaeans, she died by a miserable death, being eaten of worms while yet alive. So true is it that the gods look with a jealous eye on those who are extreme in their revenge." Such are the words with which Herodotus closes his account of Pheretima.[1]

Death of Pheretima.

42. Of the constitution of Cyrene we know nothing beyond the few hints given by Herodotus. We begin with a monarchy, which here, as everywhere in Greece, fails to satisfy the advancing demands of the citizens. We do not know the reasons which induced Battus the Blest to invite fresh colonists to the city; but we may assume that the new-comers would not cherish the same feelings of loyalty to the reigning family as the original settlers, and that their arrival marked the beginning of the decline of the monarchy.[2] Then followed the quarrels between Arcesilaus II. and his brothers, and the disastrous defeat at Leucon. The constitution became a democracy with a

Constitution of Cyrene.

[1] Herod. iv. 162 ff., 200 ff.; Plut. *De Virt. Mul.* 25. The expedition to Africa is said to have taken place about the same time as the expedition to Scythia, Herod. iv. 145. See Duncker, *Hist. Ant.* vi. 300 f., E. T. Menecles of Barca gives a different account of Pheretima (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv. 449: *τελευτήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ παιδὸς δόλῳ αὐτὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Κυρήνης κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν υἱδοῦν βασιλέα καταστήσασα τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς Ἀρκεσίλᾳ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπιπαραγενομένη δὲ αὐτὴ πάντας ἀνεῖλε, συμπείσασα τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἀρχὴν τότε Ἀρυάνδην. λαβοῦσα δὲ δύναμιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς Κυρηναίους πικρῶς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ ἀναχωρήσασα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐτελεύτησε.*

[2] Cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 3=1303 *a.* 28.

roi fainéant at the head, but the details are unknown. We hear of a council at which Pheretima attended after her son left Cyrene for Barca; how it was elected, and what were its functions is not stated. The perioeci who are mentioned as forming the first tribe with the Theraeans—*i.e.* with the original settlers—were perhaps Libyans.[1]

Products and trade of Cyrene.

Herodotus is of opinion that Libya cannot be compared in fertility with Europe or Asia, but to this general statement he allows some exceptions. The land round the Cinyps (p. 438) was unlike the rest of Libya, and equal to the very best land, even to Babylonia, in producing wheat, the yield being at times three-hundred-fold. The land of the Euesperitae was also excellent, producing a hundred-fold in a good season. Of the fertility of the Cyrenaica Herodotus says less than later authors, but he calls attention to the peculiar advantages of situation which Cyrene enjoyed, owing to the elevation of the site, which was the highest in this part of Libya. Crops could be gathered there for eight months in the year, first on the low land near the shore, next on the middle ground, and last on the terrace above the city. The Cyrenaeans exported a large amount of vegetable produce; —wine, oil, dates, etc., but the most important article of commerce was the far-famed *silphium*, of which every part was valuable—the fruit, the stem, the leaf, the juice. The exact nature of this plant is uncertain; it is described by Theophrastus, and is often represented on Cyrenaean coins; but either the plant is extinct (and Strabo says that it was becoming scarce in his time), or the description is not sufficiently exact to allow of identification.[2]

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[1] The tribes of Cyrene (cf. Ar. *Pol.* vi. 4, 1319*b*) may be compared with those at Ephesus, for in both the citizens were arranged according to the places from which they came. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 62, 181, E. T.

[2] Herod. iv. 190. The city of Cyrene lay ten miles from the sea. For the silphium, Strabo, 837; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* vi. 3. 1. The plant grew nowhere else (*ib.* iv. 4. 1), and could not be cultivated.

EGYPT.

Psammetichus I. . .	663—610 B.C.
Necho	609—595 „
Psammetichus II. . .	594—589 „
Apries (Hophrah) . .	588—570 „
Amasis	569—526 „
Psammenitus . . .	525 „

43. We have already stated (p. 349) that Psammetichus I. established himself in Northern Egypt as an independent prince in the first half of the seventh century B.C., with the help of Ionian and Carian mercenaries. For two centuries before this time the old empire of the Pharaohs, which in the reign of Ramses the Great (*circa* 1320 B.C.) extended from Nubia to Syria, had been falling to decay. The Egyptians were at no time a warlike nation; they preferred paying soldiers to fighting their own battles, and an ever-increasing multitude of mercenaries, the Ma or Mashawasha of the inscriptions, was introduced from Libya. The inevitable result followed. A soldier class was formed which in time became the ruling power in the country; a number of principalities grew up, each governed by a soldier-chief whose authority depended mainly on the swords at his disposal—the twelve kings of the narrative of Herodotus.

Decline of Egypt.

Meanwhile an Ethiopian empire arose at Napata near Mount Barkal in Nubia, which by degrees extended its power as far northwards as Thebes, where, by forming alliances with the powerful priests of Amon, it became the representative of the old civilisation of Egypt. Then at the close of the eighth century the Assyrians appeared on the scene, and a struggle began for the supremacy of the country. At one time the Ethiopians were able to assert their authority—which was however little more than nominal—over the soldier-chiefs; at another Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal carried fire and sword to Memphis and Thebes. Amid this confusion

Ethiopian Kings.

Assyrian invaders.

Psammetichus, the prince of Sais, was able to establish his power over his rival chiefs. How he first rose to eminence, whether he was the viceroy of the Ethiopian Pharaoh or the vassal of the Assyrian conqueror, seems doubtful: what is certain is that he owed his throne mainly to the help of Ionian and Carian mercenaries; that he justified his claim to become the Pharaoh of Egypt by marrying the niece of Sabako, the first of the Ethiopian monarchs (whose dynasty failed in the male line); and that Assurbanipal, owing to troubles nearer home, was unable to shake him from his position.[1]

Thus the Greeks entered Egypt. At first they came as soldiers only. Psammetichus could not expect the support of the Egyptian mercenaries, for they were to a large extent in the service of the rival princes, whom he had outstripped in the race for the throne. It was necessary for him to retain the new-comers in his pay. On either side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, a little below the city of Bubastis, he established the Ionians and Carians in "camps," where they remained till the reign of Amasis, who removed them to Memphis to be his own body-guard, and in order to facilitate communication he placed Egyptian boys with the mercenaries that they might learn their language.[2]

Such obvious partiality to foreigners created a bitter feeling of jealousy in the Egyptian military caste. Herodotus tells us that no fewer than 240,000 of the native or Libyan soldiers, wearied with the excessive service which Psammetichus imposed upon them by keeping them for three years without change in the guard-stations of Elephantine (in the south), Daphne (in the east), and Marea (in the west), deserted to Ethiopia and offered their services to the king. They were followed by

Difficulties arising from the partiality shown to the Greeks.

[1] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 606, speaks of Psammetichus as the viceroy of Nut-amen, the last Ethiopian Pharaoh; Maspero (*Histoire ancienne*, p. 528, ed. 4,) speaks of his fidelity to Assyria. The Greek authorities for Psammetichus are Herod. ii. 147-158; Diodorus, i. 66 ff.; Polyaenus, vii. 3 (worthless); Strabo, p. 801.

[2] Herod. ii. 154.

Psammetichus, who endeavoured to induce them to return, but in vain, and they remained in Ethiopia on the lands allotted to them. That a King Psammetichus marched into Nubia is one of the most certain events in Egyptian history; the Greek mercenaries who accompanied him have left a record of their visit in the inscriptions on the leg of the colossus of Ramses at Abou-Simbel in Nubia. But whether the Psammetichus mentioned in the inscriptions is the first or the second king of the name cannot be decided, and the number of the deserters is no doubt exaggerated. Psammetichus was succeeded by Necho, who devoted his reign to the development of the trade and navigation of Egypt. He began the construction of a canal which was to connect the Mediterranean with the Red sea; he sent Phoenician ships round Africa, which proved for the first time that the continent was circumnavigable; and for the protection of commerce he maintained ships of war on the Mediterranean and the Red sea. His son was Psammetichus II., who after a short reign was succeeded by Apries or Hophrah. Apries is said to have increased the number of the mercenaries to 30,000, and when the expedition against Cyrene failed, on which he had sent Egyptian troops only, an open mutiny took place among the native soldiers, who believed that their comrades had been wilfully sent to destruction (p. 529). Amasis, the king's brother-in-law, was despatched to recall them to obedience, but the troops persuaded him to put himself at their head and march against Apries, who attempted to meet them with his Greek mercenaries. A battle took place at Momemphis, in which Apries was defeated and taken prisoner. After reigning for six years as co-regent with Amasis he was put to death (569 B.C.).[1]

Necho.

Apries.

[1] For the deserters, Herod. ii. 30, Diod. i. 67. For Necho, Herod. ii. 158, iv. 42; for Psammetichus II., Apries, Amasis, *ib.* ii. 161 ff. Maspero and E. Meyer accept the story of the desertion. Meyer thinks that the inscriptions belong to the time of Psammetichus II. Cf. *Geschich. Aegypt.* p. 364.

44. Amasis was now king of Egypt, and the troops with whose aid he had won his position might reasonably look forward to an anti-Hellenic reaction which would restore to them their old privileges. But in this they were bitterly disappointed. Amasis had no sooner gained the throne than he manifested the strongest inclination to play a very independent part as Pharaoh. He refused to submit to the old solemn ceremonial, and when he was not occupied with the business of his office he indulged himself in genial pleasures with his friends. So far from favouring the Egyptian soldiery, he removed the Ionians from their camp on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile to Memphis, in order that they might become his body-guard. He married a Greek wife from the family of the Battiadae of Cyrene. He even allowed Greek merchants to settle at the city of Naucratis in the Delta—which he appears to have given up to them—and to found temples for their gods on Egyptian soil, though it is also true that he restrained them by very severe laws from trafficking or even landing at any other place in Egypt.[1]

Naucratis.

45. When we remember how sensitive the Greeks showed

[1] Herod. ii. 154, 178. That a city on the site of Naucratis was in existence in the time of Psammetichus I. is rendered probable by the scarabaei found there; and as these scarabaei come to an end with the beginning of the reign of Amasis, it is not unlikely that a change of population was made then. The Greeks seem to have entered Egypt freely from the time of Psammetichus I., though they may not have ascended higher than the Delta. Strabo has a story of a Μιλησίων τεῖχος, founded near the Bolbitinic mouth of the Nile, in the time of Psammetichus, and he represents the Milesians as subsequently founding Naucratis after "defeating Inaros at sea" (p. 801). Necho also sent presents to the temple of Apollo of Branchidae (Herod. ii. 159), at which we find an imitation of Egyptian art. There is therefore evidence of a close connection between Miletus and Egypt before the time of Amasis, who, though a Philhellene, owed his position to the native troops, and for this reason may have restricted the privileges already granted to the Greeks by confining them under pain of death to one emporium, though hitherto they had been permitted to traffic where they pleased. See Petrie, *Naukratis*, Part I. chap. i.; Meyer, *l.c.* p. 385.

themselves to the civilisation with which they were brought into contact in Asia Minor, we should expect to find them borrowing largely from the far more ancient and far more advanced civilisation of Egypt. That they did not was due to the circumstances under which they first entered the country, the restrictions imposed upon them, and the exclusive spirit which governed Egyptian society and religion. The mercenaries whom Psammetichus introduced were established in camps in the Delta apart from the Egyptians, and so far as we know they only visited other parts of Egypt on military service; even the merchants whom Amasis received into the country were not allowed to settle or to trade except at Naucratis, which was also situated in the Delta. The Greeks therefore had little opportunity of visiting the great temples and tombs; or of acquainting themselves with Egyptian life and manners. The habits and customs of the Egyptians were also of such a kind as to place an impassable barrier between the Greeks and themselves. They practised the rite of circumcision, which was revolting to the Greeks; they abstained from the flesh of cows, and would not touch a pan or a knife which had been used by a less scrupulous Greek, much less kiss the mouth of man or woman who had eaten the forbidden meat; they held swine in abhorrence, an animal by no means distasteful to the Greeks. The rules for purification observed by the Egyptians, the preservation of the body by embalming, the worship of animals were to the Greeks foolishness. Much might have been learned about Egypt from the written monuments at Memphis, when Amasis transplanted the Ionians thither, but the hieroglyphics were quite unintelligible to the Greeks, and probably to the common people of Egypt, while the attitude of the learned class towards foreigners was one of patronising contempt. Even when visited by Greeks of the intellectual acuteness of Hecataeus and Herodotus, the priests claimed to be able to instruct them on the legend of Troy and the origin

The Greeks little influenced by Egyptian civilisation.

Exclusive customs of the Egyptians.

Learned Egyptians despised the Greek.

of the oracle of Dodona. To what extent they were acquainted with the past history of their own country we do not know, but they never hesitated to repeat fabulous and inaccurate stories about it. These stories were in fact the history of Egypt as it was known to the common people, from whom it passed to the Greeks through the mouths of ignorant interpreters. Even so patent a falsehood as the rise of the Nile in springs between Elephantine and Syene seems to have been thought by the scribe at Sais an explanation good enough to give to Herodotus. When at length, by the foundation of Alexandria, Greeks and Egyptians were brought more closely together, the civilisation of both countries was too effete to give or receive any quickening impulse. The Greeks may have acquired additions to their knowledge of mathematics and medicine from the Egyptians, from whom also the name of Epaphus and the worship of Isis passed to Greece at an early stage in the intercourse of the two countries. For the rest, Egypt was the Thibet of the day; and Egyptian doctrines on "the last things," real or supposed, had an attraction for the "esoteric Buddhists" of Greece, which increased as speculation became more spiritual than philosophical.[1]

[1] By the time of Diodorus (see i. 69) it was believed that not only Solon and Pythagoras, but even Orpheus and Homer, had visited Egypt in early times in spite of the dangers which awaited aliens in that land. This is of course a fiction due to admiration of the antiquity of Egypt. Herodotus is misled in the same direction, and discovers impossible connections between Egypt and Greece. Putting aside some scientific knowledge, the earlier Greeks borrowed nothing from Egypt but the doctrine of immortality, of transmigration—if indeed this is Egyptian—and the worship of Isis. Neither the art, nor the music, nor the poetry, nor the philosophy of the Greeks in their best days was influenced by Egypt.

NOTE ON THE LAWS OF SOLON, PAGE 418.

The following passage from Demosthenes (?) (*Against Euergus and Mnesibulus*, Kennedy, vol. v. pp. 95, 96) shows what difficulties lay before a man who wished to prosecute any one for the murder of a person not belonging to his own family. The woman to whom allusion is made had been the nurse of the plaintiff in the suit (which concerned false testimony). For her fidelity she had been set free; she married and lived with her husband, but after his death she came back to the plaintiff's house. While attempting to defend his property, she had been beaten by the defendants, and died from the blows:—

"After her death I went to the Interpreters, to learn what course I ought to take in the matter; and I detailed to them everything which had taken place, the arrival of these men, the attachment of the woman to our family, the cause of my having her in my house, and that she had lost her life for not giving up the cup. The Interpreters, having heard my story, asked me whether they should expound the law to me only, or give me advice also. I replied, 'Both.' 'Very well,' they said, 'then we will expound to you what the law is, and advise you what is for your good. The first thing is to carry a spear in front of the funeral procession, and to make proclamation at the tomb, if there is any one connected with the woman; and, after that, you must watch the tomb for three days. The advice that we give you is as follows:—As you were not present yourself, but only your wife and children, and you have no other witnesses, we recommend you not to make proclamation against any one by name, but generally against the homicides and guilty parties; and further, not to commence proceedings before the king-archon. For the woman does not come within the law to enable you, as she is no relation, and was not even a servant, according to your account. It is to relations and masters that the law assigns the duty of prosecuting. Should you therefore take an oath in the Palladium, you and your wife and children, and should you imprecate curses upon yourselves and your house, many people will form an unfavourable opinion of you, and, if your adversary be acquitted, you will be thought to have committed perjury; and, if you convict him, you will incur public odium. Our advice is, that you perform the necessary religious ceremonies for yourself and your house, then bear the misfortune as patiently as you can, and take vengeance, if you like, in some other way.'"

APPENDIX.

ATHENS FROM SOLON TO CLISTHENES.

THE account which we find in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of the constitutional changes which took place at Athens in the sixth century confirms and elucidates, to some extent, the accounts which we have received from Plutarch and others, but on the other hand it involves us in new difficulties, partly chronological, and partly arising from the mention of incidents hitherto unknown.

1. *Changes introduced by Solon* (cc. 5-12).

Aristotle distinguishes four stages in the reforms of Solon, whose archonship is probably to be placed in 594, and certainly not later than 591 B.C. (see *Ath. Pol.* c. 14, § 1). These are—(*α*) the Seisachtheia ; (*β*) the Constitution ; (*γ*) the Laws ; (*δ*) the Changes in the Coinage.

(*α*) *The Seisachtheia.*—This was a necessary prelude to any change, owing to the desperate state into which Athens had fallen, and for which, in Solon's opinion, the rich were chiefly to blame. Capital had not only got the better of labour, as it always tends to do, but owing to the severe laws of debt it was reducing the labouring class to slavery. Solon met the evil (1) by a complete cancelling of all existing debts, whether public or private ; and (2) by forbidding for the future any borrowing on the security of the person. About the second of these measures there cannot be two opinions, but the first is a signal instance of the power which the Greek state claimed of interfering with the property of the individual, in the interests of the whole. And even in Greek states, such measures as the Cancelling of Debts and Redivision of Lands were "heroic remedies" only justified by desperate diseases.

(*β*) *The Laws.*—As a first and preliminary step to the introduction of his own code, Solon cancelled all the ordinances of Draco with the exception of those relating to homicide ; his own enactments were written out on the *Kyrbeis* (c. 7, see Sandys' note), and placed in the King's Porch. The whole city swore to observe them, and the

nine Archons in particular pledged themselves to set up a statue of gold if they transgressed them. They were to be valid for 100 years. The laws were administered by the Archons, under the supervision of the Areopagus; but Solon was not content with arrangements which left the law in the hands of the rich. He established courts of law in which every Athenian, even those of the lowest census, could attend, doubtless under certain restrictions. To this court any one could appeal, and with it rested not only the sentence of guilty or not guilty, but the interpretation of the law. The two laws—that any Athenian who saw another wronged might bring the offender to trial, and that any one who did not declare himself on one side or another in a sedition was to be disfranchised—are specially mentioned by Aristotle.

(γ) *The Constitution.*—This was based on the division of the citizens into the four classes of Pentacosiomedimni, Hippeis, Zeugitae, and Thetes, a division which, as we have seen, is in our treatise mentioned as in existence in Draco's time, though previously it was supposed to be a creation of Solon (see Kenyon's note on *Ath. Pol.* c. 7). The qualification for the first three classes were 500, 300, and 200 medimni respectively, and from them were taken the public officers, *i.e.* the nine Archons, the Treasurers, the Poletae, the Eleven, and the Colacretae, "each according to the amount of their classes"—from which we conclude that the most important officers, such as the Archons and Treasurers, were taken from the first class. [Of the Generals, we may observe, not a word is said in the account of Solon.] The lowest class, or Thetes, were not eligible to office, but could only attend in the Assembly and the Law-courts.

The mode of election to office was a combination of choice and lot. (*τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐποίησε κληρώτας ἐκ προκρίτων*, c. 8). Thus the nine Archons were chosen by lot out of forty persons, selected from the four tribes, ten from each.

The previous division of the people into four tribes was retained, and also the division of each tribe into three trittyes and twelve naucraries. These last Solon used, as they had probably been used before, for financial purposes, ordaining that the naucrari should collect and administer the funds within their own districts.

The Areopagus continued as before to watch over the laws and the constitution. It administered all the most important public business, fining and punishing offenders, without even stating the cause. Solon further gave it power to bring to trial any persons charged with conspiracy against the "demos." Aristotle selects as the three most democratical elements in Solon's constitution—the

abolition of borrowing on the person; the law that any one could come forward as an accuser, if he saw a citizen wronged; and the appeal (ἔφεσις) to the Law-courts, in which he justly considers that the strength of the people lay. (κύριος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου κύριος γίνεται τῆς πολιτείας, c. 9.)

(δ) *Changes in the Coinage.*—Of these Aristotle gives the following account (c. 10): "In his time the measures were made larger than the Phidonian, and the mina, which previously contained about seventy drachmae, was made up to the full hundred (the old coin was a didrachmon). He also arranged weights to correspond to the coins, sixty-three minae weighing a talent, and the minae were distributed into the stater and the rest of the weights."

Of this obscure passage it is impossible to give a complete and correct interpretation, but we may conclude from it with certainty that the alteration of the coinage by Solon was not, as is sometimes supposed, a part of his Seisachtheia, but merely the introduction of the Euboean standard, or something very nearly approaching the Euboean standard, of coinage in the place of the Aeginetan. The strange assertion that sixty-three minae went to the talent—for the universal division of the talent is into sixty minae—has been explained by the fact that the Attic money is slightly heavier than the Euboean, the stater in the first weighing 135 grains, in the second 130 grains, which would make 60 minae of Attic money equal to $62\frac{2}{3}$ minae of Euboean. (See Mr. Sandys' note on this passage, page 40.)

2. *From Solon to Pisistratus* (cc. 11-13).

Aristotle repeats the story that Solon left Athens after the completion of his legislation, in order to avoid the necessity of altering or even explaining his laws, which the citizens were to take as they were. He retired to Egypt, and remained absent for ten years. His reforms did not satisfy any one; some found themselves impoverished by the remission of debt, and others who had hoped for a general redivision of property thought his measures insufficient. For four years no decisive step was taken, though the city was in a state of agitation; but in the fifth year no Archon whatever was chosen, and the same thing occurred four years later, 586 B.C. (?). Finally, in 582 Damasias was elected (αἱρεθείς) Archon; and he held the office for two years and two months, when he was forcibly expelled, and a new arrangement was introduced in which there were ten Archons instead of nine, five chosen from the Eupatridae, three from the

Agroikoi, and two from the Demiurgi (see note on p. 451). This change was established in 580 B.C., but whether it continued in force for more than a year is unknown. Aristotle says nothing of constitutional changes for the next twenty years, and merely sketches the state of Athens, which led to the formation of the three great parties with which we are familiar: the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain.

Athens was at this time distracted by sedition; and for this two causes are alleged: one particular, the other general; one political, the other social.

(α) The Archonship is described as an office of great power, and therefore a bone of contention in the state. How this came to pass we are not informed, nor is it clear whether it is one archonship only (of the nine) or all the nine which carried such influence. Damasias was apparently sole Archon for two years, and after his deposition the Solonian arrangement was abandoned, and the Archons chosen without regard to property qualification. (β) The abolition of debt had reduced many to poverty, and on the other hand there was a number of citizens on the roll whose position was precarious, owing to their descent from aliens. This discontented class joined the party of the Mountain, which was the most democratical of the three; the Plain being oligarchical, and the Shore holding a position between the two. In regard to these parties, the account of Aristotle is quite in accordance with that of Herodotus and Plutarch, except that he says nothing which leads us to suppose that they had been in existence before the legislation of Solon; on the contrary, he ascribes them largely, though not wholly, to the discontent caused by Solon's reforms.

3. *Pisistratus and the Pisistratidae.*

The account of the tyranny of Pisistratus given in the new treatise, though substantially in agreement with that found in Herodotus and Plutarch, is fuller, and also enables us to correct some details. (α) Aristotle carefully distinguishes the war against the Megarians about Salamis previous to Solon's legislation—in which Pisistratus was wrongly stated to have been general—from that about Nisaea, in which he gained great credit, just before he obtained the tyranny (*cf.* 14 and 17 § 2). (β) He gives dates for the various tyrannies of Pisistratus, but, like other dates in this work, they are not consistent. (γ) Aristotle mentions four sons of Pisistratus,—Hippias and Hipparchus by his first marriage; Iophon and Hegesistratus by the

Argive Timonassa, whom he married in his first tyranny, or in his first exile. Hegesistratus is curiously said to be the same person as Thessalus—a statement which seems to be a contradiction of Herodotus and Thucydides, of whom the first mentions Hegesistratus as placed by Pisistratus in command of Sigeum, while Thucydides intimates that Thessalus remained at Athens. Herodotus, too, speaks of Hegesistratus as *νόθος*, but Thucydides regards Thessalus as a legitimate son. (δ) In his second exile Pisistratus is said to have collected a number of inhabitants at Rhaecelus near Therma—a town which is identified with Aenus in Macedonia (see *supra*, p. 456), from which he repaired to the neighbourhood of Pangaeum and thence back to Eretria, which was still under the government of the oligarchy. (ε) Aristotle informs us that Pisistratus, on becoming tyrant for the third time, succeeded in depriving the citizens of their armour by the following device. He arranged a review of the hoplites in the Theseum, and addressed them, speaking purposely in a low voice. When they asserted that they could not hear him, he bade them come to the gate of the Acropolis, that his voice might reach further, and meanwhile their weapons, which they left in the Theseum, were carried away and secured. Pisistratus then told them what had been done; they were not to be alarmed, but to go and look after their own business, leaving the state to his care (c. 15). (ζ) The tyranny of Pisistratus is described as mild and equitable (*μᾶλλον πολιτικῶς ἢ τυραννικῶς*). The tyrant made it his chief care that the citizens should be employed peaceably on their farms, coming to the town as rarely as possible; and with this view he advanced them money for the cultivation of their land. He knew that if prosperous and contented they would be more willing to submit to his rule, and he also benefited directly by their prosperity, as he imposed a tax of 10 per cent. on the produce of the land. In the same spirit he established local courts of law, and even went "on circuit" himself to inspect the condition of the land and settle quarrels, in order that the rural population might not come to Athens for their law.

On one of these journeys he came upon the old man tilling the stony soil on Hymettus (p. 461). In other ways also the commons prospered, for Pisistratus was careful to preserve peace, so that his reign was looked on as a return of the golden age, after the social misery and political agitation which preceded it. Above all, he was careful to win the good opinion of everybody. He respected the law and claimed neither immunity nor privilege, but when summoned before the Areopagus he appeared to answer the charge, though his opponent did not venture to come into court. His posi-

tion was accepted by notables and commons alike, for he won the first by admitting them to his society, and the second by the assistance which he gave them. Nor were the Athenians so exasperated against tyrants and tyranny in his day as they became afterwards under the hard rule of his sons. He died in the Archonship of Philoneos (527 B.C.).

(η) The immediate cause of the death of Hipparchus is said by Aristotle to have been the insolent treatment of the sister of Harmodius, but this treatment he ascribes not to Hipparchus, but to Thessalus, who was much younger than the other two brothers, and of a more violent and profligate disposition. The circumstances under which the assassination took place are described somewhat differently from the traditional account. At the Panathenaic festival the conspirators gathered to the Acropolis, where Hippias was ready to receive the procession which Hipparchus was arranging in the city. Seeing one of their number in close conversation with Hippias, they concluded that they were betrayed, and, rushing down from the citadel, slew Hipparchus at the Leocoreion. Aristotle precisely contradicts the account which Thucydides gives of the way in which the conspirators were detected (*supra*, p. 469), asserting that it was not at this time the custom to march in the procession under arms at the Panathenaea, and the contradiction cannot be smoothed over ; but it is extremely improbable that Thucydides should not be correct in a detail which he had examined with care. Nor does the rest of the story, as Aristotle tells it, inspire us with confidence. He relates that Aristogiton, when put to the torture, informed against many persons of high rank who were friends of the tyrants, either because they were really guilty, or, as some say, because he wished to disgrace the tyrants and to bring on them the stain of innocent blood. At last, when he could not induce his tormentors to make an end of him, he promised to reveal many more names, and persuaded Hippias to give him his right hand as a pledge, upon which he poured such invectives upon the tyrant for taking the hand of one who had slain his brother, that Hippias in a rage drew his sword and slew him (c. 18).

The story of the expulsion of the Pisistratidae is told by Aristotle with little variation from the received version, but we now learn that although Clisthenes won over the people to his side immediately after his return, he did not enter on his political changes till after the final expulsion of Isagoras, four years after the fall of the tyrants (508-507 B.C.). Hence it was the Council of 400, not the new Council of 500, which resisted Cleomenes.

4. *The Constitution of Clisthenes.*

In the constitution of Clisthenes Aristotle notices the following points (c. 21) :—

(*α*) The division into Ten tribes instead of Four. The old groups were broken up to facilitate the extension of the franchise, and thus the old connection between tribes (*φυλαί*) and clans (*γένη*) was destroyed, and no account could be taken of the tribe in revising the list of clans. The number ten (not twelve) was chosen in order to prevent the new division from clashing with the old division of the four tribes into twelve trittyes. These tribes were named after ten heroes sanctioned by the Delphic oracle out of a hundred select names.

(*β*) A new senate of 500 members was selected, 50 from each of the new ten tribes.

(*γ*) The demes of Attica were divided into 30 sections called Trittyes, ten being urban, ten inland, and ten maritime ; of these three were allotted to each tribe, in such a manner that each of the three lay in a different division of the country.

(*δ*) The residents in each deme were "demesmen" of each other, and were distinguished by their deme, not by their clans.

(*ε*) The forty-eight naucraries were superseded, and the demarchs took the place of the naucrari.

(*ζ*) The clans, phratries and priesthoods were left unaltered.

(*η*) The law of Ostracism was introduced, though it was not put into force till some years later (c. 22).

INDEX

(The first numeral refers to the Chapter; the second to the Section.)

A

Abantes, the, in Euboea, iii. 9.
Abdera, xi. 5.
Acarnania, legendary history of, iii. 13.
"Accursed," the, at Athens, xiii. 5.
Achaea, legendary history of, iii. 22; conquest of, *ibid.*; division of, into twelve communities, *ibid.*; kings of, vii. 19; cities of, *ibid.*; constitution of, *ibid.*
Achaean age, the, ii. 3; league, iii. 22; constitution, vii. 19.
Achaeans, Hellenes and Pelasgians not really distinct, ii. 8; on Egyptian inscriptions, ii. 15; the, driven out of Argolis, iii. 3; the, drive the Ionians into Helice, iii. 22; religious rites among the, *ibid.*; the, in Italy, xi. 15.
Achelous, R., i. 6; i. 8; iii. 12.
Acheron, R., i. 8.
Achilles, iii. 26.
Achilleum, built by the Lesbians, xvi. 26.
Acragas, a colony from Gela, xi. 13.
Acte, cities on, xi. 5.
Actoridae, slaughter of the, iii. 14.
Açvins, the, of India, iii. 7.
Adicran, king of Libya, xvi. 40.
Adrastus, expelled from Argos, xii. 5; attacked by Clisthenes, *ibid.*
Advantages arising from the divided condition of Greece, i. 15.
Aeantides and Hippias, xv. 18.
Aegean Sea, Thracians found on both sides of the, ii. 6; monuments, the same on both sides of the, ii. 11; importance of the islands of the, xvi. 21.
Aegeus, iii. 10-11.
Aegialeis, the, iii. 22.
Aegicoreis, ix. 5.
Aegina, iii. 21; and Thebes, xv. 20; attacks Athens, *ibid*
Aegyptus and Danaus, legend of, ii. 15; iii. 17.
Aeolians, the, in Asia Minor, iv. 2; traditional account of the Migration of, *ibid.*; pay tribute to Croesus, xvi. 11.
Aeolis, Thessaly known as, iii. 1; cities of, iv. 2; extent and boundary of, *ibid.*; in Asia, inhabitants of, iv. 11.
Aepytids, the, viii. 2, 3.
Aepytus, iii. 15.
Aeschylus, speaks of Pelasgus as king of Argos, ii. 3.
Aesymnetes, the, xii. 1.
Aetolia, legendary history of, iii. 12.
Aetolians, the, assist the Dorians, iii. 3.
Aetolus and his descendants, iii. 12; king of Elis, iii. 14.
Africa, Greek colonies in, xi. 17.
Agamemnon, iii. 17, 26; Sicyon becomes subject to, iii. 19.
Agapenor, iii. 23; vii. 14.
Agariste, the marriage of, xii. 7.
Age, the Pelasgic, ii. 3; the Stone, ii. 11.
Agetus and Ariston, xiv. 8.
Aglaurus, Athene worshipped as, i. 14.
Agriculture encouraged by Pisistratus, xv. 11.
Alalia, xi. 16.
Alazir, king of Barca, xvi. 41.
Alcaeus, the poet of wine, xvi. 23; his opposition to tyrants, *ibid.*
Alcmaeon, iii. 13.
Alcmaeonidae, Clisthenes II., head of the, xv. 17; the, in exile, *ibid.*; rebuild the temple at Delphi, *ibid.*
Alcman composes Parthenia, viii. 11.
Aleuadae, the, x. 3.
Alexander and Amyntas, x. 2.
Aliens and slaves, enfranchisement of, at Athens, iv. 23.
Alluvial deposits in Greece, i. 6.
Alphabet, the, iv. 16.
Alpheus, R., i. 7.
Althaea, iii. 12.
Althaemenes, iv. 7, 8.

Alyattes, king of Lydia, at war with Miletus, xvi. 6.; conquests of, xvi. 7.
Amasis, of Egypt, xvi. 31.
Amazons, the, ii. 14; expelled from Attica by Theseus, ii. 11; in Asia Minor, iv. 14.
Ambracia, x. 1; xi. 14; Corinthian colony founded at, xii. 12.
Ambraciots, the, iii. 13.
Amphea, taken by the Lacedaemonians, viii. 4.
Amphictyony of Calauria, iii. 21; the Argive, vii. 2; the Delphic, x. 5.
Amphilochus retires to Acarnania, iii. 18.
Amphion and Zethus, iii. 7.
Amphitryon, iii. 17.
Amyclae and Sparta, iii. 16; conquered by the Spartans, vi. 20.
Amyntas and Alexander, x. 2.
Anacharsis and Solon, xiii. 26.
Anactorium, xi. 14; Corinthian colony founded at, xii. 12.
Anaxandridas and his wives, xiv. 8.
Andania built by Polycaon, iii. 15.
Animals and men, belief in the connection of, iii. 14.
Antiope and Helen, myths of, iii. 7; legends of, iii. 19.
Antiquity of writing in Greece, iv. 16; of Homer, v. 8; of the Delian festival, xvi. 33.
Apaturia, the, ix. 8.
Apella, the, of Sparta, vi. 4; vi. 10.
Aphareus builds Arene, iii. 15.
Apollo, worship of, by the Ionians, iv. 10; Smintheus, iv. 14; Homeric conception of, v. 39; Lyceus, vii. 8.
Apophthegms of Hesiod, x. 9.
Apries, king of Egypt, xvi. 40-43.
Arcadia, music universally cultivated in, i. 14; primitive foreign relations of, iii. 23; legendary history of, *ibid.*; early kings of, *ibid.*; legends of, vii. 14; deities worshipped in, vii. 15; tribes in the west of, vii. 17; constitution of, *ibid.*; no independent towns in, *ibid.*; kings of, vii. 14, 18; inhabitants of, vii. 16.
Arcadia and Sparta, *ibid.*; cities in, vii. 18; no distinction of classes in, *ibid.*
Arcadian superstitions, iii. 23; character and civilisation, vii. 17; towns, public officers in, vii. 18.
Arcesilaus, xvi. 40; III. and Pheretima, xvi. 41; III., death of, *ibid.*
Archias founds Syracuse, xi. 12.
Archilochus of Paros, xvi. 27; visits Thasos, *ibid.*; slain in Euboea, *ibid.*; greatly develops Greek Lyric poetry, xvi. 28; reality of the poems of, *ibid.*
Archons, position of, in Athens, ix. 7, 16; under Solon's constitution, xiii. 14. Cf. pp. 304 f., 542 f.
Archonship of Solon, xiii. 7, 9.
Ardys, king of Lydia, xvi. 5.
Arene built by Aphareus, iii. 15.
Areopagus, the, ix. 13; Solon's reform of the, xiii. 15; power of the, *ibid.*
Arethusa, i. 7.
Argadeis, the, ix. 5.
Argive Amphictyony, the, vii. 2.
Argives, the, expel the Asinaeans, vii. 3; Argives and Spartans, contest between 300 of each, xiv. 5; defeated by Cleomenes, xiv. 14.
Argo, voyage of the, xi. 9.
Argolis, vii. 1; want of water in, i. 6; and Asia Minor, iii. 17; religious rites in, vii. 8.
Argonauts, the, iii. 5.
Argos and Egypt, ii. 15; legends of, *ibid.*; conquered by Dorians, iii. 3; legendary history of, iii. 17; ancient, vii. 1; early kings of, vii. 3.; and Sparta, war between, *ibid.*; invaded by Cleomenes, vii. 6; xiv. 14; the policy of, vii. 6; musical skill at, vii. 7; Sacadas of, *ibid.*; and Sicyon, xii. 5; attacked by Clisthenes, xii. 6; and Sparta, final struggle between, for the Thyreatis, xiv. 5; great distress at, xiv. 14; Pisistratus' connection with, *ibid.*
Argos Amphilochium, iii. 18.
Argus, the grove of, burnt by Cleomenes, xiv. 14.
Arion and Periander, xii. 14; xvi. 22.
Aristocracy of Elis, vii. 13; and timocracy, xii. 1.
Aristodemus and his daughter, viii. 6; elected king of Messene, viii. 7; slays himself, *ibid.*
Aristogiton, xv. 16.
Aristomenes, chosen king of the Messenians, viii. 13; defeats the Spartans, *ibid.*; slays many Spartans and plunders the Laconian border, viii. 14; retires to Rhodes, viii. 15.
Ariston and Agetus, xiv. 8.
Army and navy at Athens in the time of Clisthenes II., xv. 25.
Arnaeans, the, invade Boeotia, iii. 1; and Boeotians, a united people, iii. 8; in Boeotia, x. 6.
Art, aided by the climate of Greece, i. 14; in the Greek colonies, iv. 15; cf. xvi. 1, 45.
Artaphernes, Satrap of Sardis, xv. 20.
Artemis, temple of, at Ephesus, xvi. 10.
Artistic nature of the Homeric poems, v. 16.

Asclepius, worship of, iii. 21; temple of, vii. 8.
Asia Minor, languages of, ii. 9; connection of, with Mycenae, ii. 12; and Greece, prehistoric remains in, *ibid.*; and Argolis, iii. 17; colonisation of, iv. 1; Greek tribes in, *ibid.*; Magnesians in, iv. 3; Ionian colonisation of, iv. 4; inhabitants of, iv. 12; mythology of, iv. 14; date of the migration to, iv. 18; Hippias in, xv. 28; the Greeks in, xvi. 1; climate and soil of, *ibid.*; Greek cities in, xvi. 2; the Cimmerians in, *ibid.*
Asiatic deities, influence of, on the Greeks, iv. 14; cities, scanty records of, xvi. 1; Greeks, resemble European, but present points of difference, *ibid.*; Greeks, want of cohesion among, xvi. 8; the, and Cyrus, xvi. 15; conquered by generals of Cyrus, xvi. 16.
Asinaeans, the, expelled by the Argives, vii. 3.
Asius depicts Pelasgus as the first of mortal men, ii. 3.
Assembly, the, in Homeric poems, v. 22; or Apella at Sparta, vi. 10; of Solon, xiii. 12; of Crete, xvi. 35.
Assyria and Phoenicia, xi. 19.
Assyrians, the, invade Egypt, xvi. 43.
Atalanta, iii. 12.
Athamas, iii. 5.
Athena, worshipped as Aglaurus and Erse in Attica, i. 14; Homeric conception of, v. 39.
Athenians, autochthony of the, ix. 2; division of, into four tribes, ix. 5; lose Salamis, xiii. 1; regain Salamis, xiii. 2; the Plataeans become allies of, xiv. 13; send an embassy to Sardis, xv. 20.
Athens, climate of, i. 13; political condition of, ix. 16; assembly at, ix. 17; after Solon, xiii. 12; Areopagus, reformed by Solon, xiii. 15; the Phratries, ix. 18; social condition of, ix. 18; and Megara, war between, xii. 20; and Crisa, war between, xiii. 3; distress at, xiii. 5; the "Accursed" expelled from, *ibid.*; Epimenides visits, *ibid.*; poverty and wealth at, xiii. 6; Solon's warning to, *ibid.*; the Council, xiii. 12; xv. 21, 24; the Pisistratidae expelled from, xiv. 11; Cleomenes at, *ibid.*; Clisthenes retires from, *ibid.*; renewal of party strife at, xv. 1; Pisistratus tyrant of, xv. 3; Miltiades at, xv. 4; Pisistratus expelled from, xv. 5; his return and second expulsion, xv. 6; Pisistratus returns for the third time, xv. 8; Clisthenes II. returns to, xv. 17; Clisthenes II. expelled from, and his return, xv. 19; at war with Thebes and Chalcis, xv. 20; at war with Aegina, *ibid.*; and Lesbos, war between, for Sigeum, xvi. 26; the democracy at, xv. 29; public spirit at, *ibid.*
Atreus, iii. 17.
Attic Council, the, ix. 17; p. 304 f.
Attica, Pelasgi in, iii. 1; ix. 6; Lapithae in, *ibid.*; the home of various fugitives from the north and west, iii. 3.; legendary chronology of, iii. 10; ancient kings of, *ibid.*; division of, by Cecrops, *ibid.*; the Amazons expelled from, by Theseus, iii. 11; early, ix.; union of, ix. 3; people of, divided into classes, ix. 4; refugees in, ix. 6; changes in the monarchy of, ix. 7; rule of the nobility in, *ibid.*; distress of the commons in, *ibid.*; poverty and debt in, ix. 9; rise of parties in, ix. 11; distinguished families in, ix. 18; slavery in, *ibid.*; unity and independence of, xv. 29; invaded by the Boeotians, x. 6; Cleomenes attempts to invade, xiv. 11; prosperity of, during the administration of Pisistratus, xv. 11; changes in, under Clisthenes II., xv. 23.
Augeas, iii. 14.
Autochthony of the Athenians, ix. 2.
Axones, the, xiii. 23.
Aziris, Battus settles at, xi. 17.

B

Bacchiadae, the, xii. 11.
Barbarian tribes in Greece, the most important, ii. 2, 7.
Barca, foundation of, xv. 40; the Persians at, xvi. 41.
Battus, xi. 17; the Blest, of Cyrene, xvi. 40.
Bazaar, a, at Corinth, xi. 23.
Beast Fables in Greek literature, x. 9.
Beauty, appreciation of, among the Greeks, i. 14.
Bias of Priene, xvi. 17.
Bito and Cleobis, xiii. 25.
Black Sea, the, xi. 9; fabulous stories connected with, *ibid.*
Boar-hunt, the Calydonian, iii. 12.
Boar's Monument, battle of the, viii. 13.
Boeotia, conquest of, iii. 8; legendary history of, iii. 6-8; accounts of, by Pausanias and Strabo, iii. 8; Orchomenus and Thebes, x. 6; invasion from the north, *ibid.*; Xanthus, last king of, *ibid.*; constitution of the cities in, *ibid.*
Boeotian League, the, x. 6; festivals, x. 11.

Boeotians and Arnaeans, a united people, iii. 8; the, take Coronea and Orchomenus, *ibid.*; invade Attica, *ibid.*, x. 6.
Boys, Spartan, education of, vi. 11.
Bull of Marathon slain by Theseus, iii. 11.
Bull-fights in Thessaly, x. 3.
Byzantium founded by the Dorians, xi. 7.

C

Cadmea, the, iii. 7.
Cadmus, the legend of, ii. 14; and Europa, iii. 6; founds Thebes and slays the monster, *ibid.*
Caiadas, Aristomenes in the, viii. 13.
Calauria, worship of Poseidon at, iv. 6.
Calaurian Amphictyony, iii. 21.
Calendar, the, of Hesiod, x. 9.
Calondas slays Archilochus, xvi. 27.
Calydonian boar-hunt, the, iii. 12.
Cambyses succeeds Cyrus, xvi. 3.
Candaules, murder of, xvi. 3.
Carian Zeus, iv. 14.
Carians, the, ii. 5.
Carystus and Styra, iii. 9.
Carthage, rise of, xi. 19.
Castor and Pollux, iii. 7.
Catalogue, the, in Hesiod, x. 11; in Homer, v. 11.
Catana on Etna, xi. 10.
Caucon initiates Messene into the mysteries of the great goddesses, iii. 15.
Cauconians, the, iii. 14.
Cecrops divides Attica, iii. 10; successors of, *ibid.*
Centaurs and Lapithae, iii. 5.
Chalcedon founded by the Dorians, xi. 7.
Chalcidians, the, found Zancle and Rhegium, xi. 11.
Chalcidice, colonies of, xi. 5.
Chalcis and Eretria, iii. 9.
Chalcis, Hesiod at, x. 9; constitution of, xi. 3-4; and Eretria, war between, xi. 6; Athens at war with, xv. 20; Cleruchi at, *ibid.*
Changes, political, in the seventh century, xii. 1.
Chanson de Roland, compared with legend of the Trojan war, iii. 26.
Chaonians, the, x. 1.
Charilaus, treachery of, xvi. 32.
Chersonese, the, secured to the Athenians by Miltiades, xv. 4.
Chest, the, of the Cypselids, xii. 16.
Chilon, xiv. 2.
Chios, the minstrel of, xvi. 33.
Chiron the centaur, iii. 5.
Chronology, legendary, of Attica, iii. 10; of Cleomenes' reign, xiv. 17.
Chthonia, the, at Hermione, vii. 8.
Cimmerians, the, invade Phrygia, iv. 12; in Asia Minor, xvi. 2; and Gyges, xvi. 4; and Ardys, xvi. 5; expelled from Asia Minor by Alyattes, xvi. 7.
Cimon and Hippias, xv. 15.
Cinyps, Dorieus leaves Sparta for, xiv. 9.
Cirrha, destruction of, xiii. 3.
Cirrhaean territory, consecration of the, xiii. 3.
Cities, Ionian, in Asia Minor, iv. 5; in Eastern Arcadia, vii. 18; of Achaea, vii. 19; which took no part in Greek colonisation, xi. 2.
Citizenship, conditions of, in Sparta, vi. 18; under Solon's constitution, xiii. 12.
Civilisation as described by Homer, v. 15; of the Arcadians, vii. 17.
Classes, the four, of Solon, xiii. 11; duties imposed on, *ibid.* *See* p. 804 f.
Classification of the Greek colonies, xi. 2.
Cleobis and Bito, xiii. 25.
Cleomenes invades Argos, vii. 6; visit of Maeandrius to, xiv. 8-10; at Athens, xiv. 11; trial and acquittal of, xiv. 14; invades Argos, and captures the grove of Argus, *ibid.*; and the Scythians, xiv. 15; reign, chronology of, xiv. 17.
Cleruchi at Chalcis, xv. 20.
Climate of Greece, i. 12; influence of, on the Greeks and their religious conceptions, i. 14; at Athens, xv. 19; and soil of Asia, xvi. 1.
Clisthenes (1), tyrant of Sicyon, xii. 4; engaged in the Sacred War, xii. 3; resolves to liberate Sicyon from Dorian influence, *ibid.*; changes the names of the Dorian tribes, xii. 6; goes to war with Argos, *ibid.*; puts an end to the rhapsodes, *ibid.*; end of the reign of, xii. 8; his character, xii. 9.
Clisthenes (2) the Alcmaeonid, retires from Athens, xiv. 11; head of the Alcmaeonidae, xv. 17; returns to Athens, xv. 19; plan of his reform, *ibid.*; compelled to leave Athens, *ibid.*; establishes ten tribes, xv. 21; his policy, xv. 21-26; arranges the Demes, xv. 22, 23; enfranchises slaves and aliens, xv. 23; arranges the council, xv. 24; establishes ostracism at Athens, xv. 26; position of, xv. 27; criticism of his reforms, xv. 29. Cf. p. 547.
Clytemnestra, iii. 17.
Cnidians, the, cut off their city from the main land, xvi. 20.

Cnidus, the Dorians in, iv. 10.
Cocytus, R., i. 1.
Codrus and Melanthus, iv. 4; sons of, lead the emigrants, *ibid.*
Coinage, the, of Phidon, vii. 5; invented by the Lydians, vii. 5; Greek, xi. 22; Solon's alteration in the standard of, xiii. 8, p. 543.
Coletus, iii. 5.
Colonies, arts in the, iv. 15; monarchy disappears in, iv. 17; form of government in the, iv. 17; growth of commerce in, xi. 1; influence of, on politics, *ibid.*; classification of the, *ibid.*; Megarian, xi. 7; on the Euxine, xi. 8; Milesian, *ibid.*; in Sicily, xi. 10; in Italy, xi. 11; Corinthian, xi. 12; of Megara in the west, xi. 13; in Western Greece, xi. 14; Phocaean, xi. 16; Greek, in Africa, xi. 17; causes creating, xi. 18; independence of the, xi. 20; centres of civilisation, xi. 21; influence of Delphi on the, xi. 24; table of the chief Greek, xi. 24.
Colonisation of Asia, iv. 1; circumstances favourable to, xi. 19.
Colonists, Greek, and the natives, xi. 21.
Colony of Theraeans at Cyrene, xi. 17; Greek, nature of the, xi. 20.
Colophon, xvi. 4, 5.
Combination of local deities, v. 34.
Commons, the distress of, in Attica, ix. 8; the, at Corinth and Megara, ix. 10.
Constitution of the tribes of Arcadia, vii. 17; of Achaea, vii. 19; of the cities of Boeotia, x. 6; of Eretria, xi. 4; of Chalcis, *ibid.*; of Solon, nature of the, xiii. 17; of Solon, object of the, xiii. 10; of Cyrene, xvi. 42.
Copais, Lake, i. 9.
Copper in Greece, i. 10; mines in the Asopia, xii. 3.
Corcyra seized by the Corinthians, xi. 12; subdued by Cypselus, xii. 13; subjugated by Periander, xi. 14; recovers its independence, *ibid.*; Periander's revenge on, xii. 17.
Corinth conquered by Dorians, iii. 3; mythical, Pausanias' account of, iii. 18; Phidon's relations with, vii. 4; and Megara, the commons at, ix. 10; under the monarchs, xi. 12; establishment of an oligarchy in, *ibid.*; kings of, *ibid.*; rollers for ships, over the isthmus of, xii. 10; site of, *ibid.*; tyrants of, xii. 11-19; joins the Spartan confederacy, xiv. 7.
Corinthian colonies, xi. 12; Bazaar, a, xi. 23; trireme, the, xii. 10; colonies founded during the tyranny of Cypselus, xii. 12: tyranny, fall of the, xii. 19.
Corinthians, enterprise of the, xii. 10; seize Corcyra, xi. 12: build triremes, *ibid.*; defeat the attempt to restore the Pisistratidae, xiv. 12.
Coronea, taken by the Boeotians, iii. 8.
Cosmi, the, in Crete, xvi. 35.
Cosmogony in Hesiod, x. 10.
Council at Athens, ix. 17; *see* p. 304 f.; of the Four Hundred, xiii. 13; arrangement of, by Clisthenes, xx. 21, 24; of Crete, xvi. 35.
Country life of the Greeks, i. 14; influence of, on politics, i. 15.
Cow-headed deity of Argos, iii. 17.
Cresphontes, king of Messenia, viii. 2; successors of, viii. 3.
Cretan institutions, xvi. 34, 35; education, xvi. 38.
Cretans, moral character of the, xvi. 38.
Crete, the Phoenicians in, ii. 14; Theseus journeys to, iii. 11; Minotaur of, *ibid.*; colonised by Dorians, iv. 7; cities of, *ibid.*; legendary history of, *ibid.*; early history of, xvi. 34; institutions of, xvi. 34, 35; the training at, xvi. 36; common meals at, *ibid.*; the serfs at, xvi. 37; and Sparta compared, xvi. 3.
Crisa and Athens, war between, xiii. 3; and Delphi, *ibid.*; destruction of, *ibid.*
Croesus and Solon, xiii. 25; and Sparta, xiv. 4; conquests of, xvi. 9; Ephesus submits to, xvi. 11; and Cyrus, xvi. 14; defeat and fall of, *ibid.*
Cronus and Uranus, the myth of, iii. 4.
Croton, xi. 15.
Cryptea, the, vi. 19.
Curetes, the, iii. 13.
Cyaxares, king of the Medes, xvi. 13.
Cybele, iv. 12.
"Cycle," the, v. 1; Poems of the, v. 3.
Cyclic Poems compared with the Homeric Poems, v. 4; and Homeric Poems, differences between, v. 6; date of the, v. 7.
Cylon, the attempt of, ix. 15; murderers of, expelled from Athens, xiii. 5.
Cyme and Larissa, iv. 2; in Campania, xi. 3, 11.
"Cypria," the, v. 5; presupposes the Iliad, v. 5; and the Odyssey, v. 5; discrepancies between, and the Homeric Poems, v. 5.
Cyprian writing, iv. 16.
Cyprus, the Phoenicians in, ii. 14; and Crete, ii. 14; Greek colonists in, iv. 9; and Arcadia, iv. 9: Solon in, xiii. 24.
Cypselids, rise of the, xii. 11; chest of the, xii. 16.

Cypselus, story of, xii. 11; reign of, xii. 12; character of, xii. 13.
Cyrene, colony of Theraeans at, xi. 17; kings of, xvi. 40; new colonists at, *ibid.*; Demonax at, xvi. 40: constitution, xvi. 42; products and trade of, *ibid.*
Cyrus and the Spartans, xiv. 6; ascends the Persian throne, xvi. 13; defeats Croesus, xvi. 14; and the Asiatic Greeks, xvi. 15; generals of, conquer the Asiatic Greeks, xvi. 16.
Cyzicus, xi. 8.

D

Daedalus, a personification of the artistic skill of the Phoenicians, ii. 14.
Damocratidas of Argos, vii. 6.
Danai, the, on Egyptian inscriptions, iii. 15.
Danaids, the, compelled to pour water through a sieve, iii. 4, 17.
Danaus and Aegyptus, ii. 15; iii. 17.
Darius invades Scythia, xvi. 18.
Date of the migrations to Asia, iv. 18.
Debt and poverty in early Attica, ix. 9; laws of, in early society, ix. 10.
Decline of the power of Argos, vii. 6.
Deianira, iii. 12.
Deities of the Phoenicians, ii. 14; the Homeric, v. 33, 53; combination of local, v. 34; family relations attributed to, v. 35; the Homeric, v. 36; Olympic, v. 39, 40; and natural phenomena, v. 43; of the sea, v. 44; not strictly limited to fixed spheres of action, v. 47; worshipped in Arcadia, vii. 15.
Delian Festival, the, xvi. 33.
Delos, purification of, by Pisistratus, xv. 12: xvi. 33.
Delphi, Delphic oracle, value of the sanction of, xi. 24; sources of the knowledge of, *ibid.*; effect of the success of colonisation on, xi. 24; and the colonies, *ibid.*; treasure-house at, built by Cypselus, xii. 12; and Crisa, xiii. 3; the Spartans apply to, for permission to conquer the whole of Arcadia, xiv. 1; rebuilding of the temple of, xv. 17; the Lydians appeal to, xvi. 3; consulted by the Messenians and Lacedaemonians, viii. 7.
Delphic Amphictyony, the, x. 5.
Delphinium, the, ix. 13.
Demeter, v. 45.
Demes, the, at Athens, xv. 22, 23, p. 547.
Demiurgi, the, ix. 4.
Democracy of Mantinea, vii. 18; at Athens xv. 29.
Demonax at Cyrene, xvi. 40.
Derae, the battle of, viii. 13.
Deucalion and Pyrrha, iii. 8.
Dialects of the Ionian cities, iv. 6.
Dionysia, the, xv. 12.
Dionysus at Thebes, iii. 6; v. 45; worship of, in Elis, vii. 11; festivals in honour of, introduced into Sicyon, xii. 6; worship of, by the Corinthians, xii. 14.
Divided condition of Greece, i. 15; influence of, on Greek politics, *ibid.*; advantages and disadvantages arising from the, *ibid.*
Divisions of early Attica, ix. 1.
Dodona, the oracle of, x. 1.
Doloncians, the, choose Miltiades for their leader, xv. 4.
Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus, iii. 2; colonisation of Asia Minor, iv. 7; migration, Messenia at the time of, viii. 2; colonies, xi. 13; supremacy over Sicyon, xii. 5; tribes, names of the, changed by Clisthenes, xii. 6; of Sparta, i. 14; on the sea, *ibid.*; in Messenia, iii. 3; settle in Sparta, *ibid.*; conquests of the, *ibid.*; in N. Greece, iii. 1, Herodotus' account of, iii. 3; and Aetolian Oxylus invade Peloponnesus, iii. 14; become masters of the whole of Messenia, iii. 15; expel the Nelidae from Pylus, iii. 15; conquer Phlius, iii. 20; in Crete, iv. 7; in Rhodes, iv. 8; in Cnidus and Halicarnassus, iv. 10; in Thessaly, x. 4; found Selymbria and Byzantium, xi. 7; found Tarentum, xi. 15; pay tribute to Croesus, xvi. 11; subject to Persia, xvi. 20.
Dorieus, xiv. 8, 9.
Doris, iii. 8.
Draco, ix. 12, 13. *See* p. 304 ff.
Dreams, v. 50.
Drought in Greece, i. 6.
Dryopians, the, ii. 7.
Dual monarchy in Sparta, origin of, vi. 8; weakness of the, xiv. 16.

E

Early History, sources of, ii. 1; Greek views of, ii. 2.
Earth, the, held sacred by the Greeks, i. 14.
Earthquakes in Greece, i. 12.
Ecclesia, the, ix. 17.
Education of the Spartans, vi. 12, 13.

Egypt and Argos, ii. 15.; and Greece, connection between, *ibid.*; Greeks in, xi. 17; xvi. 43; Solon in, xiii. 24; kings of, xvi. 43; decline of, *ibid.*; invaded by the Assyrians, xvi. 43.
Egyptian civilisation, influence of, on the Greeks, xvi. 45.
Egyptians in Libya, xvi. 40; exclusive customs of the, xvi. 45; contempt of the learned, for the Greeks, *ibid.*
Eira, the fall of, due to treachery, viii. 14.
Elea, xi. 16.
Elean Legends, fictitious nature of the, iii. 14.
Eleans, the, bind themselves by oath not to compete in the Isthmian games, iii. 14.
Election by lot, introduced at Athens, xv. 23, cf. p. 304 ff.
Eleus, king of Elis, iii. 14.
Eleusinian Mysteries, the, xv. 13.
Elis, resettlement of, iii. 14; legendary history of, *ibid.*; divisions of, *ibid.*; early kings of, *ibid.*; and Pisa, war between, vii. 9, 10; temples and shrines, vii. 11; government of, vii. 13.
Emigrants of mixed race in Asia Minor, iv. 4.
Endymion, king of Elis, iii. 14.
Enipeus, R., i. 6, 7.
Eoeae, the, of Hesiod, x. 11.
Epeus, king of Elis, iii. 14.
Ephesus, iv. 5; city and temple of, xvi. 10; submits to Cyrus, *ibid.*
Ephetae, the, ix. 14.
Ephors, the, of Sparta, vi. 6; numbers and powers of the, vi. 11; growth of the authority of the, xiv. 16.
Ephyre, iii. 18.
Epic poetry in Greece, v. 1.
Epidaurus, captured by the Dorians, iii. 3; and Troezen, mythical history of, iii. 21; conquered by Periander, xii. 13.
Epimenides visits Athens, xiii. 6.
Epirus, not included in Hellas, x. 1; tribes in, *ibid.*; monarchy in, *ibid.*; description of, *ibid.*
Erasinus, R., loyalty of the, xiv. 14.
Erechtheus, iii. 10.
Eretria, xi. 3; constitution of, xi. 4; and Chalcis, iii. 10; war between, xi. 6.
Eretria, Pisistratus establishes himself at, xv. 7.
Erinyes, the, v. 46.
Erse, Athena worshipped as, i. 14.
Eryx, Dorieus is slain at, xiv. 9.
Ethiopian kings, xvi. 43.
Etna, colonies established on, by Theocles, xi. 10.
Etruscans and Oscans receive their alphabet from the Greeks, xi. 21.
Etymology, mistaken, gives rise to myths, iii. 4.
Euaephnus and Polychares, viii. 4.
Euboea, legendary history of, iii. 9; Phoenicians in, ii. 14; Abantes in, iii. 9; Ionians in, iii. 9; Archilochus slain in, xvi. 27.
Eumelus' poem, iii. 18.
Eupatridae, the, ix. 4.
Europa and Cadmus, iii. 6.
Eurotas, the valley of the, iii. 16.
Eurystheus and Heracles, iii. 2, 17.
Euxine Sea, the, xi. 8, 9.
Excavations, ii. 11.

F

Family Influence at Athens, xv. 21, 23.
Fauna of Greece, i. 12.
Festival, the, of the Gymnopaediae, iv. 14; the Hyacinthia at Sparta, vi. 22; the Delian, xvi. 33.
Festivals in Argos, vii. 8; in Boeotia, x. 11; in honour of Dionysus introduced into Sicyon, xii. 6; public, supported by Pisistratus, xv. 12.
Five Ages, the, of Hesiod, x. 9.
Floods in Greece, i. 6.
Flora of Greece, i. 11.
Foreigners in Greece, ii. 14.
Forests of Greece, i. 11.
Fountains and Springs of Greece, i. 9.
Four Hundred, Council of the, xiii. 13. *See* p. 304 ff.
Frugality of the Greeks, i. 14.
Fruits of Greece, i. 11.
Funerals of the Spartan kings, vi. 7.

G

Games, Isthmia, xi. 14; Nemea, vii. 8; Olympia, vii. 9, 12; Pythia, xiii. 4.
Gela, xi. 13.
Geleontes, the, ix. 5.
Geography in Homer, v. 10, 12.
Geomori, the, ix. 4.
Gerontes, election of the, vi. 9.
Gerousia, the, or Senate of Sparta, vi. 9.
Girls, Spartan, education of, vi. 12.
Gods once inhabited Greece, i. 14; immortality of the, v. 38.
Gold in Greece, i. 18; mention of, in Homeric Poems, v. 13.
Golden Fleece, the legend of the, iii. 5.

Graces, the, v. 42.
Greece (*see* Hellas): rivers of, i. 6, 7, 8; lakes of, i. 9; springs and fountains of, *ibid.*; products of, i. 10; minerals of, *ibid.*; flora, wood and fruits of, i. 11; fauna of, i. 12; climate of, 13; rainfall in Greece, i. 13; earthquakes in, *ibid.*; national characteristics of the inhabitants of, i. 14; once inhabited by gods, *ibid.*; influence of the country on the politics of, i. 15; divided condition of, *ibid.*; earliest inhabitants of, ii. 2, 7; and Asia Minor, pre-historic remains in, ii. 12; Phœnicians and foreign settlers in, ii. 14; history of, and Rome, compared, i. 15; and Egypt, connection between, ii. 15; xvi. 45; movements in early, iii. 1; western, not unknown to the Phœnicians, iii. 13; decline of monarchy in, xi. 18; rise of oligarchies in, *ibid.*; and Egyptian civilisation, xvi. 45.
Greek Art, i 14; politics, lessons of, i. 15; and Roman history compared, *ibid.*; views of early history, ii. 12; legends, examination of, ii. 8; language, the, ii. 9; religion, the, ii. 10; and Indian mythology, the connection of, ii. 10; legends, iii. 4; tribes in Asia, iv. 1; historians, silence of, vi. 4; colonies in Italy, xi. 11; always Greek, xi. 21; form of government in, iv. 1; table of the chief, xi. 24; cities in Asia Minor, xvi. 2; on the Asiatic coast attacked by Gyges, xvi. 4; in Asia, isolation of the, xvi. 7; in Asia, tyrants established xvi. 18; in Asia, revolt and subjugation of the, xvi. 19; colony of Naucratis, xvi. 44.
Greeks, their appreciation of beauty, i. 14; characteristics of the, *ibid.*; and natives in Asia, relation of, iv. 19; influence of Asiatic deities on the, iv. 14; in Egypt, xi. 17; xvi. 43; in Asia, xvi. 1; Asiatic and European compared, *ibid.*; effect of the change in the dynasty of Sardis on, xvi. 4; supply Dorians with ships and men, xvi. 18; in Egypt, favour shown to, xvi. 43; little influenced by Egyptian civilisation, xvi. 45; contempt of learned Egyptians for, *ibid.*
Gyges, xvi. 3, 4.
Gymnopaedia, festival of the, vi. 14.

H

Hades, v. 46; worship of, in Elis, vii. 11.
Halicarnassus, the Dorians in, iv. 10; Poseidon, worshipped at, *ibid.*; subject to Persia, iv. 10.
Halus, the rites at, iii. 5.
Happiness, Solon's definition of, xiii. 25.
Harmodius and Hipparchus, xv. 16.
Harmonia, wife of Cadmus, iii. 6.
Hawk and the Nightingale, in Hesiod, x. 9.
Hebe, v. 42.
Hecatombaea, the, vii. 8.
Hector, iii. 26.
Hegesistratus established by Pisistratus at Sigeum, xv. 9.
Helen and Antiope, myth of, iii. 7.
Helen carried away by Theseus, iii. 11.
Helen of Troy, iii. 26.
Heliaea, institution of the, xiii. 16.
Helicon, Mount, worship of the Muses on, x. 7.
Hellas (*see* Greece), limits and extent of, i. 1; characteristic features of, i. 2; continental, mountains of, i. 3.
Hellenes (*see* Greeks); Pelasgians and Achaeans, not really distinct, ii. 8; Herodotus' account of, iii. 8.
Helli or Selli, the, ii. 8.
Hellopia, ii. 8.
Helos, conquest of, by Sparta, vi. 20.
Helots, the, vi. 19.
Hera and the Heraea, vii. 8; worship of, vii. 11.
Heracles, the works of, i. 7; perhaps connected with Baal, ii. 14; a Phœnician deity in Greek guise, iii. 2; and Eurystheus, *ibid.*; and Deianira, iii. 12; at the Olympic games, vii. 12; and Augeas, iii. 14; the labours of, iii. 24.
Heracles, Semitic elements in the Greek myth of, iii. 25.
Heraclidae, the, deposed, in Sardis, xvi. 3.
Heraclids, the return of, iii. 1; in Macedonia, x. 2.
Heraea, the, or the Hecatombaea, vii. 8.
Hermes and Iris, v. 42.
Hermione, the Clthonia at, vii. 8.
Herodotus, his account of the Pelasgi, ii. 3; his account of the Dorians, iii. 3.
Heroes, worship of, in Elis, vii. 11; in Hesiod, x. 10.
Hesiod, poems of, v. 1; personal history of, x. 7; a distinct historical personage, x. 8; characteristic features of the *Works and Days*, x. 7; the *Five Ages*, x. 9; *The Hawk and the Nightingale*, *ibid.*; and Perses, *ibid.*; at Chalcis, *ibid.*; the *Calendar*, *ibid.*; the *Theogonia*, x. 10; the *Catalogue*, *ibid.*; the *Eoeae*, *ibid.*; contrast between Homer and, x. 12.

Hesiodic and Homeric Epic, x. 8.
Hesperides, the golden apples of, iii. 12.
Hexapolis, the, iv. 10; the worship of Apollo in the, *ibid.*
Hipparchus, xv. 15; and Harmodius, xv. 16; murder of, *ibid.*
Hippeis, the, xiii. 11.
Hippias and Cimon, xv. 15; tyranny of, *ibid.*; severity of, xv. 16; expelled by the Spartans, xv. 18; and Aeantides, *ibid.*; in Asia, xv. 20, 28.
Hippobotae, the, xi. 18.
Hippoclides "dances his wife away," xii. 7.
Hissarlik, relics at, ii. 12.
Histiaeus of Miletus, xvi. 18, 19.
Historians, Spartan, vi. 3; Greek, silence of, vi. 4.
Historical facts in legends, iii. 4; value of legends, iii. 13; truth of the legend of the Trojan War, iii. 26.
History, sources of early, ii. 1; Greek, and legends, iii. 4; the use of poetry in, v. 20; early, of Sparta, vi. 1.
Hittite Empire, iv. 13.
Homer and Hesiod, contrast between, x. 12.
Homeric and local tradition, ii. 1; age, civilisation of the, *ibid.*; account of the Pelasgi, ii. 3; account of the Thracians, ii. 6.
Homeric Poems, ch. v.; date of the, 2, 8; compared with the Cyclic Poems, 4, 6; value of, 8; omissions in, 9; worship of ancestors in, *ibid.*; unhistorical nature of, 9, 13; geographical knowledge no test of date, 10; vagueness of statements in, 11; inconsistency of, *ibid.*; disregard of geography in, 12; gold mentioned in, 13; description of Mycenae, 14; picture of civilisation, 15; not a collection of ballads, 16; artistic nature of, *ibid.*; language of the, 17; characters in, 18; arguments in favour of the historical truth of, 19; ideal life described in, *ibid.*; their use in history, 20; their influence, 32; supposed edition by Pisistratus, 14.
Homeric religion, characteristics of, v. 53.
Homeric society, chap. v. 21 ff.; women, 12, 13; the state, 22; the king, *ibid.*; the council and assembly, *ibid.*; priests, 23; the people, 24; slaves, *ibid.*; the Thes, *ibid.*; ideas about work and labour, 25; aliens, 26; widows and orphans, *ibid.*, political and social order, 27; homicide and perjury, *ibid.*; the family, 28; social happiness, 29; amusements, 30; sorrows of life, 31.
Homeric Theogony, v. 32 ff.; immortality of the gods, 38; deities of the Olympic circle, 39; Zeus, Apollo, Athena, *ibid.*; subordinate deities, 40; the Titans, 41; Iris, Hermes, Hebe, Muses, Hours, Graces, 42; Eos, Helios, the Winds, 43; deities of the sea, Poseidon, 44; Demeter, Dionysus, the Nymphs, 45; Hades, Persephone, the Erinyes, 46; personification of abstractions, 47; deities have no fixed sphere of action, 48; intercourse with men, 49; signs, dreams, oracles, seers, 50; sacrifices, priests, 51; libations, prayers, 52.
Homicide, procedure in trials for, ix. 13.
Hopletes, the, ix. 5.
Hours, the, v. 42.
Human sacrifices at Halus, iii. 5; at Patrae, ii. 14 (cf. ii. 10).
Hyacinthia, the, vi. 22.
Hyantes, ii. 7.
Hyblon, xi. 13.
Hybrias, the song of, xvi. 38.
Hydra of Lerna, i. 7.
Hyrnethians, the, iii. 3, 17.
Hysiae, the Spartans defeated at, vii. 6, 8, 12.

I

Ialysus, remains at, ii. 12.
Idas and Lynceus, iii. 7.
Iliad, the, iii. 26. *See* Homeric Poems.
Imbros, subject to Persia, xvi. 19.
Immortality of the gods, v. 38.
Indian and Greek mythology, the connection between, ii. 10.
Indo-Germanic race, ii. 9.
Inhabitants, traditions of the earliest, in Greece, ii. 2; of Arcadia, vii. 15.
Inheritance, Solon's law concerning, xiii. 21.
Io of Argos, ii. 15; legend of, iii. 17.
Iolcus, iii. 5.
Ion, legends of, iii. 10; four sons of, give their names to the Attic tribes, *ibid.*
Ionian colonisation of Asia Minor, iv. 4; cities in Asia Minor, 5; sacrifice to Poseidon, 6.
Ionians, the, i. 14; ii. 18; seek refuge in Attica, iii. 3; in Euboea, iii. 9; in Achaea, iii. 22; apply to Sparta for help, xiv. 6; dialects of, iv. 6; in Asia, xvi. 1-19.
Iphitus at the Olympic Games, vii. 12.
Iris, v. 42.
Isagoras, the opponent of Clisthenes, xiv. 11; archonship of, xv. 19; and the aristocracy, *ibid.* *See* p. 546.

Isthmian Games, Eleans bind themselves by oath not to compete in the, iii. 14; revival of the, under Periander, xii. 14.
Isthmus of Corinth, rollers over the, for ships, xii. 10.
Italy, colonies in, xi. 11; Achaeans in, xi. 15.
Ithome, the Messenians retire to, viii. 6.

J

Jason and Medea, iii. 5.
Javan, ii. 13.
Joannina, Lake, i. 9.
Jocasta, iii. 8.

K

Katavothras, i. 6.
Kings, ancient, of Attica, iii. 10; of Sparta, vi. 4; as priests, vi. 7; their privileges, *ibid.*; lead the army, *ibid.*; funerals of the, *ibid.*; early, of Argos, vii. 3; of Macedon, x. 2.
Kyrbeis, the, xiii. 23.

L

Labda, xii. 11.
Labdacus, iii. 7.
Labranda, temple at, iv. 14.
Lacedaemon. *See* Sparta.
Lacustrine dwellings, ii. 11.
Laius, king of Thebes, iii. 8.
Lakes of Greece, i. 9.
Land, division of, in Sparta, vi. 18.
Land-tax imposed by Pisistratus, xv. 10.
Language and history, ii. 1; the Pelasgian, ii. 9; traces of non-Greek, *ibid.*; evidence of, *ibid.*; in the Homeric poems, v. 17.
Languages of Asia Minor, ii. 9.
Laomedon, iii. 19.
Laphyria, festival of, iii. 22.
Lapithae, the, and Centaurs, iii. 5; in Attica, iii. 1, ix. 6.
Larissa and Cyme, iv. 2.
Laurium, silver-mines at, xv. 10.
Laws of debt in early society, ix. 10; of Draco, ix. 12, 14; of Solon, xiii. 18-23; personal and public offences, 18; about women, 19; political duties, 20; power given to make wills, 21; trade, 22; miscellaneous, 23; their duration, *ibid.*
League, the Boeotian, x. 6.
Leda, iii. 12.
Legends of the rivers of Greece, i. 7; examination of Greek, ii. 8, iii. 4; and Myths, origin of, iii. 4; historical facts in, iii. 4; Thessalian, iii. 5; Theban, iii. 3, 6, 7; historical value of, iii. 13; Elean, fictitious nature of, iii. 14; of Arcadia, vii. 14.
Lelegians, the, ii. 4.
Lemnos subject to Persia, xvi. 19.
Leontini on Etna, xi. 10.
Lepreum, vii. 11.
Lesbians, intellectual eminence of the, xvi. 22.
Lesbos, prosperity and trade of, xvi. 22; Aeolian conquest of, iv. 2; literature of, xvi. 22, 24; party strife in, xvi. 25; and Athens, contest between, for Sigeum, xvi. 26.
Lesches, the Epic poet, xvi. 22.
Leucas, xi. 14; Corinthian colony founded at, xii. 12.
Leucon, battle of, xvi. 40.
Libations and Prayers, v. 52.
Library of Pisistratus probably a fiction, xv. 14.
Libya, Adicran, king of, xvi. 40; Egyptians in, *ibid.*
Lion Gate at Mycenae, ii. 12.
Lipsydrium, the affairs of, xv. 18.
Locri, xi. 15; cause of the foundation of, xi. 19.
Locrians, the, x. 4.
Locris, iii. 8.
Logographers, the, ii. 4.
Lot, elections by, in Athens, xv. 23.
Luxury among the Greeks, i. 14.
Lycaea, the, vii. 15.
Lycambes, xvi. 27.
Lycaon, king of Arcadia, iii. 23.
Lycia, tombs in, iv. 12.
Lycians, the, iv. 12; destruction of, by the Persians, xvi. 20.
Lycophron, xii. 17.
Lycosura, vii. 17.
Lycurgus (1) of Sparta, uncertainty with regard to, vi. 2; rearranged older elements in the Spartan constitution, vi. 4; was Spartan training due to? *ibid.*; his work, vi. 23.
Lycurgus (2), the Athenian leader of the men of the plain, xv. 1; and Megacles leave Athens, xv. 4.
Lydia, kings of, xvi. 3 ff.; Croesus of, and Sparta, xiv. 4; conquered by Cyrus, xvi 14

Lydian empire, extent of, xvi. 9.
Lydians, the, iv. 13; invention of coined money by, vii. 6; the, appeal to Delphi, xvi. 3; revolt from Cyrus, xvi. 16.
Lygdamis of Naxos supports Pisistratus, xv. 7; expelled by the Delphians, xv. 18.
Lynceus and Idas, iii. 7.

M

Macedonia, early, Heraclids in, x. 2; Pisistratus' connection with, xv. 10.
Macedonian kings, x. 2; conquests and tribes, *ibid.*
Macedonians not Hellenes except the kings, *ibid.*
Maeandrius at Sparta, xiv. 10; tyranny of, xvi. 32.
Magna Graecia, xi. 15.
Magna Mater, iv. 14.
Magnesians in Asia Minor, iv. 3.
Mantinea, democracy of, vii. 18.
Marble and stone in Greece, i. 10.
Maronea, xi. 5.
Marriage customs in Sparta, vi. 16; of Agariste, xii. 7.
Massilia, xi. 16.
Mazares reduces Priene to slavery, xvi. 16.
Measures and weights of Phidon, vii. 5.
Medea and Jason, iii. 5, 18.
Medes and Lydians, war between, xvi. 13.
Media conquered by Cyrus, xvi. 13.
Megacles, leader of the men of the shore, xv. 1; and Lycurgus leave Athens, xv. 4; and Pisistratus unite their forces, xv. 6.
Megara, xi. 7, 13; and Athens, war between, concerning Salamis, xii. 20, xiii. 1, 2; Theagenes, tyrant of, xii. 20; revolution in, *ibid.*; Theognis' account of, xii. 21; decline of, *ibid.*; and Corinth, the Commons at, ix. 10; joins the Spartan confederacy, xiv. 7; and Samos, war between, xvi. 29.
Megarian colonies, xi. 7, 13.
Megarians, enterprise of the, xi. 7.
Megarid, the, iii. 10.
Meilichos R., iii. 22.
Melanchrus, tyrant of Mitylene, xvi. 25.
Melanthus and Codrus, iv. 4.
Meleager, iii. 12.
Melissa, wife of Periander, xii. 13.
Melkart, ii. 14.
Men and animals, belief in the connection of, iii. 4.
Menelaus, iii. 17, 26.
Mermnadae, accession to the Lydian throne, xvi. 3.
Messene, initiated into the mysteries of the great goddesses by Caucon, iii. 15.
Messenia, the Dorians in, iii. 3; seats of regal government in, iii. 15; the Dorians become masters of the whole of, iii. 15; kingdom of, viii. 1; at the time of the Dorian migration, viii. 2; subjugation of, viii. 15.
Messenian Legends, iii. 16.
Messenian Wars, c. viii.
Messenian War, the first, viii. 3-9; cause of, viii. 3, 4; authorities for the first, viii. 5; end of the first, viii. 7; criticism of the account of, viii. 8; the second, viii. 13, 15.
Messenians, the, and Telechus, viii. 3; retire to Ithome, viii. 6; consult the Delphic oracle, viii. 7; rebel against Sparta, viii. 12; defeated at the battle of the Trench, viii. 13; distress of the, *ibid.*; at Zancle, viii. 15.
Metapontum, xi. 15.
Midas, king of Phrygia, iv. 12; tomb of, *ibid.*
Migrations in Hellas, iii. 1.
Migrations to Asia, date of the, iv. 18.
Milanion, iii. 12.
Milesian Colonies, xi. 8.
Miletus, an Ionian colony, iv. 5; attacked by Gyges, vi. 4; under Thrasybulus, xvi. 6; allied with the Lydians, xvi. 7; factions at, xvi. 8; fall of the monarchy at, xi. 8; prosperity of, *ibid.*; Thales of, xvi. 17.
Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, xv. 1; retires to the Chersonese, xv. 4.
Minerals of Greece, i. 10.
Mines in Greece, i. 10; in the islands worked by Phoenicians, ii. 14; of Spain, xi. 16.
Minos, a conqueror and lawgiver, ii. 14; iv. 7.
Minotaur, the, of Crete, slain by Theseus, iii. 11.
Minyae, the, iii. 1, 6; at Sparta, vi. 21.
Molossians, the, x. 1.
Momemphis, battle of, xvi. 43.
Monarchy disappears in the colonies, iv. 17; of Sparta, vi. 8; of Elis, vii. 13; of Attica, changes in, ix. 7; decline of the, in Greece, xi. 18; in Epirus, x. 1; weakness of the dual, at Sparta, xiv. 16.
Moon myths, iii. 7.
Monuments of small value, as evidence of history, ii. 1; the same on both sides of the Aegean Sea, ii. 11.
Mountain, party of the, xv. 1.
Mountains of Northern Greece, i. 3; Peloponnesus, i. 4; in Hellas, characteristics of, i. 5.

Movements in early Greece, iii. 1.
Musaeus, oracles of, xv. 13.
Muses, the, v. 42; worship of the, on Mt. Helicon, x. 7.
Music, universally cultivated in Arcadia, i. 14; at Sparta in the eighth century, viii. 11.
Musical skill at Argos, vii. 7; art in Asia, xvi. 1.
Mycenae, prehistoric remains at, ii. 12; connection of, with Asia Minor, *ibid.*; the tombs at, ii. 12; built by Perseus, iii. 17; description of, in Homer, v. 14.
Myron of Priene, an authority for the first Messenian War, viii. 5; I., tyrant of Sicyon, xii. 4.
Mysians, the, invade Europe, iii. 1.
Mysteries, the Eleusinian, xv. 13.
Mystic power of worship, xv. 13; religion, increase of, *ibid.*
Mythical account of rivers, i. 8.
Mythology, the connection between Greek and Indian, ii. 10; of Asia Minor, iv. 14.
Myths, "interpretation" of, iii. 4; arise out of mistaken etymology, iii. 4; and legends, origin of, *ibid.*; of the moon, iii. 7; arise out of local circumstances, iii. 14.

N

Names, foreign, in Greece, ii. 9; of places, derivation of, *ibid.*
Natives of Asia and Greeks, relations between, iv. 19.
Nature, the relations of deities to, v. 45.
Naucraries, the, at Athens, ix. 16; number of, increased by Clisthenes, xv. 25.
Naucratis on the Nile, xi. 17; Greek colony of, xvi. 44.
Navy, Athenian, in the time of Clisthenes, xv. 25.
Naxos, xi. 10.
Necho, xvi. 43.
Neitae, iii. 7.
Neleus settles in Pylos, iii. 15; viii. 1.
Nelidae, the, expelled from Pylus by the Dorians, iii. 15.
Nemea, the, mythological and historical, vii. 8.
Neobule, xvi. 27.
Neodamodes, the, or freed Helots, vi. 19.
Neolithic Period, the, ii. 11.
Nereids, v. 44.
Nessus the Centaur, iii. 12.
Nestor, iii. 13.
Neutrality, Solon's laws concerning, xiii. 20.
Nineveh, fall of, xvi. 12.
Nobility, rule of the, in Attica, ix. 8.
Nycteus, iii. 7.
Nymphs, the, v. 45.

O

Obes, the, of Sparta, vi. 4.
Odysseus, iii. 26.
Odyssey, the, iii. 26.
Oedipus, story of, iii. 8; sons of, *ibid.*
Oeneus, iii. 12.
Officers in Arcadian towns, vii. 18.
Oligarchy in Attica, ix. 8; in Corinth, xi. 12; in Greece, xi. 18.
Olympia, the, vii. 9, 12; Phidon at, vii. 4; contest for, vii. 9; worship of Hera at, vii. 11.
Olympiad, the eighth, celebrated by Phidon, vii. 4.
Olympic Games, the, vii. 12; Deities, v. 39, 40.
Omens, v. 50.
Onomacritus, xv. 13.
Oracle of Delphi, consulted by both sides in Messenian War, viii. 7; of Dodona, x. 1; consulted by Croesus, xvi. 14.
Orchomenus, iii. 6, 8; vii. 8; and Thebes, x. 6.
Orestes, iii. 17; the bones of, xiv. 3.
Oriental influences, xvi. 1; religion, *ibid.*; musical art, *ibid.*
Oroetes, satrap of Sardis, causes the death of Polycrates, xvi. 31.
Orphic literature, rise of, xiii. 5.
Orsippus, xi. 7.
Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicyon, xii. 4.
Orthagoridae, rise of the, xii. 4; rule of the xii. 9.
Ostracism established at Athens, xv. 26.
Otanes, xvi. 19; in Samos, xv. 32.
Oxylus, vii. 13.

P

Pactyes, xvi. 16.
Palladium, the, ix. 13.
Pambotis, Lake, i. 9.
Pamphylia, iv. 12.
Panathenaea, the, improved and extended by Pisistratus, xv. 12.
Pandion II. divides Attica, iii. 10.
Parians at Miletus, xvi. 8.
Paris, iii. 26.
Parnassus, Deucalion and Pyrrha alight on, iii. 8.

Paros, xvi. 27, 28.
Partheniae, conspiracy of the, viii. 10; found the colony of Tarentum, *ibid.*
Parthenia, the, of Alcman, viii. 11.
Parrhasians, the, vii. 17.
Parties in Attica, their use and position, ix. 11.
Party-strife at Athens, renewal of, xv. 1.
Patrae, worship at, ii. 14; bissus manufactured at, iii. 22; vii. 19; the gulf of, same local names on either side, iii. 13.
Pausanias' description of the chest of the Cypselids, xii. 16.
Pelasgi, the, various accounts of, ii. 2, 3; in Attica, iii. 1; of Boeotia, not admitted to the Attic tribes, ix. 6.
Pelasgians, Achaeans, and Hellenes not really distinct, ii. 8.
Pelasgic age, the, ii. 8; language, the, ii. 9.
Pelasgus, king of Arcadia, iii. 23.
Pellene, vii. 19; xi. 5; Pisistratus defeats the Athenians at, xv. 8.
Pelopids, the, iii. 17.
Peloponnesus, mountains of, i. 4; the Phoenicians in, ii. 14; invaded by Dorians, iii. 2, 3; legends of, iii. 14.
Pelops at the Olympic games, vii. 12.
Penestae, x. 3.
Peneus, R., i. 6.
Pentheus, iii. 6.
Perdiccas, story of, x. 2.
Periander of Corinth, subdues Corcyra, xi. 14; xii. 13; his wife Melissa, xiii. 13; maxims of, *ibid.*; revives the Isthmian games, xii. 14; and Arion, *ibid.*; and Thrasybulus, xii. 15; his family feuds, xii. 17; his character, xii. 18; settles the dispute between Athens and Lesbos, xvi. 26.
Perinthus founded by Samians, xi. 7.
Perioeci, the, of Sparta, vi. 19.
Persephone, v. 46.
Perses and Hesiod, x. 9.
Perseus builds Mycenae, iii. 17.
Persia, Athens asks aid from, xv. 20; rise of, xvi. 13; kings of, *ibid.*; Athenian envoys in, xv. 28; Dorian cities subject to, xvi. 20.
Persians, the, in Samos, xvi. 28; at Barca, xvi. 41.
Phaedra, wife of Theseus, iii. 11.
Pheretima and Arcesilaus, xvi. 40, 41; death of, *ibid.*
Phiditia of Sparta, the, vi. 15.
Phidon, king of Argos, vii. 4; his relations with Corinth, *ibid.*; at Olympia, *ibid.*; his coinage, weights, and measures, vii. 5; successors of, vii. 6.
Philocyprus, Solon the guest of, xiii. 24.
Philolaus at Thebes, x. 6.
Phlias, king, iii. 20.
Phlius, mythical history of, iii. 20; Dorian conquest of, iii. 10.
Phocaea, embassy of Spartans to, xiv. 6.
Phocaean colonies, xi. 16.
Phocaeans, the, x. 4; prefer exile to subjection to Persia, xvi. 16.
Phocis, iii. 8.
Phoenicia and Greece, ii. 14; and Assyria, xi. 19.
Phoenician rites in Greece, ii. 14; settlements in, *ibid.*; deities, *ibid.*; mines, *ibid.*; expelled from the peninsula of Greece, *ibid.*; western coast of Greece, not unknown to, iii. 13.
Phoenicians, in possession of western Sicily, xi. 10.
Phratries, the, of Attica, ix. 18.
Phrixus, iii. 5.
Phronime, story of, xi. 17.
Phrygians, the, and Thracians, ii. 6; early history of the, iv. 12; tombs of, *ibid.*
Phrynon, xvi. 26.
Phthiotes, the, x. 3.
Piracy in the Mediterranean, xi. 8.
Pirithous, iii. 11.
Pisa, kings of, vii. 9.
Pisatis, iii. 14; conquest of, by Eleans, vii. 10.
Pisistratidae expelled from Athens, xiv. 11; attempt to restore the, xiv. 12.
Pisistratus, leader of the mountaineers, xv. 1; Solon's opposition to, xv. 3; becomes tyrant of Athens, *ibid.*; rule and expulsion of, xv. 5; unites with Megacles and returns, xv. 6; second expulsion of, *ibid.*; establishes himself at Eretria, xv. 7; returns for the third time, xv. 8; and Sigeum, xv. 9; allies and friends of, *ibid.*; encourages trade and agriculture, *ibid.*; religious festivals under, xv. 12, 13; library of, xv. 14; and Homer, *ibid.*; death of, xv. 15; his administration, xv 10; appropriates the ordinary revenues of Athens, *ibid.*; the sons of, xv. 15. *See* p. 544 f.
Pittacus of Lesbos, xii. 1; xvi. 23, 25.
Plain, the party of the, xv. 1.
Plataea and Sparta, xiv. 13; xv. 20.
Plataeans, the, oppressed by the Thebans, become allies of Athens, xiv. 13.
Poems, nature and historical value of the Homeric, v. 1; the Cyclic, v. 3; of Solon, xiii. 27.

Politics, lessons of Greek, i. 15; Greek, influenced by the nature of the country, i. 15; in the Greek colonies, xi. 1.
Polycaon, builds Andania, iii. 15.
Polychares and Euaephnus, viii. 4.
Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, xiv. 6; troubles in Samos after the death of, xiv. 10; rise, empire and resources of, xvi. 30; his court and buildings, *ibid.*; story of the ring of, xvi. 31; his death, *ibid.*
Polydorus, son of Cadmus, iii. 7.
Population, town and country, xii. 1.
Poseidon, Ionians sacrifice to, iv. 6; worshipped at Halicarnassus, iv. 10; worship of, in Thessaly, x. 3; Homeric conception of, v. 44.
Prasias, Lake, ii. 11.
Prehistoric dwellings in Santorin, ii. 12; remains in Greece and Asia Minor, ii. 12.
Priapus, iv. 14.
Priene, reduced to slavery, xvi. 16; Bias of, one of the seven sages, xvi. 17.
Priests, v. 51.
Procles, taken captive by Periander, xii. 13.
Property qualification at Athens, xiii. 10.
Psammetichus (1) of Egypt and his mercenaries, xvi. 43.
Psammetichus (2), son of Gorgus, succeeds Periander, xii. 19.
Pylians, the, in Attica, ix. 6.
Pylos, Neleus settles in, iii. 15.
Pythian games, the, xiii. 4; x. 5.

R

Rainfall in Greece, i. 12.
Ransom of prisoners, xv. 20.
Ravine, battle of the, viii. 6.
Reforms of Clisthenes, xv. 19; xv. 29.
Religion, influenced by climate, i. 14; connection of, with history, ii. 1; Greek and Indian, ii. 10; Homeric, characteristics of, v. 53; in Asia, xvi. 1.
Religious rites, evidence of, ii. 10; in Argolis, vii. 8; festivals encouraged and extended by Pisistratus, xv. 12.
Return of the Heraclids, iii. 1.
Revolt of the Partheniae, viii. 10.
Revolt and subjugation of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, xvi. 19.
Revolution in Megara, xii. 20.
Revolution at Samos, xvi. 29.
Rhapsodes put an end to, by Clisthenes, xii. 6.
Rhegium, founded by the Chalcidians, xi. 11.
Rhetrae, the, given to Lycurgus at Delphi, vi. 4; other, vi. 5.
Rhianus of Bene, an authority for the first Messenian War, viii. 5.
Rhodes, prehistoric relics in, ii. 12; the Phoenicians in, ii. 14; Dorian colony in, iv. 8; account of, *ibid.*; Aristomenes retires to, viii. 15.
Ring, the, of Polycrates, xvi. 31.
Rivers of Greece, i. 6.
Rivers, legends of, i. 7; personal nature of, *ibid.*; sacrifices offered to, *ibid.*; controlled by artificial means, i. 7; mythical account of, i. 8.
Roman and Greek history compared, i. 15.

S

Sacadas the musician, vii. 7.
Sacred War, the first, x. 5; xiii. 3; Clisthenes of Sicyon takes a leading part in, xii. 6.
Sacrifices offered to rivers in Greece, i. 7; a debt due to the gods, v. 51.
Sadyattes, xvi. 3; xvi. 5.
Salamis, war between Megara and Athens concerning, xii. 20; xiii. 1.; final settlement of the dispute, xiii. 2.
Samians, the, found Perinthus, xi. 7; exiled, seek aid from Sparta, xiv. 6.
Samos, and Sparta, xiv. 6; troubles at, after the death of Polycrates, xiv. 10; Maeandrius, tyrant of, *ibid.*; and Megara, war between, xvi. 29; revolution at, *ibid.*; Polycrates, tyrant at, xvi. 30; the Persians in, xvi. 32; is "netted" by the Persians, *ibid.*; Syloson, tyrant of, *ibid.*
Santorin, remains at, ii. 12.
Sappho and her companions, xvi. 24.
Sardis, iv. 13; Solon at, xiii. 25; the Athenians send an embassy to, xv. 20; fall of, xvi. 14; change in the royal dynasty at, xvi. 3; and the Greeks, xvi. 3, 4.
Scopadae, the, x. 3.
Scyros, Theseus slain at, iii. 11.
Scythia invaded by Darius, xvi. 18.
Scythians, the, and Cleomenes, xiv. 15.
Sea, influence of, on character, i. 14.
Sea, deities of the, v. 44.
Seers, v. 50.
Seisachtheia, the, xiii. 7; Solon's account of it, *ibid.*
Selinus, xi. 13.
Selli or Helli, the, ii. 8.
Selymbria founded by the Dorians, xi. 7.
Semele, iii. 6.
Semitic elements in Greek mythology, iii. 4, 25.

Seven against Thebes, iii. 8.
Septenniads of Solon, xiii. 27.
Serfs at Crete, xvi. 37.
Shore, party of the, xv. 1.
Sibyls, iv. 14.
Sicily, Greek colonies in, xi. 10; inhabitants of, *ibid.*; Dorieus attempts to found a colony in, xiv. 9.
Sicyon, legendary account of, iii. 19; becomes subject to Agamemnon, *ibid.*; the accounts of, differ, iii. 19; the first tyrannies arose at, xii. 3; situation of, *ibid.*; in the 7th and 8th centuries, xii. 4; tyrants of, *ibid.*
Sigeum, the Pisistratidae retire to, xv. 9; war between Athens and Lesbos concerning, xvi. 26.
Silver in Greece, i. 10.
Sinope, xi. 8.
Sithonia, xi. 5.
"Skin-wearers," the, of Sicyon, xii. 3.
Slavery in Athens, ix. 18.
Slaves and aliens, enfranchisement of, at Athens, xv. 23.
Smyrna attacked by Gyges, xvi. 4; conquered by Alyattes, xvi. 7.
Solon, c. xiii., and Appendix at the end of the volume; elected Archon, xiii. 7; his alteration in the coinage, xiii. 8; his constitution, xiii. 10-17; his laws, xiii. 18-23; his travels, xiii. 24; and Croesus, xiii. 25; and Thales, xiii. 26; and Anacharsis, *ibid.*; his character and poems, xiii. 27; the tribes under, xv. 21; his definition of happiness, xiii. 25; causes of the failure of his constitution, xv. 2; his opposition to Pisistratus, xv. 8; death of, xv. 4.
Spain, the mines of, xi. 16.
Sparta, the Dorians conquer, iii. 8; early kings of, iii. 16; legendary history of, *ibid.*; and Amyclae, *ibid.*; early history of, vi. 1; Rhetrae, the, xv. 4, 5; tribes at, the, vi. 4; Obes, *ibid.*; Theopompus, changes under, vi. 6; Ephors, *ibid.*; xiv. 2, 16; kings at, vi. 7; xiv. 16; origin of dual monarchy, vi. 8; the Gerousia, vi. 9; the Assembly, vi. 10; constitution, stability of the, vi. 11; education at, vi. 12; Phiditia, the, vi. 14; division of land, vi. 18; Perioeci, the, vi. 19; Helots, the, *ibid.*; Cryptea, the, *ibid.*; Mothakes, the, *ibid.*; Neodamodes, *ibid.*; conquest of Amyclae and Helos, vi. 20; and Arcadia, vii. 16; contemporary kings of, viii. 1; after the first Messenian War, viii. 10; wrests the Thyreatis from the Argives, viii. 11; music and literature at, viii. 11; the Messenians and other nations rebel against, viii. 12; unable to engage in maritime enterprise, xi. 2.
Sparta and Tegea, war between, xiv. 1-3; constitutional changes at, xiv. 2; leading position of, xiv. 4; and Croesus, *ibid.*; and Argos, final struggle between, for the Thyreatis, xiv. 5; Samian exiles at, xiv. 6; the Ionians apply to, for assistance, xiv. 6; head of a confederacy, xiv. 7; Maeandrius at, xiv. 10; and Plataea, xiv. 13; and Argos, xiv. 14; decline of royal power at, xiv. 16; loses her position in the world of letters, xiv. 17; and Crete, compared, xvi. 39.
Spartan historians, early, vi. 13.
Spartan training, was it due to Lycurgus? vi. 17.
Spartan confederacy, xiv. 16.
Spartan territory, limits of, viii. 1.
Spartans, the, defeated at Hysiae, viii. 12; defeated at "the Boar's Monument," viii. 13; apply to Delphi for permission to acquire the whole of Arcadia, xiv. 1; and Argives, contest between 300 of each, xiv. 6; embassy of, to Phocaea, *ibid.*; wit and brevity of the, xiv. 17; expel Hippias, xv. 18.
Spercheus R., i. 6.
Sphinx, the, iii. 8.
Springs and fountains in Greece, i. 9.
Stenyclarus, iii. 3, 15.
Stone and marble abundant in Greece, i. 10.
Stone age, relics of, ii. 11.
Strategi, the Ten, at Athens, xv. 25.
Strymon, Pisistratus acquires possessions on the, xv. 7.
Styra and Carystus, iii. 9.
Styx R., i. 8.
Sun, the, worshipped at Corinth, iii. 18.
Sun myths, iii. 7.
Superstitions, Arcadian, iii. 23; popular in Hesiod's poetry, x. 9.
"Swallows," or Katavothras, i. 6.
Sybaris, xi. 15.
Syloson, tyrant of Samos, xvi. 32.
Syracuse, founded by Archias, xi. 12.

T

Taygetus Mt., iii. 16.
Tarentum, colony of, founded by the Partheniae, viii. 10, xi. 15.
Tax on land imposed by Pisistratus, xv. 10.
Tegea, temple of Athena at, iii. 12; and Mantinea, vii. 18; and Sparta, war between,

xiv. 1-3; conquest of, by the Spartans, xiv. 3.
Teleclus and the Messenians, viii. 3.
Tellus of Athens, xiii. 25.
Temenids, the, iii. 17.
Temenus, iii. 3.
Temmices, ii. 7.
Tempe, vale of, i. 6.
Tempe at Labranda, iv. 14; of Asclepius, vii. 8; Delphi, rebuilding of the, xv. 17.
Terpander, viii. 11; xvi. 22.
Tetrarchies of Thessaly, x. 3.
Teucrians, the, invade Europe, iii. 1; an Aeolian tribe, iv. 11.
Thales of Miletus, xiii. 26; xvi. 17.
Thaletas of Sparta, viii. 11.
Thasos, Archilochus visits, xvi. 2.
Theagenes of Megara, xii. 20.
Theban legends, iii. 6, 7.
Thebans, the, supply Pisistratus with money, xv. 7.
Thebes, a Phoenician settlement, ii. 14; founded by Cadmus, iii. 6; Dionysus at, *ibid.*; gates of, iii. 7; Philolaus at, x. 6; and Orchomenus, *ibid.*; and Athens, estrangement between, xiv. 13; and Aegina, xv. 20; at war with Athens, *ibid.*
Theognis, the poet of Megara, xii. 21.
Theogonia, the, of Hesiod, x. 10.
Theogony of the Greeks, v. 33; in Hesiod, x. 10.
Theopompus, changes in the Spartan constitution under, vi. 6.
Thera and Therasia, the islands of, ii. 12; Phoenicians in, ii. 14; Dorian colonisation of, iv. 9.
Theraeans, colony of the, at Cyrene, xi. 17.
Theras leads out a Spartan colony, vi. 21.
Thersander and his descendants, iii. 8.
Theseus, iii. 11.
Thespis of Icaria, xv. 12.
Thesprotians, iii. 1; x. 1.
Thessalians, character of the, x. 3; unknown to Homer, x. 3.
Thessalus, son of Pisistratus, xv. 15.
Thessaly, myths of, iii. 1, 5; account of, x. 3; districts south of, *ibid.*; Pisistratus' connection with, xv. 10.
Thetes, the, xiii. 11.
Thracians, the, account of, ii. 6.
Thrasybulus and Periander, xii. 15; Miletus under, xvi. 6; ends the war with Lydia, *ibid.*
Thyestes, iii. 17.
Thyreatis wrested from the Argives by the Spartans, viii. 11; final struggle between Sparta and Argos for, xiv. 6.
Timocracy and Aristocracy, xii. i.
Tiryns, ii. 12; iii. 17.
Tisamenus, iii. 22; vii. 19.
Titans, the, v. 41.
Tomb of Midas, iv. 12.
Tombs, at Mycenae, ii. 12; in Lycia, iv. 12.
Trade in the Euxine, xi. 8; Solon's encouragement of, xiii. 22; encouraged by Pisistratus, xv. 11.
Tradition a source of history, ii. 1.
Traditions of the earliest inhabitants in Greece, ii. 2.
Trapezus, xi. 8.
Trees and plants sacred, i. 14.
"Trench," the battle of the, viii. 13.
Tribe-kings in Athens, ix. 16.
Tribes, barbarian, in Greece, ii. 2; of Thessaly, expelled by the Thesprotians, iii. 1; influence of the union of, on Greek mythology, iii. 4; the four Attic, iii. 10; Greek, in Asia, iv. 1; of Sparta, vi. 4; in Western Arcadia, vii. 17; are not races, ix. 5; of Macedonia, x. 2; the Athenians divided into, ix. 5; the Athenian under Solon, xv. 21; the ten, established by Clisthenes, xv. 21.
Triphylia, a division of Elis, iii. 14; conquest of, by Eleans, vii. 10; deities worshipped, vii. 11.
Tripods on the altar of Zeus, viii. 7.
Triremes, the Corinthian, xii. 10, 12.
Troezen, conquered by Dorians, iii. 3; mythical history of, *ibid.*
Trojan War, legend of, compared with the Chanson de Roland, iii. 26; historical truth of the legend, *ibid.*
Troy, iv. 11.
Tyndareus at Sparta, iii. 16.
Tyrannies, Greek, not lasting, xv. 15.
Tyranny, Solon's warning against, xv. 3.
Tyrants, the, in Greece, c. xii.; of Sicyon, xii. 3-9; of Corinth, xii. 11-19; of Megara, xii. 20; accounts of, untrustworthy, xii. 2; place of, in Greek history, xvi. 18.
Tyre, fall of, xi. 19.
Tyrtaeus, remarkable part assigned to, viii. 16; sent by the Athenians to Sparta, viii. 13.

U

Uinim, ii. 15.
Union of Attica, ix. 3.
Uranus and Cronus, the myths of, iii. 4.
Usury, laws of, in Attica, ix. 9.

V

Volcanic agency in Greece, i. 12.

W

Weights and measures of Phidon, vii. 5.
Women, the position of, in Homer, v. 13; education of, at Sparta, vi. 12; position of, in Elis, vii. 11; Hesiod's view of, x. 9; Solon's laws concerning, xiii. 19; in Greece, different position of, xvi. 24.
Woods in Greece, i. 11.
Works and Days, the, v. 1; x. 9.
Writing, antiquity of, in Greece, iv. 16; Cyprian, *ibid.*

X

Xanthus, last king of Boeotia, x. 6

Z

Zancle, the Messenians at, viii. 15; founded by the Chalcidians, xi. 11.
Zethus and Amphion, iii. 7.
Zeugitae, the, xiii. 11.
Zeus Laphystius, iii. 5; Olympic, v. 39; golden colossus of, set up by Cypselus, xii. 12.

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